EPIGRAPHIA INDICA
ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT
(In continuation of Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)
1968 and 1969
PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011
1987
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 12th 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

1968

A new inscription of Muḥammad bin Sām
By Dr. Z. A. Desai ........................................... 1

The Chanderi inscription of ʿAlā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī
By Dr. Z. A. Desai ........................................... 4

Some unpublished Pre-Mughal inscriptions from Bihār
By Dr. Q. Ahmad ........................................... 11

An early Sultanate record from Baroda
By Dr. Z. A. Desai ........................................... 17

An early fifteenth century inscription from Gujarāt
By Dr. Z. A. Desai ........................................... 21

An inscription of Ḥusayn Shāh Shārūf from Bihār
By Dr. Z. A. Desai ........................................... 25

A unique inscription of Humāyūn from Būlandshahr
By Dr. Z. A. Desai ........................................... 28

A Sūr inscription from Central Rajasthān
By Dr. Z. A. Desai ........................................... 33

ʿĀdil Shāhī inscriptions from Bankapur
By A. A. Kadiri ........................................... 41

Inscriptions of Akbar and Jahāngīr from Madhya Pradesh
By S. A. Rahim ........................................... 51

A Bilingual inscription from Jaipur District
By Dr. Satya Prakash ........................................... 67

Three grants of the time of Aurangzeb from Kota District
By M. F. Khan ........................................... 69

The Dakānī inscription on the Amin Dargāh at Bijapūr
By M. Akbaruddin Siddiqi ........................................... 79

1969

Some Inscriptions of Jahāngīr in Bihār
By Dr. Qeyāmu'd-Dīn ........................................... 1
Inscriptions of Shāh Jahān from Madhya Pradesh
   By M. F. Khān ............................................. 15

Mughal Inscriptions from Mahārāṣṭra
   By A. A. Kādirī ................................................ 29

Nine Inscriptions of Akbar from Rājasthān
   By S. A. Rahīm .................................................. 49

Inscriptions of Emperor Akbar from Uttar Pradesh
   By W. H. Siddiqī & Z. A. Desāi ............................. 61
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1968

EDITED BY

DR. Z. A. DESAI

Superintending Epigraphist
Arabic and Persian Inscriptions
Nagpur

Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed by the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1969
### CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A new inscription of Muḥammad bin Šām</td>
<td>Dr. Z. A. Desai</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Chanderi inscription of ‘Alāū’d-Dīn Khaljī</td>
<td>Dr. Z. A. Desai</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some unpublished Pre-Mughal inscriptions from Bihar</td>
<td>Dr. Q. Ahmad</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An early Sultanate record from Baroda</td>
<td>Dr. Z. A. Desai</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An early fifteenth century inscription from Gujarat</td>
<td>Dr. Z. A. Desai</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An inscription of Ḥusain Shāh Sharql from Bihar</td>
<td>Dr. Z. A. Desai</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A unique inscription of Humāyūn from Bulandshahr</td>
<td>Dr. Z. A. Desai</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Sūr inscription from Central Rajasthan</td>
<td>Dr. Z. A. Desai</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ādil Shāhī inscriptions from Bankapur</td>
<td>A. A. Kadiri</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inscriptions of Akbar and Jahanīr from Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>S. A. Rahim</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Bilingual inscription from Jaipur District</td>
<td>Dr. Satya Prakash</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three grants of the time of Aurangzeb from Kota District</td>
<td>M. F. Khan</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Daksā'ī inscription on the Amin Dargāh at Bijapur</td>
<td>M. Akbaruddin Siddiqi</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA
ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT
1968

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF MUHAMMAD BIN SAM

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

A new inscription of Muḥammad bin Sām was recently found by me at Nagaur,1 the former capital of the Khānzāda chiefs and now a district headquarters in Rajasthan.2 Not a single epigraph of this monarch was found after his very few known records were ably edited by the late Dr. J. Horovitz in an early issue of this Series more than half a century ago.3 Though it does not contain any new historical information, being unfortunately fragmentary, nevertheless, its importance as one of the early Arabic and Persian records of India, pertaining to the reign of Muḥammad bin Sām, will be easily recognised by students of history.

I have already referred, albeit briefly, to the circumstances in which this new record of the Ghōrid king came to light in the course of my visit to Nagaur in the company of Shri Ghanam, in February 1966.4 I had, then also, made it clear that it was not a discovery in the sense that its existence was unknown to anybody; as a matter of fact, the tablet was pointed out to me. It is at such an out-of-the-way, though certainly not inaccessible, place that it would have indeed

---

1 For inscriptions at Nagaur, see A. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, vol. XXIII (Calcutta, 1887), pp. 48-72 (account by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick). Mr. Garrick was perhaps the first to describe Nagaur and its history and antiquities, and also notice briefly some of the Persian inscriptions at the place. But a systematic search of the inscriptions at Nagaur and some other places in the erstwhile Jodhpur State was made half a century later by Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghtai, then of the Deccan College and Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona, and now of Lahore. Chaghtai published the result of his search in the Epigraphia Indica-Moslemica (EIM), 1949-50, pp. 18-33. It may, however, be pointed out that none of the Nagaur inscriptions studied by him belongs to pre-Sūr period. In the past decade, Shri N. G. Ghanam, Technical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, then Exploration Assistant stationed at Jodhpur, explored and reported a number of inscriptions from Nagaur and its neighbourhood. A few more were found in the course of my two visits, one in the company of Shri Ghanam. All these are listed in the Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), for 1961-62, 1963-64, 1965-66 and 1966-67.

2 For a detailed history of Nagaur during the pre-Mughal period, please see Chaghtai, ‘Nagaur, a forgotten kingdom’, Bulletin of the Deccan College and Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona, vol. II, nos. 1-2 (1940), pp. 166-83. For references to other works giving an account of the town, its buildings and inscriptions, see Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1967, p. 5, f.n.3.

3 EIM, 1911-12, pp. 13-19. Of the twelve such records in all, studied by Horovitz, only three, one from Hansi, dated A.H. 598 (p. 19), and two from Delhi, one dated A.H. 592 (p. 14) and the other undated (pp. 17-18), bear his name. Then again, Horovitz is not very sure about the date of the Hansi record (p. 19). Among the rest are: Delhi, dated A.H. 587 or 589, which may have been set up later (p. 12), and A.H. 592 (p. 14); Hansi, A.H. 593 (p. 15); Delhi, A.H. 594 (p. 15); and Ajmer, A.H. 595 and 596 (p. 15).

4 EIAPS, 1967, pp. 5-6.
involved much time and labour to find it. It was Mr. Raḥmatu’llāh Raunaq ‘Uthmānī, a member of the Pirzāda family of the town, who informed me on inquiry that apart from a couple of inscribed slabs built up in the city-wall (which is unfortunately now being demolished in stages), there existed a number of similar tablets embedded in the lower as well as the upper walls of the citadel, locally known as the Fort, which forms part of the personal estate of His Highness the Maharāja of Jodhpur, and that one of them, which he could not read, contained a name like Subuktigīn and a title like Naṣīr or sī. The Siwalik hills figuring quite prominently in the history of the Ghaznavid rulers, particularly the later ones, as is quite well known, I was naturally thrilled to hear of this, though I did not consider it very likely that an inscription of the Ghaznavid monarch would be found. Nevertheless, it was a reasonable guess that the inscription must be an early record, particularly since he told me that the script was unlike any he had seen in the epigraphs at Nāgaur including those of the Khānṣādas. Anyway, we went to the Fort, and with the active co-operation of Shri Naurang Lāl Bhat, the Custodian of the Fort, Mr. ‘Uthmānī pointed out to me the places where the inscribed tablets were built up. On examination, I could ascertain at least a dozen new records, all fragmentary, which included, apart from the record under study, an inscription each of ‘Alā‘ud-Dīn Khālji, his son Qutbuddin Mubārak and Ghīyāthu’d-Dīn Tughluq Shāh and at least half a dozen of the Khānṣāda chiefs. An equal number of inscriptions was found to contain religious texts, some of them assignable to the early Mamlūk period, if not to the time of Muḥammad bin Sām. The three Khālji and Tughluq inscriptions have been edited by me in the last issue of this Journal.¹ I once again express my gratefulness to the Superintendent of the Household of His Highness for the readiness with which he acceded to my request for publishing these epigraphs.

The epigraph of the Ghorid monarch, studied in the following lines, is dated A. H. 594, and is thus the earliest to have so far come to light in Rajasthan. It will be recalled that even the Ajmer inscriptions, which belong to the reign of Muḥammad bin Sām but do not contain his name, are dated A. H. 595 and 596;² Also, our record is one of the very few records bearing his name, and as has been seen above (p. 1, supra, f. n. 3), only two such records, from other parts of the country—one each from Hāni and Delhi—are earlier to it in date.³

The fragmentary slab on which the epigraph is inscribed is built up into the northern upper wall of the Fort, at a height of less than a metre from the gallery-like passage formed by the battlement of the lower wall.⁴ A considerable portion of the slab is missing on the right hand side,⁵ resulting in the loss of considerable text in the beginning, and hence, the exact purport of the record cannot be made out: it is difficult to say if it related to the construction of a masque or some other edifice or to an altogether different matter, though very likely, the record was meant for some building only.

Its two-line text is in Arabic. The first line contains the name and the kunya of the Sulṭān and one of his titles acknowledging his allegiance to the Caliph, and likewise, in the second line occurs, besides the date A. H. 594 (1196 A.D.), only the nisba of a person, viz. aḥ Shihābī, which is preceded by only the last letter of his name. This letter could be read either as i or as a, but I am inclined to think that it is a. In that case, the name—or it could be a title only—might

¹ *EIAP, 1967*, pp. 4-8, 10.11.
² *EJIM, 1911-12*, p. 15.
⁵ It is quite likely that a number of such slabs might have been built up in the outer and inner surfaces of the Fort walls, with inscribed surface inside and if recovered, they might supply the missing parts of the fragmentary records.
have had the ending 'a'd-Din' or so. In case the said letter is taken to be ʿ, the name could very well be Abu'l-Faḍl or so. As regards the nisba a'ḥ-Shihābi, it appears to me to fall in the category of similar cognomens like al-Qutbi, a'ḥ-Shamsi, al-Muyāthi, etc., used, as was the practice in Islamic countries, for the nobles and high officials respectively of Qutbu'd-Din Aibak, Shamsu'd-Din Itutmish and Ghiyāthu'd-Din Balban. In other words, the missing text in the second line seems to have contained the name of a nobleman, who was, in all likelihood, called a'ḥ-Shihābi, in relation to the regnal title Shihābu’d-Din of his master Muḥammad bin Sām.

The slab in its present state measures 78 by 47 cm. The style of writing is Naskh of no particular merit. A point to be noted in this connection is that the writing is incised and not in relief as is usually the case. But as the students of Arabic and Persian inscriptions of India in general and the readers of this Journal in particular will perhaps be aware, the early Muslim inscriptions from Tochi Valley and Hund, dated A.H. 243 and A.H. 482, and one more record from Rajasthan, viz. Ajmer epigraph of Muḥammad bin Sām dated A.H. 596, are incised and not cut into relief. However, all the other records of Muḥammad bin Sām are executed in raised letters. It may be relevant to note in this connection that in some of the early records of Gujarat, in Western India too, the method of incision and not relief in writing on stones is employed, as has been pointed out by me elsewhere.

The surviving text of our record reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate I(a)*

เอป. [ื] ظفر محمد بن سام ناصر امير المومنين

من الشمس في شهر سنة اربع و تسعين [و] خمساً

**TRANSLATION**

(1) ........................................ Abu'l-Muzaffar Muḥammad, son of Sām, helper of the commander of the Faithful,

(2) ........................................ n a'ḥ-Shihābi, in the months of the year, (A.H.) four and ninety and five hundred (A.H. 594=1196 A.D.).

---

1 *EIM*, 1921-22, pl. XII a; *ibid.*, 1922-23, pl. XI b; *ibid.*, 1911-12, pl. XXVII, nos. 1, 2.
THE CHANDERI INSCRIPTION OF ‘ALAU’D-DIN KHALJII

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

The inscription of ‘Alau’D-Din Khaljii, which I have selected for comments in this article, came to light more than four decades ago, and was, as a matter of fact, even published with historical notes and an illustration. It was first listed in one of the reports of the Archaeological Department of the erstwhile Gwalior State,¹ and its photographic reproduction was entrusted by the Director of the said Department to Mr. Ram Singh Saksena, who published it with a detailed note as early as in 1925.² Unfortunately, Mr. Saksena’s study not only lacks scientific treatment, but also suffers from certain inaccuracies and consequent mis-statements, which may be termed as quite serious, and it is rather surprising that these should have remained uncorrected so far. Having had occasion to make a brief reference to these lapses while listing this epigraph in our Annual Report, I now take this opportunity to make its correct purport available to scholars by re-editing it here.

The epigraphical tablet, which is of soft white sandstone, measures 127 by 45 cm. and was originally found, and it still is, in the house of one Parbho Dayal, a Brahmin resident of the town of Chanderi,³ which was once the provincial capital under the Sultans of Malwa. Now considerably reduced in importance, except for its cotton sāris, it is denied even the status of a tahsil headquarters. The slab is built into one of the walls of the said house, but it is neither known, nor has it been possible to ascertain, how or when it came to be fixed into its present place. That it originally belonged to a place of worship, is quite clear from the text and needs no further confirmation. On the other hand, I am informed by my colleague Shri S. A. Rahim, who got its rubbings prepared, that the building in which the tablet occurs, is just an ordinary residential unit, without the slightest pretension to antiquity or architectural merit, and therefore, there seems to be little doubt that the slab was brought from elsewhere, or that the original mosque on which it was fixed, must have existed in its vicinity.

The four-line text of the epigraph is cut in relief in Nashī style. While its calligraphy cannot be said to be of the finest order, it is nevertheless quite pleasing to the eye, mainly on account of its neat execution, which easily makes it one of the best executed records of the Khaljii monarch.

The text purports that a mosque was built in 1312, during the reign of the great king, the Alexander of the age, ‘Alau’D-Din Muḥammad Shāh and during the time of the governorship of Amīru’l-Umarā Ikhtiyyār’u’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn Tamr Sultānī, the champion (pahlūn) of Iran, by Ismā’īl, son of ‘Abdu’s-Salām, called Wajhī-ī-Najīb. The builder is designated in the text as the muḥarrir (accountant),⁴ attached to the district (khitta)⁵ of Kol (i.e. modern Aligarh in Uttar Pradesh).

The major inaccuracies in Mr. Saksena’s study were that firstly, he could not determine the name of the governor, having taken the word ‘Tamur’ to indicate its literary meaning of a sword,
PLATE I

INSCRIPTIONS OF MUHAMMAD BIN SĀM AND ‘ALĀU’D-DĪN KHALJĪ

(a) Fragmentary record, dated A.H. 594, from Nagaur (p. 3)

Scale: -17

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 711, from Chanderi (p. 5)

Scale: -14
THE CHANDERI INSCRIPTION OF 'ALĀ'U'D-DĪN KHA'LĪJI

and secondly, having read the place-name 'Kol' as a personal name 'Koka', he sought to identify
that imaginary person with the Malwa king Koka. His observations occupying a greater part
of his article, based as they are on these incorrect readings, are naturally wrong and misleading,
as will be presently pointed out.

The text, as deciphered by me, is quoted below.

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(1) عمارت این مسجد در عهد مملکت سلطان معظم علاء الدینا و الدین اسمکندی الزمان

ابو المظفر محمد شاه

(2) السلطان خلیفه الله ملكه و سلطانه و علي امره و شانه و در وقت نبیت امیر امررا

(3) ملجه البکر اخیار الدولة و الدین پهلوان ایران امیر سلطان ادام الله معاليه و

زيد دوى

(4) بنده امیدوار رحمت دار [السلام اسملی بن عبد السلام المابی وحید نجیب مصروف

منسوب بخطه کوک کردم پیستم از ماه شعبان سنة احد عشر و سیعماة

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this mosque (took place) in the reign of the kingdom of the magnificent
Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Glory of the State and Religion), Iskandar (i.e. Alexander)
of the Time, Abu'l-Mu'azzafar Muḥammad Shāh,

(2) the Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and elevate his affairs
and position, and in the time of the deputy-ship (niyābat) of Amīru'l-Umarā (lit. the chief among
the chiefs),

(3) the refuge of the great, Ḥkhiṭiyārū'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, the champion (pahlūn) of Irān,
Tammur Sulṭānī, may Allāh perpetuate his glories and increase his fortune!

(4) The creature, hopeful of (attaining) the mercy in the House of Peace (namely), İsmā'īl,
son of 'Abdu's-Salām, called Wajīh-i-Najib, the muḥārrir attached to the District (khīṭa) of Kol,
completed it (on) the twentieth of the month of Shā'bān, year (A.H.) eleven and seven hundred
(20 Shabban 711 = 1 January 1312).

A comparison of the above-quoted text and translation with those of Mr. Saksena will reveal
a number of mistakes in decipherment, most of them minor, and in translation too; for obvious
reasons, indicating these mistakes is avoided here. But as already stated above, one of the
major inaccuracies of Mr. Saksena's study resulted from his inability to determine the name of the
governor, whose titles and name are given in the text as 'Ḥkhiṭiyārū'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Pahlūn-i-
Irān Tamur Sulṭānī'. According to Mr. Saksena, this whole phrase which he translated as 'the lord
(paramount) of the fortune of Religion, the greatest athlete', only contained the honoriific titles
of the governor, but not his name. This omission he tried to explain away thus: 'The name of the
Governor whose titles only cover more than a line of the inscription seems to have slipped from
the pen of the writer, and which he might have thought of inserting somewhere amidst the titles. This reasoning is, to put it mildly, rather curious: the composer, or for that matter even the scribe or engraver, may altogether omit the name of the governor, but it is highly improbable that in the text of a record, the name of any person intended to be mentioned, particularly of the status of a governor, should slip from the engraver's pen.

The fact is that it did not strike Mr. Saksena that the word Tamur, a common noun in Turkish, meaning 'a sword', is used here not as such, but as a proper noun, as it is also indicated respectively by the appellation Sultānī and the high titles including the personal one Ikhāyiyyu'-Dīn, indicating his status, that follow and precede the name. Then again, a reference to contemporary historical works would have provided a clue to the name of this high nobleman who finds mention therein.

Secondly, Mr. Saksena has erred in reporting Ismā'īl, son of 'Abdu's-Salām, as one 'who wrote this epigraph', though he correctly credits him with having 'caused the mosque completed'. This mistake was again due to his wrong reading of the word mansūb in the phrase mubarrir-i-mansūb ba-khīta-i-Kol in the third line, as maktab; this phrase (as read by him) he had translated as 'writer of the script (caused it to be completed), in the country of Koka'. The fact is that Ismā'īl was the mubarrir (secretary) attached to the khitā (district) of Kol, i.e. modern Aligarh. Since he failed to establish the correct purport of the text, Mr. Saksena was in doubt about Ismā'īl's vocation, as is clear from his statement that 'he seems to be in all probability either an architect or some subordinate officer who might be in charge of the construction of the mosque'.

Thirdly, Mr. Saksena states that the 'inscription names no town but mentions the territory of Koka......the Raja of Malwa'. The text, as we have seen above, mentions Kol and not Koka and states that the builder of the mosque was an official of that district. Consequently, Mr. Saksena's surmise that 'it is probable that even at that time (i.e. in 1311, seven years after the Khāji conquest of Malwa despite Koka's valiant opposition), this part of the country may have been more popularly known as Koka dominion (Desa), deserves to be rejected as it is not at all corroborated, even indirectly, by the text. Likewise, it would not be correct to maintain, as done by him, that the inscription provides a further evidence of the existence of the Malwa Rāja who has been noticed by Firītīta only. As a matter of fact, Koka, who was, incidentally, the foster-brother and prime-minister of the Malwa king, is mentioned by earlier writers, as for example, contemporary Amir Khurshid and later Yahyā Sarhindi.

So much for Mr. Saksena's observations on this inscription. We have already seen above that the governor Tamur Sultānī is not unknown to history, though as in the case of most of the men of the past, we do not know much about him. Contemporary historian Barani lists him among the nobles of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khāji and his son Qutb'u'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh and quotes both his name and title. He also mentions his having received the seal of Chanderī and Erichh from 'Alāu'd-Dīn.

---

1 Saksena, op. cit., p. 654.
2 Ibid., p. 655.
3 Ibid., p. 655.
4 For two more inscriptions referring to the office of the mubarrir, see EIAPS, 1964, p. 5; 1967, p. 13.
5 Saksena, op. cit., p. 655.
6 Ibid., p. 654.
7 Ibid., p. 655.
9 Diwān-i-Barani, Tātāq-i-Fīrsī Shāh (Calcutta, 1662), pp. 241 (where the title is spelt as an obvious misprint, which has not been corrected in the Hindi translation of the relevant portion in S.A.A. Rizvi, Khāji-Khān Bahārī, Aligarh, 1955, p. 41), 379.
10 Barani, op. cit., p. 322.
According to Amir Khusraw, another contemporary historian, Tamur continued to hold the fief in the time of Mubārak Shāh as well. In the latter's reign, he participated in the Warangal and Ma'bar expedition under Khusraw Khan, during which he and other nobles reported Khusraw Khan's secret designs to usurp the throne to the king, who, on the contrary, being under the evil influence of Khusraw Khan, punished them. As a result Tamur was dismissed, and his fief, transferred to Khusraw Khan. Incidentally, the fact that the fief of Chanderi was deemed worthy to be conferred on Khusraw Khan indicates the high status of its holders, Malik Tamur being one.

But Malik Tamur seems to have managed to cast off his disgrace before long. He must have regained his status on the accession of Ghiyāthu’d-Din Tughluq Shāh, if not earlier, for we find him assisting Prince Jānā, later on Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, in his Telangana expedition. Heretofore, forced by the circumstances similar to those just mentioned above—in which he and other nobles were charged with rebellious motives—he fled the Prince's army, after having obtained safe conduct from Rudra Deva, but pursued by the royal troops, ultimately perished at the hands of the local chiefs in Kalyani.

It will strike one as curious that Malik Tamur and his colleagues should be concerned in strikingly similar events concerning two men of different temperaments under almost similar circumstances. It may be held to be nothing more than a mere coincidence, but it is rather hard to believe that in the two episodes referred to above, the behaviour of these nobles, including Malik Tamur, was motivated only by their sense of loyalty to Qutbuddin or Tughluq Shāh. Very likely, there was something erratic in their temperament which influenced their attitude and behaviour towards the generals under whom they were then working. This strong possibility has suggested itself to me on the basis of a statement of almost a contemporary of Malik Tamur, namely Mir Khurd, the celebrated author of Siyarul’-Auliya. Mir Khurd speaks of a commotion raised by 'Tamur the governor of Chanderi', as a result of which a large number of men in his army, who were the disciples of the great saint of Delhi, Ḥaḍrat Nizāmuddin Auliya, migrated to other parts of the country. This, if at all, might represent some erratic streak in Tamur's nature.

It may be worthwhile to point out here that history does not record the exact time of the conquest of Chanderi region. It is generally believed to have been reduced along with Dhar and Ujjain by 'Ainul-Mulk soon after his conquest of Mandu in 1305, but no authority is quoted for this statement. No one among the contemporary historians, Khusraw, Barani, or 'Ijamī, refers specifically to the conquest of Chanderi itself. Even Yahyā Sarhindi, writing more than a century later, does not mention Chanderi's conquest either by 'Ainul-Mulk or any one else. Only Firidust refers to the capture of Chanderi, along with, and not after, that of Ujjain, Dhāranagar (i.e. Dhar), and Mandu. Now it is very likely that Chanderi had, at that period, nothing to do with Malwa or at least with Dhar and Mandu; it seems to have formed an independent administrative unit, a province, different from that of Dhar and Mandu. This is also clear from

---

1 Amir Khusraw, Nuh-Sipikh (Bombay, 1900), p. 100.
3 Barani, op. cit., pp. 448-49. He neither specifies the king's name, nor the name of the place where Tamur's army perished. But 'Ijamī gives more details in his Futuha-y-Salāfī (Madrass, 1948), pp. 392-99, about the whole episode and places his destruction in or around Kalyani (ibid., p. 399). Also see Mahdi Husain, op. cit., pp. 64-82.
4 Mir Khurd, Siyarul’-Auliya (Delhi, 1876), p. 286.
6 Firidust, Ta'kī-y-Firdust (Kanpur, 1884), p. 15.
Barani’s account of the distribution of fiefs: we are told that while Dhar and Ujjain were given to ‘Ainul-Mulk, Chanderi and Erichh were conferred on Malik Tamur.1 Also, from Ibn Battûta’s statement, it can be reasonably inferred that the administrative unit of Chanderi was inclusive of the region around Gwalior too. Ibn Battûta, it may be pointed out, reports his meeting with the governor of Chanderi at Gwalior.2

The above point should not be lost sight of while discussing the time of Chanderi’s subjugation by the Muslims. But for the short-lived conquest by Ilutmish’s son Nasiru’d-Din Ma’jur in 1251,3 the place seems to have defied Muslim authority. At least in the time of Jalâlu’d-Din Firuz Khâliq (1290-95), it was under Hindu sway, as is known from a categorical statement of ‘Alâu’d-Din himself in the context of his Deogiri expedition from Kara.4 It must have been, therefore, reduced some time after that event, that is to say in the time of ‘Alâu’d-Din. We can safely dismiss Ibn Battûta’s statement that it was conquered by Khusrav Khân;5 he was probably misinformed or rather misled by the fact that Qutb u’d-Din Mubarak Shâh had bestowed Chanderi on Khusrav Khân after Malik Tamur’s dismissal, as has been seen above.

Thus the question as to when and by whom was Chanderi conquered remains still unanswered. Among the early authorities, only Mir Khurd refers to the conquest of Chanderi having taken place in the reign of ‘Alâu’d-Din. According to him, a governor (wâli), who was a disciple of the patron-saint of Delhi, Haḍrât Nizâmu’d-Din, was sent by the king with a large force to conquer Chanderi. Since the assignment was a difficult one, the said official requested the saint to send one of his companions for moral and spiritual support, and accordingly, Maulâna Wajîhu’d-Din Yusuf was deputed to participate in the expedition.6 Unfortunately, Mir Khurd has refrained from either naming the governor or dating the event, though it is almost certain that the governor concerned was not Tamur, since the said hagiographer narrates this event immediately after he has referred to the high-handedness of Tamur (referred to in the preceding lines), resulting in the desertion of Chanderi by most of his soldiers and the intended desertion by Maulâna Yusuf too.7 Under the circumstances, the only thing that can be definitely asserted is that Chanderi was conquered quite some time before A.H. 711, the date of our record.

Incidentally, the name Tamur is variously spelt by different writers as Tamâr,8 Tamûr, Tamur or Timur,9 and Timûr.10 As the name is inscribed in our epigraph without diacritical marks, it is difficult to determine the correct pronunciation. The name can be read both as ‘Tamur’ or ‘Timur’ in Arabic, the former meaning a ‘ripe date’, and the latter, the eye-disease—‘a pearl in the eye’ or ‘obscenity and darkness’.11 But in Turkish, the same word is pronounced

---

1 Barani, op. cit., p. 323.
4 Barani, op. cit., p. 220.
5 Ibn Battûta, op. cit., p. 45.
6 Mir Khurd, op. cit., pp. 280-387.
7 Ibid., p. 286.
8 Majumdar, op. cit., p. 53; Lâl, op. cit., pp. 230, 341; Rizvi, op. cit., pp. 80, 135, 136, 225; Mahdi Husain, op. cit., pp. 31-32, 65-68 (but ‘Timur’ on pp. 67-68 and ‘Tamar (Timur)’ on p. 67, f.n.3). In Dr. Mahdi Husain’s English translation of Ibn Battûta’s Rihû (p. 50), the name is spelt as Tamûr.
9 Ibn Battûta, op. cit., p. 50.
10 ’Ismîl, op. cit., pp. 302, 303, 304, 305.
11 Mahdi Husain, op. cit., pp. 67-68.
The Chanderi Inscription of 'Alau'd-Din Khalji

Timur which is stated to be the actual phonetic expression of the word written with long vowels i.e. Timūr and which means 'steel'. On the other hand, according to 'Abdul-Hāyy Habibi, an Afghan scholar, who has recently published Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī of Minhāj-i-Sirāj from Kabul, the word spelt as Tamūr, has been stated by Kāshqārī to mean steel, and the same spelling is given in the Tabaqāt in the names Tamurchi, Tamur Khan Qirān and Tamur Khan Sangar. However, the spelling of this name in the later times became Timur, at times written as Tamūr. In Turkish, the term Ḍamor meaning iron or steel is nothing but a form of this 'Timur'. There is therefore little doubt that the correct pronunciation of the name is Tamur or Timur only. That the second syllable is mū is also corroborated by Ishāmī who uses it as a rhyme of put. which shows that the pronunciation, as he knew or heard it, was Tamur or Timur. Incidentally, the editor of the Madras edition of Ishāmī’s Futuḥu’s-Salāfīn has throughout transcribed the name as Timur.

It may also be mentioned here that Tamur is mentioned as the muqṭī of Chanderi by Barani, as āmil, by Hajji Dabir and as wālī, by Mir Khurd. This would mean that the terms muqṭī, āmil and wālī were considered more or less synonymous.

About Ismā’īl, whom the text credits with the completion of the mosque, nothing is known from any other source. He was neither an architect nor the writer of the text nor a subordinate official in charge of the construction as was stated by Saksena. He was the muharrir attached to the district (Khīta) of Kol or modern Aligarh, and was also commonly called (almalaqab, lit. entitled, i.e. with nick-name) Wajhī-Najīb. This last phrase, I feel, represents the second or popular names of both the son and father: in other words, Ismā’īl was commonly called Wajhī and his father, ‘Abdu’s-Salām, Najīb. Beyond the above information furnished by our record, nothing whatsoever is known about him.

Lastly, the epigraph under study is taken to furnish the earliest date so far known for the new site of Chanderi. It has been presumed by A. Cunningham and later writers that it was Buri Chanderi, about 15 kilometres from the present town, which was conquered in 1304-05 by ‘Alau’d-Din’s army. This assumption coupled with the fact that our inscription was found at modern Chanderi has been taken to mean that the new site came into existence some time between 1304-05, the date of the conquest of Chanderi and 1312, the date of the said record. Cunningham only bases his surmise on the fact that the Muslim historians—Ibn Batūta and Firidūs—do not mention the fort of Chanderi but only the city and since the present city is fortified, ‘Alau’d-Din must have conquered the old city. This however, does not seem to be a strong presumption, and much stronger basis is needed to substantiate the statement that it was only Chanderi that was conquered by ‘Alau’d-Din. On the other hand, it is not absolutely certain that the present tablet does belong to modern Chanderi; it was first, and even now, found in a private house, though it belonged to a mosque. Therefore, the assumption does not seem to be warranted by facts, and as such needs corroboration.

1 Muhammad Bādghāhī, op. cit., p. 779.
4 Ibid. (Madras), pp. 392, 393, 394, 398.
5 Barani, op. cit.
7 Mir Khurd, op. cit., p. 286.
8 For the views of Dr. Mahdi Husain on the function of these posts, see Mahdi Husain, op. cit., p. 31, l.n.3.
10 Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 402-03; ARASI, 1924-25, p. 168; Saksena, op. cit.; Mahdi Husain in Ibn Batūta; op. cit., p. 166.
Before we conclude, a note on the term 

The exact connotation of this word as used in inscriptions or elsewhere is difficult to determine. The literary meaning given thereof in the lexicographical work is ‘a boundary or foundation-line of a house, a country, a territory, a region, a city, land occupied for the first time, a street, a habitation’, ‘a boundary or foundation-line of a house’, or a land around which a boundary-line is drawn for the construction of a building to prevent encroachment, a piece of land, or ‘the name by which a big (capital) city is generally known or is called in Arabia’. The term is loosely translated as a ‘fortified city’ or a ‘territory’, ‘district’, ‘region’ or ‘province’. In the absence of any other information, it is difficult to establish the exact meaning for which it stands, but the meaning ‘a district’ or ‘a territory’ seems to be preferable to ‘a fortified city’.

---

4. Ibid. The printed text of Muhammad Badghsh’s work has i.e. in popular parlance, while that of Ghīrāghi’d-Din’s has i.e. in Arabia. The latter may be a misprint.
SOME UNPUBLISHED PRE-MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

BY DR. Q. AHMAD

Department of History, Patna University, Patna

The value of epigraphical studies for a fuller reconstruction of the political history of Bihar in the pre-Mughal period does not require much emphasis. The inscriptions are particularly valuable in the context of the political geography of the area and in giving new information about provincial personalities not otherwise known. The publication, in a previous issue of this Series, of two articles by Dr. Z.A. Desai and Mr. A. A. Kadiiri, of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, discussing some two dozen pre-Mughal inscriptions of Bihar belonging to the reigns of the Tughluq rulers and the Bengal Sultans is a very welcome attempt in this direction. In this paper, it is proposed to present three more unpublished pre-Mughal records, one of Firdaus Tughluq and two of the Bengal Sultans.

I. INSCRIPTION OF FIRDÅS TUGHLUQ FROM BIHAR SHARIF

This partly damaged inscription, belonging to the reign of Firdaus Tughluq (1351-88), was discovered by me in the compound of the Dargah of the sixteenth-century saint Shâh Qumais in Bihar Sharif, district Patna. The epigraphical tablet is now lying on the ground, near the entrance of the walled enclosure in which, according to the local tradition, the saint lies buried. The tablet bearing the inscription of Islâm Shâh, which once adorned the entrance gateway of the small mosque situated in the same compound (now completely ruined), is also lying by its side.

The slab is fragmentary, having lost the upper and lower corner portions on the right side and some portion of the whole of the left side, with the result that portions of the text in the beginning and end of its three lines are lost. In its present position the tablet measures 44 by 40 cm., and contains three lines of writing in mixed Arabic and Persian prose, recording the construction of a building, the nature of which is not specified in the extant text, but which appears to have been a mosque in view of the famous Quranic verse occurring in the text. It is stated to have been built by one who merely calls himself a servant of Khânumâda Malik Sirâju'd-Din (son of) Sulaimân in the reign of Firdaus Tughluq. The concluding portion of the third line containing the date of the record, is gone, only the day and part of the name of the month being decipherable.

The style of writing of the epigraph is extremely fine and pleasing Nasîhâ, of the conventional type, which is the high water-mark of the Tughluq inscriptions of Bihar Sharif.

1 Epigraphy Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1961, pp. 25-44.
2 There is another fragmentary inscription of the same monarch in the Dargah. It is fixed in the northern wall of the bujra of the Sayyida-nasîma and was published in ibid., p. 27.
3 Epigraphia Indo-Moscemica (EIM), 1923-24, p. 28.
The text has been read as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate II(a)*

(1) قال اِنَّ لِي اِنَّا مَسَاءَدَ اللهَ لَمْ يَنَبِّئُنَا وَهْوَ الْيَوْمُ الْآَخَرُ عَمَّارَتُ كَرَّدَ اِنَّ مَسْجِدَ (?) مِرْكَبَ.

(2) [در عهد(?)] بِاِذِينَاءِ الزَّمانِ الوَاقِعِ تَبَالِيدُ الرَّحْمَنِ اِبِنَ الْمُظَفَّرِ فَيُزِيرُ شَاهِ السَّلَطَانِ.

(3) [للد(؟)]... بنَائِهِ خَانِزَاذَهِ مَكَّرْمَ مَلِكَ ثَقَافَ الْدِّينِ سُلَيْمَانَ لَهُ التَّانِيُّ مِن شَوَاءِلَ...

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Allâh, the Exalted says, "Only he shall visit the mosques of Allâh, who believes in Allâh and in the Final Day (i.e. Day of Judgement)". This auspicious mosque

(2) (in the reign of) the king of the Time, confident of the support of the Beneficent (Lord), (viz.) Abu'l-Muza'far Firûz Shâh's-Sultân, (may Allâh) perpetuate......

(3) ...........by the slave of the honourable Khânzâda Malik Sirâju'd-Dîn (son of) Sulaimân, on the second of Shawwâl..............

The epigraph is quite important as it provides the name of an important Tughluq official, Khânzâda Malik Sirâju'd-Dîn, the master of the builder. In this connexion, the attention of the readers is recalled to an article by Dr. Dessai on the Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from the Indian Museum, Calcutta, two of which were from Bihar Sharif, the find-spot of the inscription under study. While discussing the inscription of Malik Ibrâhîm's mausoleum, Dr. Dessai has thrown much new light on the career of Malik Ibrâhîm, and also suggested the identity of the two succeeding governors of Bihar, Malik Dâ’âd and Khânzâda Sulaimân, respectively as the son and the grandson of the former. The present inscription may be taken to suggest one degree further in the genealogy of Malik Ibrâhîm. Khâinzâda Malik Sirâju'd-Dîn mentioned in it is very likely the son of Khâinzâda Sulaimân mentioned in the Calcutta Museum inscription from Bihar Sharif. The prefixes, Khâinzâda and Malik, make the identification almost certain. But I would not venture to suggest, also, that Sirâju'd-Dîn succeeded Sulaimân as the governor of Bihar. It will be presuming too much to suggest that the governorship of Bihar had become almost hereditary in the family of Malik Ibrâhîm. Moreover, we do not know the date of this inscription, and there is no basis to suppose that it belongs to a period subsequent to the governorship of Khâinzâda Sulaimân. Without claiming his succession to the governorship of Bihar after Sulaimân, it may

1 Qurʾân, Chapter IX, part of verse 18.
PRE-MUGHAL RECORDS FROM BIHAR

(Plates II-IIIa)

(a) Inscription of Firuz Tughluq from Bihar Sharif (p. 12)

(b) Epigraph of Mahmud Shah of Bengal, dated A.H. 943, Purnea (p. 14)
be suggested that Sirāju’d-Dīn was the son of the latter and, probably, held an important post in the province either during his lifetime or after his death.¹

II. INSCRIPTION OF ‘ALĀ’U’D-DĪN HUSAIN SHĀH FROM BHAGALPUR

This inscription of ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn Husain Shāh of Bengal (1493-1519), was discovered by me a few years ago in Bhagalpur town. It is engraved on a tablet fixed above the outer gateway of the Mujāhidpūr mosque near the railway overbridge at the eastern end of the Bhagalpur Railway Station.² According to the local tradition, the slab was discovered in another part of the town, Khanjarpūr, but was brought over and fixed in its present position by the local people. It measures 70 by 45 cm.

The text of the epigraph which consists of two lines of Arabic prose, records the construction of the gate of a Jāmi’ mosque by ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn Husain Shāh in A.H. 917 (1511-12 A.D.). The style of writing is Nasīḥa of the same type as is generally met with in the inscriptions of this monarch.³

The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(1) بني هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان الامام و المحترم علائدهما والذين

(2) أبو الموظفر حسين شاه السلطان ابن سيد إبراهيم الحسيني خال الله ملكه و سلطانه في

سنة سبع عشر و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

(1) This gateway of the Jāmi’ mosque was built by the magnificent and illustrious Sultan ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn wa’d-Dīn

(2) Abu’l-Muzaffar Husain Shāh a’s-Sultān, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Husaini, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) seventeen and nine hundred (A.H. 917=1511-12 A.D.).

Among the fifty and odd published inscriptions of ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn Husain Shāh,¹ only one commemorates the building of the gateway of a mosque; the rest relate to the construction of mosques, domes and tanks. The present inscription is quite similar in text to the Murshidabad mosque inscription of ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn, dated six years earlier.² It may be recalled that there is another

¹ I personally think that it may not be correct to read idāfār-i-ibāz between Sirāju’d-Dīn and Sulaimān. I had suggested to Dr. Ahmad that Sirāju’d-Dīn could be a title of Khānṣāda Sulaimān. It will be remembered that the full name (with title) of Khānṣāda Sulaimān’s father, in the proposed identification by me, is Ḍaṣṭu’d-Dīn Dā’d Khān. I even now think that Sirāju’d-Dīn Sulaimān was his full name.—Editor.
³ Cf. EI1, 1938-34, pl. II a; EIAPS, 1955 and 1956, pls. V b and c; ibid., 1961, pl. X I V a, b. c: etc.
⁵ Ibid., p. 172.
inscription of this Sultân in Bhabalpur town itself, dated ten years earlier, which refers to the construction of a mosque by Sur-i-Lashkar Majlis Mahmûd bin Yusuf.¹ The political control of 'Alâ‘d-Dîn over a large part of Bihar, both in the north and the south, is well established by quite a few of his inscriptions not only in Bihar but further west, across the Ghagra river, in modern Uttar Pradesh.²

III. INSCRIPTION OF GHIVÄTHU‘D-DÎN MAHMMÛD SHÂH FROM PURNEA

This inscription was discovered by Dr. Ved Parkash, Lecturer in History, Guru Govind Singh College, Patna, who obtained a charcoal rubbing of it, in the course of his exploration tour of Purnea. Subsequently, I also visited the place and took an inked rubbing, a copy of which I sent to the office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.³

The inscrptional tablet, measuring 57 by 34 cm., is kept in the compound of a mosque adjacent to the house of Mir Nayyar ‘Ali of Maâllâa Keonlâpûr of Purnea city, who informed me that according to the family tradition, it is lying there for several hundred years. It is inscribed with three lines of Arabic text. The style of writing is Naskh, which, unlike in the case of the Jali or thick variety of this script so characteristic of the epigraphs of the Sultâns of Bengal, is Khaﬁ thin. It is, likewise, not as highly artistic either, though it does contain the usual contrast of symmetrically placed elongated shafts with the curves, etc., of the letters, which, coupled with fairly good quality of the writing, is not entirely without pleasing appeal. The most striking aspect of the calligraphy is that the letters are written close and also one upon another, and have, at a few places, no regular or perfect outline, with the result that the decipherment of the text has been quite difficult. However, it has been possible to read the text with the help of my teacher, Prof. Dr. S. H. Askari, Hon. Joint Director, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, my colleague Prof. A. A. Kazimi, Head of the Arabic Department, Patna College, and Dr. Z. A. Dessai, to all of whom I am very much indebted.

The epigraph records the construction of a tomb over the grave of Sayyid Mahmûd commonly known as Bâbû, by one who is known by the title Bâlyân Shâh, son of Shaïkh Husain, son of Miyân Shâikh, (namely) Abu‘l-‘Azz Shâikh Sa‘du'llâh, in the time of Ghiyâthu‘d-Dîn Abû‘l-Mugafar Mahmûd Shâh, son of Husain Shâh, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-‘Usainî. It is dated the 4th Dhi‘l-Qa‘da 943 (14th April 1537).

The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم العبد لله الذي نبي السوات عالية و الأرض طاحية و
الصلاة على نبيه المصطفى محمد المجتني و على الله الوديد و أصحابه الراشدين أما بعد فقد بني

¹ EIAPS, 1961, p. 40.
² Ibid., pp. 45-48.
SOME UNPUBLISHED PRE-MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise be to Allāh who made the skies high and the earth low (plain). And salutations be on His chosen Prophet Muḥammad, the selected one and on his descendants, the true guides, and on his companions, the leaders to the right path. And this noble mausoleum was constructed by the humble creature who is hopeful (of the mercy of the Creator) (and) who is entitled Bālyān Shāh,

(2) may Allāh distinguish him with honour and rank, son of Shiḥkh Ḥusayn, may Allāh brighten him like water of silver, son of Mīyān Shiḥkh, may Allāh saturate him with . . . (7) namely, Abūl-ʻAzz Shiḥkh Saʻdu'llāh, may Allāh forgive him, for his (spiritual) lord, Sayyid Muḥammad, commonly known as Bābū, for deliverance from Him and merit on account of his truth,

(3) in the reign of the just and the generous Sulṭān Chiyyāthuddunya wa’d-Dīn Abūl-Muzaffār Maḥmūd Shāh, a’s-Sulṭān, son of Ḥusayn Shāh a’s-Sulṭān, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty; on the 4th Dhī’l-Qa’dā, year (A.H.) three and forty and nine hundred (4 Dhī’l-Qa’dā 943=14 April 1537).

This inscription of the last independent ruler of Bengal, Maḥmūd Shāh (1533-37), his only epigraph to be found so far in Bihar, represents the last extant epigraphic evidence of the existence of the rule of a Bengal Sulṭān over a portion of Bihar. His other inscriptions known so far are also very few, to be exact, only three, and all of them are in Bengal. This one, his only known inscription outside Bengal, is also, perhaps, his last.1

The involvement of Maḥmūd Shāh in the turbulent politics of Bihar in the thirties of the sixteenth century (when Sher Shāh’s career was beginning), his conflict with his disaffected governor at Hajipur, and his unsuccessful trial of strength with Sher Shāh (battle of Surajgarh) are well known events in the history of Bengal and Bihar during this period.2 The date of our inscription, 4th Dhī’l-Qa’dā 943 (14th April 1537), is worth notice, for the curious coincidence of its being just a year, almost to the day, before the sack of the Bengal capital Gaur, by Sher Shāh on 6th Dhī’l-Qa’dā 944.3 Our epigraph was set up after the battle of Surajgarh (June 1534), following which

---

1 Of the published inscriptions (Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 236-40), two are dated A.H. 941, and the third is of A.H. 943 (month not specified). The present record was engraved in the last but one month of A.H. 943.


3 Sarkar, op. cit., p. 164.
Shor Shāh 'completed his annexation of Bihar territory unto Bhagalpur'. But the further eastern region of Purnea continued under the control of Ṣāḥīb uṣūl.4 Further, it shows that even after the first invasion of Gaur by Shor Shāh (middle of 1536) and the treaty with Ṣāḥīb uṣūl Shāh, according to which 'territory from Kiul to Sakrigali, some 150 kilometres in length and 50 kilometres wide',5 was ceded to Shor Shāh, the Purnea area still continued to remain under the effete Bengal ruler.

I could not trace any reference in the contemporary chronicles or the religious Taṣbikirās to the saint Sayyid Muhammad or to the builder of the mausoleum, Shāikh Sa’dullāh and his ancestors. The name Balyān Shāh by which the latter was generally known is worth notice.

---

1 Sarkar, op. cit., p. 162.
2 Qumrano, op. cit., p. 162.
AN EARLY SULTANATE RECORD FROM BARODA

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

The tomb of Pir Ghodā situated in the Laxmi Vilās Palace grounds at Baroda contains in all four inscriptions of which, one is engraved on the headstone of the grave, and the rest are fixed into the north wall. Inked rubbings of three of these inscriptions were taken by me through the courtesy and co-operation of the Officer-in-charge of the Household of H. H. the Mahārāja and of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, to both of whom I am thankful.¹

The existence of these four records was first made known in 1939, by the Archaeological department of the erstwhile Baroda state, through its report, but their purport was merely stated to be that 'they are in the nature of epitaphs and mostly consist of verses from the Qur'ān'.² This incomplete notice may be one of the reasons why none of these epigraphs has received any detailed notice.

It is true that three of them including the one on the headstone of the grave contain only Quranic verses, but none of them is, strictly speaking, in the nature of an epigraph. The fourth epigraph which is the subject-matter of this short article, is an historical record which is extremely important in establishing the identity of a nobleman of the reign of Ahmad Shāh I of Gujarāt (1411-42), who was closely associated with Baroda.

The tablet bearing this inscription is squarish in shape, measuring about 53 by 56 cm., and is built up into the north-wall of the Tomb.³ The latter is a plain structure built in the beam-and-lintel style so characteristic of the Muslim monuments of Gujarāt of the early Sultanate period. There is also a mosque and a well nearby. The Tomb is now known after the name of Pir Ghodā whose remains it is popularly believed to enshrine. But no particulars about the life, or the identity even, of the saint are available; the inscription on the headstone being religious, as stated above, fails to provide any information on this point. However, there appears to be some truth in the local tradition that the name Pir Ghodā is a corruption of Pir Gorā.

The language of the record is Persian. Its text consists of six lines of writing carved in relief in Nushk characters of great merit. The style of writing is quite similar to other two fifteenth-century inscriptions, dated a few years earlier, that have survived at Baroda itself.⁴ But unfortunately, the epigraphical tablet has considerably weathered through passage of time and also on account of inclemencies of nature, and as a result, the letters have not only lost sharpness of shape, but have flaked off in some places. Worse still, the slab, along with the building, has undergone repeated coats of white-wash. These factors evidently rendered the decipherment of its text difficult.

² Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending July 1938 (Baroda, 1939), pp. 14, 31.
⁴ Cf. Epigraphia Indo-Mohametica (EIM), 1939-40, pp. 2-3, pl. 11, and Dr. M. A. Chaghtal, Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad (Poona, 1942), pp. 28-29 and 30-31, pls. IV a and IV b.

(17)
The six-line text commences with *Bismi'llah*, inscribed in the first line, while in the remaining lines, it is recorded that a mosque, a tomb and a well were constructed in A.H. 816 (1413-14), during the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh, by Bektars, son of Ādam, son of Sulaimān, known as A'zam Khān.

It has been deciphered by me as under:

**TEXT**

Plate III (b)

(1) *Bismi'llah* al-Rahman al-Rahim

(2) در عهد دولت خداوند عالم باذنشان بن آدم مالک

(3) قبیل الأمم ملکه العرب و العجم فرمانده روى زمین ظل الله

(4) في العالمين الواثق بتألق الرحمن ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابوبنجابه أحمد شاه

(5) بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه باكرده بنده امیدوار إرحام

(6) پرودگر بیکریس

**TRANSLATION**

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

(2) In the time of the reign of the master of the world, sovereign of mankind, lord

(3) of the necks of nations, chief among the kings of Arabia and Persia, ruler of the surface of the earth, shadow of Allāh

(4) in the universe, reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Mujāhid Aḥmad Shāh,

(5) son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh the Sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, the servant hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Bektars,

(6) son of Ādam, son of Sulaimān, commonly known as (i.e. entitled) A'zam Khān, constructed this tomb, mosque and well. Whosoever visits here, may remember (the builder) with prayers for (his) Faith. On the date (afforded by the words: ) the help of Allāh (yielding A.H. 816 or 1413-14 A.D.).

As pointed out above, the reading of the phrase which has been taken to yield the date is not final. It will be observed that the date is not inscribed in figures, but it should be remembered that in the early Muslim inscriptions, figures were not employed for indicating the date, which would be either expressed in words or by way of a chronogram. Now here, as a glance at the illustration will show, there is hardly any space for expressing the date in

1 The writing being damaged and letters flaked off, in this part, the reading of these words comprising the invocatory text and yielding the date is tentative.
words. Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the year was intended to be afforded by the chronogram contained in the last phrase, which I have read as: **Nagratu’llāhī** (help of Allāh). This phrase, according to the **Abjad** system of the numerical value of letters, would work out to yield A.H. 816 (1413-14 A.D).

In any case, the inscription could not have been inscribed later than A.H. 816, the year in which Bektars rebelled against the Sultan, as will be discussed hereinafter, or earlier than the 14th Ramaḍān 813 (10th January 1411), the date of the Sultan’s accession to the throne. If my interpretation of the date is correct, the epigraph would be the earliest and the only Muslim record of the Sultanate period in Gujarāt, of course, to be so dated.¹

But what I consider to be more important aspect of this epigraph is its unimpeachable evidence which should now remove a great misunderstanding about the name as well as the identity of an important official of the period. The great irony about this misunderstanding is that most of the modern authorities on the history of Gujarāt have not taken cognizance of the fact that the names Bhikan and Adam recorded in the Persian chronicles, printed or otherwise, as of two persons, are in fact of one individual, Bektars (son of) Adam, only. One of the earliest such writers, Sir E. C. Bayley, was no doubt aware of this confusion. But he too simply dismissed it as improbable,² while the fact is otherwise, as will be seen from the following lines.

The text clearly states that the builder, Bektars, was the son of Adam and grandson of Sulaimān and that he was entitled Aẓam Khān. Now none of the three main published works on the history of the period, viz. Nizāmu’d-Dīn Ahmad’s **Tabaqat-i-Akhbār**, Sikandar’s **Mīr’āz-i-Sikandarī** and Firishta’s **Gūlshan-i-Ibrāhīmī**, commonly known as **Tāriḵ-i-Firīshtā**, which were written within a few years of each other, is found to contain any reference to Bektars, though all of them contain the names Adam and Sulaimān. The reason for it is not that there is no mention of Bektars in these works; on the contrary, he does find mention, but on account of the calligraphical peculiarities of the Arabic script, this name was copied by successive copyists, or at least it would so appear, as Bhikan or Bikan or Bhan kar.³ Not only that, but the confusion was made worse by the interpolation of the conjunctival tāba between the name of the father and the son in Sikandar’s work.⁴ It is well pointed out that not only do the **Tabaqat** and the **Tāriḵ-i-Firīshtā** not have the conjunction, but the unpublished **Tāriḵ-i-Mehmūd Shāhī** too, a transcribed copy of which I have been able to consult, does not use the conjunction. It was the reliance on his manuscript of Sikandar’s work which prevented Bayley from trying to ascertain the true fact.

Now we are told that immediately after his accession, i.e. after 10th January 1411, an unsuccessful attempt was made to dethrone Ahmad Shāh by his uncles, aided by a few of the veteran noblemen. In one of the battles, they defeated, according to Sikandar, ‘Bhikan and Adam Afghān who were sincere (i.e. loyal) to the king’,⁵ and according to Firishta, ‘Adam Bhan kar who was sent by the king’.⁶ While Professor M. S. Commissarist has skipped over these details,⁷ Dr. S. C.,

¹ In historical works, no doubt, chronograms are quoted giving the dates of some events of Ahmad Shāh’s reign, particularly of the foundation of Ahmadabad, construction of the Jāmi’ mosque, etc. (Sikandar, **Mīr’āz-i-Sikandarī** (Baroda, 1961), pp. 31, 34, 37).
³ Sikandar, op. cit., pp. 30, 40; Nizāmu’d-Dīn Ahmad, **Tabaqat-i-Akhbār**, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1935), pp. 97-100. In Firishta, **Tāriḵ-i-Firīshtā**, vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), pp. 182, 184, the order of the names is also reversed, but we must remember that the printed edition of this work referred to is very corrupt. The **Tāriḵ-i-Mehmūd Shāhī** (MS) seems to have Bikan.
⁴ Sikandar, op. cit., p. 30.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Firishta, op. cit., p. 182.
Misra who had, in addition, access to the manuscript of the Tārikh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī, merely follows Sikandar and Firigha and mentions 'two loyal Afghan chiefs Bikan and Ādam.' It may be noted in this connexion that the much earlier Tārikh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī and even the Tabaqāt do not refer to this battle at all.

At a later date, some time in A.H. 816 (1413-14 A.D.) to be exact, according to the printed edition of Sikandar’s history, Malik Sulaimān entitled A’zam Khān, along with other nobles, joined in a conspiracy against the king. Here evidently Malik Sulaimān is not intended; there must have been two words preceding this name which comprised the name of his son and grandson and which must have been left out by the scribe. For, all the other authorities including the Tārikh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī while describing this event name him as Malik Bhikan (Bikan in Tārikh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī) Ādam Sulaimān; in Firigha, it is as usual ‘Ādam Bhankar’ but as already stated above, the Navalkishore edition of his work being very corrupt, it is almost certain that the order of these names must have been Bhankar Ādam. Thus it is certain that the noble mentioned in regard to both the events is one and the same person only.

Equally evident is the fact that the correct spelling of the name is neither Bhikan, nor Bikan nor Bhankar as has been variantly written in the above works, but Bektars. The orthography of these variants in Persian, particularly in a cursive hand, is so alike that any scribe with just an average knowledge of the language would confuse one with the other, much more so since the name Bektars is not very common, while Bhikan is. Bhikan, Bikan, Bhankar and Bektars were inscribed respectively in Arabic script thus: بیکترس، بیکترس، بیکترس، بیکترس. Now written in a running or cursive hand, Bektars can be easily misread as any of the other three names. Therefore, in view of the evidence of our inscription, there should be no doubt that the correct name of the noble who was concerned with the early events of Aḥmad Shāh’s reign was Bektars, son of Ādam and grandson of Sulaimān.

Here, it is worthwhile to draw attention to the fact that one of the two Baroda records referred to above, viz. from the Navlakhi Vāv, also situated in the Laxmi Vilās Palace compound, mentions the fact that Malik ‘ah-Shārq Malik Ādam, son of Sulaimān, was the muqṭī (fief-holder) of Baroda (i.e. Baroda) in A. H. 807 (1405 A.D.). As regards Bektars, it has been already stated above that according to Sikandar and Firigha, he was on the king’s side at the time of the first revolt of the latter’s uncles. But the authors of the Tārikh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī and the Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī do not subscribe to this fact. It appears from the Tabaqāt that Bektars was already muqṭī of Baroda during the time of Muẓaffar Shāh, having presumably succeeded his father on the latter’s death or retirement, and that he was already in disfavour of Aḥmad Shāh until after the revolt of the latter’s uncles, when he submitted to the king at the town of Wantaj. This account of the Tabaqāt appears to be nearer to the truth. However, in A.H. 816 (1413-14 A.D.), along with some other nobles, he again revolted against Aḥmad Shāh and was compelled to flee. What happened to Bektars in exile is not known from any of these works.

---

2 Sikandar, op. cit., p. 40.
3 BM, 1939-40, pp. 2-3.
4 So in Niṣāmu’d-Dīn Aḥmad, op. cit., p. 97. The Navalkishore edition of this work gives ‘Shikh’ which is still more corrupt. From the context it appears that the place was at a few march’s distance to the north-northwest of Broach. It is very likely that the town intended is Dehej, since its Persian spelling دھیج is the nearest to answer the spelling ونچ of the town Wantaj. But Dehej, a one-time port, is situated west of Broach, at a distance of about forty kilometres.
5 Ibid., pp. 97, 100.
AN EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY INSCRIPTION FROM GUJARAT

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

In the Corpus Inscriptionum Bhaavnagari, which is a selection of Arabic and Persian inscriptions collected by the Antiquarian Department of the erstwhile Bhavnagar State in Saurashtra proper of Gujarat State, brought out as early as in 1889, a very interesting inscription from Mangrol was published. Unlike in the case of quite a few inscriptions noticed in that work, the text and translation of this epigraph were mostly correct, with the exception of a single mistake. But it is surprising that the writers on the history of Gujarat including the late lamented Professor M. S. Commissariat, who was the first to make an extensive use of this work in the first volume of his excellent History of Gujarat, have not taken note of this epigraph, which apart from being historically quite important, provides a piece of information not generally met with even in historical works, as we shall presently see.

The tablet of white marble on which it is inscribed measures 34 by 48 cm. and is built up into the wall of one of the rooms of the Darbargah, now housing the Records Office, at Mangrol, the capital of the erstwhile state of the same name and now a taluka headquarters in Junagadh district. It was originally built up, when first noticed in the Corpus, into the left-side wall of the chopāta or a small square-room attached to the Gādī Gate of the same building. It is inscribed with eight lines of writing of which the first comprises Bismi'llāh and invocations to Allāh by His name and attributes, and the rest purport to be an order issued in the months of the year A. H. 805 (1403-04 A.D.) by His Highness Maliku’l-Umarā Mu’innu’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn Malik Malikshah, son of Badr, the muqta‘ of the region (shiq) of Soraṭ, for the prosperity of the qașba (town) of Mangrol and welfare of its inhabitants. The order aimed to discontinue forthwith the levy of a marriage-tax which the Hindu Community of the town was required to pay to the office of the Kotwāl of the town, and not to collect it in future. It is also stated therein that the step was taken to ensure salvation in this as well as the next world which shows that the act of remission was considered to be a pious duty.

This inscription is thus quite important. It supplies some information about an administrative matter and gives an idea of the nature of taxes that used to be levied by local officials. This order clearly shows that it was not a general tax levied by the State in the whole kindgom or even the province or region or district, but was one of the imposts which the local officials could or would, on their own, collect from the people, or from a particular community—as, for example, in this case, where the Hindus were supposed to pay it to the Kotwāl. Incidentally, this sort of levy seems to have been in vogue in some parts of the country. For example, we know of a similar tax being collected, again as a non-general item, in the time of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb in Rajastan, by the agents of the sich-ho’der, who was asked by the emperor to discontinue it as well as some more similar impo’s on the representation of the public.\footnote{Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1954-55, No. D, 138.} \footnote{Ibid., 1965-66, No. D, 330. This inscription is published in this issue (p. 70, infra).}
The style of writing is pleasing Naskh which is remarkable for the sharp and pointed outline of its letters and somewhat cursive flourish of its ligatures, and conforms to the calligraphy of a few contemporary epigraphs from Mangrol.¹

The text of this record as published earlier, is fairly correct.² The only mistake of consequence in its reading is that of Āhirān—the name of a Hindu sub-community—instead of Dinvān (meaning office); according to this faulty reading, the marriage-tax was being collected from the ‘Hindus and Āhirs’ which is even otherwise superfluous, as the community of Āhirs has been professing Hindu faith.

My reading of the text is as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate IV (a)*

(1) يا الله باسم الرحمن الرحيم الله معين الضعفاء
(2) در سال شهور سنة خمس وثمانونية ينتمي ملكه الامراء
(3) معين الدولة و الذين ملك ملكه بدر
(4) يديم الله مالله منقطع فوق قورة براء آباد
(5) قصبه مسگور و فراق خاطر خلق هر وجيء كي وقت
(6) تزويج هندوان در ديوان كوتوال قصبه مذكور مي
(7) ستاند دور كرده و كذاشته بعد ازين نستاند و هم همچنين
(8) بر خلق [مذكور معاف] دارند تانجات ديني و دنياوي پاشد

¹ Cf. Epigraphy Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1933 and 1954 pl. XVII a; ibid., 1962, pl. VIII a, IX, X a and b; etc.
² Corpus Inscriptionum Bhaavnagari (Bhavnagar, 1889), p. 19.
³ Ibid. omits.
⁴ Ibid. has.
⁵ Ibid. has.
⁶ Ibid. has.
⁷ Ibid. has.
⁸ Ibid. has.
⁹ Ibid. has.
¹⁰ Ibid. has.
AN EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY RECORD FROM GUJARAT

(a) Order, issued in A.H. 805, from Mangrol (p. 22)

Scale: \( \cdot 2 \)

A SHARQI INSCRIPTION FROM BIHAR

(b) Inscription of Husain Shâh, A.H. 892, Bihar Sharif (p. 26)

Scale: \( \cdot 26 \)
(1) O Allāh! In the name of the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh is the helper of the weak.

(2) In the months of the year (A.H.) five and eight hundred (A.H. 805-1403-04 A.D.), His Highness Malikul-Umarā.

(3) Mu’īnu’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn Malik Malikshah, (son of) Badr,

(4) may Allāh perpetuate his glories, mu‘qtī of the district (shiq) of Soraţh, for the prosperity of the

town (qa‘ba) of Mangalor and the peace of mind of (its) inhabitants, any amount that, at the time of

the marriage of the Hindus, in the office (Dīwān) of the Kotwāl of the said qa‘ba

was being taken, has removed and remitted. And hereafter, it should not be taken, and

likewise,

(8) the people should be excused (from its payment), so that the salvation of this world and

thereafter may be achieved.

The epigraph is also important from another point of view. It provides the name of one more
local official of high standing. Malik Malikshah is stated in the record to have been the mu‘qtī of
the shiq of Soraţh, by which, as it was done so until recently in official records too, is meant the
region comprising, roughly speaking, the region of the present district of Junagadh. Historical
records fail to take any notice of this official, except that he was one of the nobles to join the
rebellion of Maudūd against his nephew Ahmad Shāh I in A.H. 813. It will be remembered that
we have another epigraph at Mangrol itself which records the name of one more governor of the
shiq, namely Malik Badr. According to this, he was the mu‘qtī of the shiq in the year A.H.
803—barely two years prior to the date of the record under study. It is quite likely that
Malikshah of our inscription was a son of this Badr, whom, in that case, he succeeded to the shiq
of Soraţh as the mu‘qtī. This epigraph also, as in the case of other epigraphs from Mangrol,
indicates that Mangrol was the headquarters of the Soraţh shiq from the time of the later
Tughluqs; Junagadh, it may be remembered, was at the period not under the direct authority
of the Muslims.

It may also be observed that this epigraph not only fails to mention the name of the reigning
monarch, as in the case of the one under reference, but it goes one step further and does not mention
the name of the Gujarāt governor even. While I have attempted to explain elsewhere the omission
of the king’s name in my study of the other inscriptions from Mangrol, the absence of any reference
to the governor is somewhat intriguing. Attention is also invited to the fact that the name of the
mu‘qtī is mentioned along with the titles Mu‘īnu’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn; such titles of local officials,
as a rule, are not quoted in epigraphs. Could these facts be construed to mean that the Malikul-
Umarā cherished designs of defying the provincial authority, if not assumption of total independence! The fact that at about the date of this epigraph, the then powerful governor of Gujarat, namely Zafar Khān, was pre-occupied with serious difference of opinion with his son Tatār Khān, ultimately resulting in the assumption of kingship of Gujarat in A.H. 806 by the latter, even while Zafar Khān was alive, may also have prompted the muqṭī of Sorath to adopt this attitude. As has been seen above, he was already on the side of Maudūd who had rebelled against Ahmad Shāh I at the time of the latter’s accession after the death of Zafar Khān who had assumed kingship under the title Muḥaffar Shāh on the death of Tatār Khān in A.H. 806. There is another explanation for the titles used for Malik i-Umar Ā Malik Malīl Shāh, namely that, he might have been a man of high birth, closely related to Zafar Khān or so. But then, Zafar Khān’s own inscriptions of his pre-kingship period do not invest his name with any such title. Also, it would not explain the omission of Zafar Khān’s mention as governor of the whole province.
AN INSCRIPTION OF HUSAIN SHAH SHARQI FROM BIHAR

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

The credit of identifying the epigraph selected for study in this short article, goes, as in the case of the majority of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions from the province of Bihar, to the indefatigable energy of that veteran historian and scholar, Professor Dr. Sayyid Hasan Askari of Patna. By his unremitting efforts, the learned Professor has brought to light a number of interesting and historically important inscriptions from the distant parts of the State, and though in fact, there is no branch of history to which he has not made a substantial contribution, it is nothing but plain truth to say that his discoveries in the epigraphical field alone, are sufficient to earn him a prominent place in the niche of fame, which incidentally, he, like a true scholar, always tries to shun.

Professor Askari had told me quite some time ago that there once existed on the gate of the four-walled open Dargah of Ḥadżrat Shah Faḍlullah Gosā’in at Bihar Sharif in Patna district, a tablet bearing an inscription of the last Sharqi king, Ḥusain Shāh, which had since disappeared. In one of his learned papers, he had also published its reading, based upon its inked rubbing, which was taken when the tablet was still in its place, and which, he informed me, was preserved in the Patna Museum. It was only left for me to approach the then Curator of the Museum, Mr. S. A. Shere, who was kind enough to place the impression at my disposal. I am grateful to both Professor Askari and Mr. Shere for their co-operation and interest.

Judging from the rubbing, the non-extant tablet must have measured 108 by 23 cm. and contained a metrical text executed in relief in two lines. The inelegant handwriting and the close and somewhat indifferently shaped lettering rendered its decipherment extremely difficult, despite the fact that the rubbing has come out well and is fairly well preserved. It is not in the least surprising, therefore, that Professor Askari’s reading referred to above is somewhat incomplete. Even now, there are a few words which have defied either correct or complete decipherment. In any case, I am glad that it has been possible to decipher a considerable portion thereof and describe its purport to a fairly intelligible extent.

A cursory glance at the text is sufficient to reveal that the poetical fragment of four verses as contained in the present rubbing is not complete. The first hemistich begins rather abruptly, for the name of the king is mentioned without the usual prefatory phrase like ‘in the reign of’, ‘in the time of’ etc., which was perhaps contained in the preceding hemistich, now missing. Then again, if the text were complete, the extant eight hemistiches of the verses—which, it will be observed end in the rhyme ām—should have normally rhymed alternatively. But here, instead of the second, fourth, sixth and eighth hemistiches rhyming with one another, the first, third, sixth and eighth hemistiches end in the same rhyme. This is contrary to the usual metrical form, whereby the second, fourth, sixth and eighth hemistiches, with or without the first, should have the same rhyme. This proves beyond any doubt that some portion of the text is lost. Most probably, no portion on the left is missing, as the text seems to have concluded with the last hemistich in the second line with the prescribed rhyme, for were it not so, there would have been at least one

---

more couplet—two hemistiches—after that, and also a similar one in the corresponding part of the first line, but looking to the rhyme-pattern, this does not seem to be the case. Moreover, it will be observed that on this, i.e. the left side, the slab, as judged from the rubbing, is in fact. Therefore, some writing, originally inscribed on the right, is now missing; the edge of the tablet on this side itself points to the fact that the slab must have broken here. Lastly, the lost portion does not seem to have been more than one hemistich in each line, for were it so, it should have consisted of either three or five hemistiches in each line, and this again appears to be quite unlikely. A glance at the text quoted below, where the missing text is indicated by dots, will make the whole pattern clear.

The extant text contains the usual reference to the reigning king who is, in this case, none other than Hūsain Shāh Sharqī of Jaumpur, and seems to record the construction of a tomb. It also seems to mention one nobleman Malik-i-Sharq Malik Bhikh, with the title ‘Alā’ī-Daulat wa’bd-Dīn, but the context in which his name occurs is not clear beyond any doubt, due to the incomplete text. It is possible that the tomb was erected over his remains or, if one can reasonably surmise from the present text, as is more probable too, by him. The year was A. H. 892 and the month, if I have been able to interpret the text correctly, Muḥarram (Muḥarram 892-28 December 1486-26 January 1487).

The reading of the text as deciphered by me is quoted below:

**TEXT**

*Plate IV (b)*

سلاطن حسین خسرو شاه میاح و شام ان گنبد گردون سیروام

زیر فراز گشت در زمین صدار صفحکن ملک شرق پهیمه اندک

گریز راز در نگ زنگ ظلام (؟)

مزر علاء دولت دین گی کی (؟) عد ماه سال اول وز سال ماه بود

**TRANSLATION**

(1) ........................................... Sultan Hūsain, the king and the monarch of the Morn and Eve, through whom this earth has received great honour. This dome (i.e. tomb) dome of the green-coloured sky.

The commander, the destroyer of army, Malik-i-Sharq Bhikh who

(2) ........................................... He became ‘Alā’ī-Daulat (wa’bd- Dīn (lit. glory of the State and Religion) in the battlefield, by the point of his sword colour of darkness.
AN INSCRIPTION OF HUSAIN SHĀH SHARQĪ FROM BIHAR

From the month of the year, it was first (i.e. Muḥarram) and from the year of the era (1), it was the A. H. year eight hundred ninety (and) two, when it was completed (Muḥarram 892-28 December 1486-26 January 1487).

The inscription is historically important. It is the only record of the Sharqī king Husain Shāh found so far in Bihar. Even otherwise, so far only two records of his were known: both are found in the Kamaūj district of Uttar Pradesh.¹ There seems to be no valid reason to suppose that the tablet did not originally belong to Bihar Sharif, where it was found.² Therefore, it can be taken to testify to the acknowledgement of his authority at that time. As is known to students of history, the scene of the political activity, as far as the Sharqī monarch was concerned, had shifted to Bihar, which was, by 1486, the only region which had remained out of the Lodī control. In that year Bahlul Lodī had captured all the districts except Bihar.³ As was the case in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the province was on the verge of political instability, and was yet to remain so, at least for another decade, until Sikandar Lodī would ultimately break the Sharqī resistance and annex the province to his kingdom, causing Husain Shāh not only to lose his throne but ultimately his life in the province which had provided a temporary capital and military base to him during the last years of his heroic life, and final resting-place, after his death.⁴

The epigraph also provides the name of one more prominent nobleman of the Sharqīs, Malik Bihāk, who is not known from any other source. If he had governed Bihar on behalf of his master, as is very likely, our record would provide one more name in the list of Bihar's governors.

---

¹ *ARKE*, 1933-41, Nos. D, 329, 349, respectively dated A. H. 870 (1465 A.D.) and A. H. 881 (1476 A.D.).
² In this connection, it may be of interest to note that the other records of the Sharqī kings found in Bihar so far, also come from Bihar Sharif. These comprise two records each of Ibrahim (dated A. H. 807 and 835) and Mahmūd (both dated A. H. 839), and have been published in *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1962, pp. 42, 43, 50, 52.
A UNIQUE INSCRIPTION OF HUMAYUN FROM BULANDSHAHR

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

In the course of his official visit to certain places in Uttar Pradesh in 1962, Mr. A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant of our office, copied, among others, an important inscription of the time of the Mughal emperor Humayun, from Bulandshahr. This epigraph seems to have been noticed first in the gazetteer of the North Western Provinces of India as early as in about 1875, but as may be expected, the notice was not only brief, but also incomplete and incorrect as well. Subsequently, it was briefly described by Dr. A. Führer in his list, but his notice too was unsatisfactory. Likewise, more or less the same information was repeated in the district gazetteer of the United Provinces.

But when Mr. Kadiri, in normal course, showed me the impressions of the inscriptions he had got prepared, in his tour, including that of empress Radhyya, I was thrilled to find that the text mentioned a lady, who could be none other than emperor Babur’s spouse, as the governor. It is from the said impression that the record is edited here for the first time.

As it is, very few inscriptions of Humayun have come to light. But what makes this epigraph extremely interesting, is the fact that it refers itself to the governorship (‘umal) of a lady, who is none other than Humayun’s step-mother. In a way, therefore, it is a unique inscription, for we have not so far, in India, come across any other record set up during the time of the governorship of a lady. It is indeed a happy coincidence that the epigraph is found at a place which has also the privilege to possess another unique inscription, even though fragmentary, of the only lady to grace the throne of Delhi, namely, Radhyya.

The epigraphical tablet measures 118 by 33 cm. and is fixed on the central mihrāb of the Idgāh at Bulandshahr, a district headquarters in the state of Uttar Pradesh. The Idgāh was evidently constructed from the remains of a much older building, as there are built up in its wall, several fragmentary tablets, containing records of either Muhammad bin Sam or his two immediate successors.

Having remained constantly exposed to the diverse elements of nature, the stone has weathered, and the letters carved in relief thereon are slightly affected. Its two-line text commences with Bismillah and the First Creed, which are in Arabic, occupying the first line, while the historical matter that follows in the second line is in Persian and records the construction of a mosque in A. H. 945 (1538 A.D.) during the time of the governorment (‘umal) of Begam Dildar Ahkāča. The mosque is stated to have been built by Nikpay Khūn, son of Malik Jānlar (?). From this purport,

---

6 *Ibid.*, 1965-66, No. D, 563-80. None of these is in Kāfi characters, as stated in Führer, *op. cit*.
7 This is how I am now inclined to determine the name of the builder, which was deciphered as Nikbakht Khūn at the time of listing it in ARIE, 1962-63, No. D, 263.
A UNIQUE INSCRIPTION OF HUMAYUN FROM BULANDSHAH

which can be checked up with the illustration of the record, it should be clear that the name of the governor was not Bānū Bagam, nor was the builder's name Nek Bakht Khān. According to Nevill, the mosque referred to has nothing to do with the 'Idgāh, but that is open to question. Not in all the 'Idgāh inscriptions, the text differentiates between an 'Idgāh (for which the term namāzgāh is at times used) and a mosque. However, this aspect need not detain us here further.

The style of writing of the record is Nasīkh, which is remarkable for its somewhat angular sweeps in the first line. But the calligraphical style in the second line is more or less the same as generally found in contemporary records, having retained, however, in the case of some letters the vestige of the peculiarity just mentioned.

My reading of the text is as under:

TEXT

Plate V (a)

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

(2) In the time of the reign of His Majesty Muḥammad Humayūn Badshah Ghāzi and during the days of the government of Begam Dildār Aghācha, the builder of this mosque is Nikpay Khān, son of Malik Jānlar (7). It was completed in the month of Rajab, year (A.H.) 945 (November-December 1538).

The above text mentions, apart from the name of the emperor, two more personages: the builder of the mosque and the person in whose administrative charge ('amal) Bulandshahr then lay. The former's name as inscribed in the text reads like Nikpay Khān. The letters in this portior having lost their sharpness, the reading is not absolutely above doubt; it can be read as Nikpay Khān too. But between the letters k and kh of the name, there appears to be either b or p and also y, two dots of which are placed within the curve of the letter d of the preceding word. I am therefore almost certain that the name intended is Nikpay Khān. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to establish his identity and trace any details of his life from sources available to me. It can only be guessed, albeit quite reasonably, that he might have deputised for the Begam or was a trusted official.

Still greater is the difficulty in establishing the correct name of the builder's father, which is mentioned along with the title Malik, indicative, beyond any doubt, of his status. It seems to be a central Asian or Turkish name. The first syllable looks like either جا or جها or جما, but it is most

1 Atkinson, op. cit.
2 Ibid.; Führer, op. cit.; Nevill, op. cit.
3 Nevill; op. cit.
probably جا only, as the stroke appearing as the upper portions of either ح or محمد is nothing but the left (i.e. initial) portion of the letter ج dropping down vertically and joined with a slight rightward flourish to the letter ِ. If so, the name could be جانلز (Jânlâz), or if we take the dot of ع to be of رجب transcribed just above, it could be جانلر (Jânlâr). In the alternative, جهانگیر (Jâhângîr) also suggests itself, but the letter ك has no distinguishing stroke which is given at every other such place in the text, and moreover, there are no dots for the letter ى, while dots are provided in each such case. I, therefore, tentatively read the name as Jânlâr.

But it is the other personage mentioned in the text which, as stated above, invests the epigraph with far greater importance. She is Begam Dildâr Agâcha, who has had the unique distinction of being the governor of the place or having held it in fief. No other lady, in inscriptions, and perhaps in recorded history of India too, is known to have held such charge independently, and there is, fortunately, no difficulty in establishing her identity, as her name is quite familiar to the students of Mughal history.

Begam Dildâr Agâcha was emperor Bâbur’s wife and Humâyûn’s step-mother of whom, among the total five children, Mirzâ Hindâl and Gulbadan Begam were born. Inexplicably, she is just mentioned by Bâbur.1 Whatever few details are available about her are to be found in her daughter Gulbadan’s Humâyûn Nâma2 where too, one would have looked for more particulars. It is unfortunate that these references do not disclose much of her life, though they reveal her as a pleasing, good and sensible woman.3

More surprising is the fact that of all the persons, Bâbur and Gulbadan do not provide any information about her early life or her parentage. The suggestion that this could be due to her non-royal birth or low social status, has been traced to two facts. Firstly, she is usually styled (in the Turk original of Bâbur’s memoirs and by others) as Agâcha, the term used in our epigraph too. Incidentally, the epigraph determines the spelling of the appellation of the royal consort and settles once for all that the cognomen is Agâcha as is correctly used in the Akbar Nâma of Abul-Faḍl in preference to the variant Āghâ.4 The exact connotation of this term, in the words of Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, the translator of both Bâbur’s Turkish memoirs and Gulbadan’s work, is difficult to establish, but she defines it as ‘a lady, but not a begam, by birth’. The use of this term in contradiction to Begam is usually taken to imply low birth, according to Mrs. Beveridge who, however, thinks that it does not necessarily do so; it may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious.5 To use her words, the term “as used by Bâbur and Gulbadan, supports Pavet de Courteille’s6 definition of a ‘lady’ in contradistinction to a ‘begam’, and does not convey reproach to the woman as its occasional rendering (concubine) does.”7

The other fact which may be taken to suggest low status of Dildâr Begam, according to Mrs. Beveridge, again, is Mâham Begam’s forcible adoption of Dildâr’s children Hindâl and Gulbadan Begam in 1519 and 1523 respectively. According to her, ‘in some cases which are mentioned by Bâbur, adoptions were made by a childless wife of high degree from a slave or servant, but no

---

4 Cf. ibid., p. 225.
5 Gulbadan, op. cit. (Eng. tr.), p. 3.
6 Translator of Bâbur’s memoirs in French.
7 Ibid., p. 225.
such reason seems behind those from Dil-dār.1 Mrs. Beveridge also thinks that 'she is spoken of in terms which preclude the supposition that (as Ḥaidar2 puts it in another place), she was outside the circle of distinction.'

From the above, it is clear that Mrs. Beveridge's observations on the parentage or the early status of Dildār Begam are rambling and inconclusive. It must, however, be said to her credit that she has not made any secret about her inability to decide about the low or non-royal parentage of Dildār Aghācha or otherwise. She is not only hesitant, but is rather sceptical about both, though she has just put forth some suggestions to show that she probably came from a high, though not a royal, family. One of these is that she was perhaps of Ṣirān Shāhī birth,4 and while doing so, she has suggested her identification with Ṣāliḥa Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mirzā Ṣirān Shāhī.5

In fairness to Mrs. Beveridge, it must be acknowledged that the views on the subject could not be definite in view of the scant data available. Not only that, but it stands to her credit that she is the only person to have devoted some attention to this problem, which, unfortunately, no body else seems to have followed up.

Now what I regard as a very probable clue to her early career, if not birth, is found in the Wāqiāt-ī-Mushtaqī of the contemporary Shaikh Rizqullāh with the poetical name, Mushtaqī. In the section of this book dealing with the Malwa king Nasīru'd-Din, one Dildār Aghācha6 is mentioned as a woman of great learning, poetic talent, charm and grace; she had received, on account of her accomplishments, the title of the nadima-ī-majīs (boon-companion) from that monarch. Rizqullāh also quotes one hemisticch composed impromptu by Dildār, on a particular occasion, and goes on to report that the king was so much elated with the extemperate composition that he openly acknowledged that were not Dildār Aghācha a woman, he would have handed over his kingdom to her, and invested her with administrative powers.

In the confusion that followed the death of Nasīru'd-Din in 1510, we are further informed, Dildār went to Agra, along with three other eminent Malwa noblemen, renowned alike for ability and learning. At Agra, she was introduced by Shaikh Sa'id tc the Lodi king Sultān Sikandar. The latter, though greatly impressed by her accomplishments, advised her to lead a homely life. Disappointed, she left Agra.7

After this, she is not heard of any more. It is not known where she went, but it is not unlikely that she might have come into contact with Bābur, and the latter, a man of literary and artistic talents himself, having been impressed by her attainments, might have married her. Or, Bābur, who is reported, by some historians like Ḥājjī Dahir and 'Abdu'llāh, to have visited Agra some time during the reign of Sikandar in the garb of a Qalandar,8 might have cultivated a friendship and liking for her and took her with him to Kabul.

---

1 Gulbadan, op. cit., p. 9.
2 Ḥājjī Ḥaidar Daughštā, author of the Tāriḵ-ī-Raṣḥādī.
3 Gulbadan, op. cit. (Eng. tr.), p. 9.
5 Gulbadan, op. cit. (Eng. tr.), p. 277.
6 As the manuscript of this hitherto unpublished important work was not available to me, I could only consult the Hindi translation of its extracts made by Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi (Uhtar Taṣmār-kālīn Bāhārut, Part II, Aligarh, 1959), from the London Manuscript. The apellation is cited by him (ibid., pp. 140-41), as Ḡācha, which must have been so in the London manuscript too, since Dr. Hamidud-Din, utilising the concerned portion of the same manuscript, also uses that form (Hamidud-Din, 'The Khaljīs of Malwa and the Sultans of Delhi', Journal of Indian History, vol. XL (1962), p. 756).
7 Rizvi, op. cit., pp. 140-41.
Be what it may, the circumstantial evidence in favour of the identification of this accomplished lady with the wife of Bābur is too strong to be easily brushed aside. Firstly, the name of both the personalities, even to the appellation Aghācha, is identical. Secondly, the time of Dildār’s departure from Agra coincides with the probable time of her marriage with Bābur, some time between 1509 and 1519, as determined by Mrs. Baveridge on various considerations. And this is the time when she could have met Bābur or gone to Central Asia to be taken as his wife. Thirdly, and this is no less significant, the proposed identification would explain the veil of darkness that was allowed to envelope the descent and parentage or even earlier life of Dildār Begam by Bābur, her own daughter Gulbadan and Mughal historians. Otherwise, it is difficult to believe that in different circumstances, Bābur and Gulbadan Begam, who are normally wont to give details, would have so singularly refrained from doing so in her case. In short, it would look almost certain that the boon companion of the Malwa Sultan later on became the consort of the Mughal emperor.

Of course, a question may be asked why Shaikh Rizqu’llāh who was a contemporary of Dildār Aghācha did not refer to the identification of which he must have been, indeed, aware. His silence on this point, it can be reasonably argued on the other hand, can be taken to be in favour of this identification. Writing as he was in the time of the Mughals, he naturally could not be expected to publicise the identification, and even then, being contemporarily obvious, he was not withholding the information from his immediate readers. And that is perhaps why—and no other satisfactory explanation seems plausible—none of the writers of the Mughal period mentions this great lady in the context of her early career at Mandu.

In any case, there should be little doubt that the dignitary referred to in our epigraph is none other than Bābur’s wife. Our epigraph, thus, furnishes a very important and also quite interesting information about her. It also shows the regard and affection Humāyūn seems to have had for his step-mother—thus corroborating the statements of her daughter Gulbadan—on whom he had conferred the fief or governorship of Bulandshahr. Some particulars of her career in the time of Humāyūn’s reign, before and after the date of our record, are given in the narrative of her daughter Gulbadan Begam, and the same need not be repeated here.2

The inscription, as has been already pointed out in the preceding lines, also settles, once for all, the correct spelling of the cognomen of Dildār. It was Aghācha and not Āghā, or Ghācha as is recorded in the London manuscript of Mustaḥqī’s Wāqi’āt and some other works. Another important point about the epigraph, though of a corroborative value, is that it supplies one more instance of the style of writing the numeral 4 and, more particularly, 5. The numeral 5, the way it is written here, has been erroneously taken by some scholars, to represent either 4 or 6. This is not correct, as has been shown by me elsewhere.3 Here too, the date-figure clearly shows that it is certainly not 4, which in the second digit is differently written, nor could it be 6, as that would make the dato A. H. 946, the year in which Humāyūn was compelled to retire in exile.

---

1 Bābur, op. cit., p. 689, n. 5.
2 Gulbadan, op. cit., pp. 20, 29, 32, 38, 43, 45, 47, 52, 62, 76; see also index under Dildār Begam in Gulbadan, op. cit. (Eng. tr.).
3 A detailed discussion on this subject will be found in EIAPS, 1967, p. 63.
A SUR INSCRIPTION FROM CENTRAL RAJASTHAN

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

As stated elsewhere in this issue (p. 2, supra), I recently had an opportunity to examine and copy a number of existing, but hitherto unnoticed, inscriptions at Nagaur, the former capital of the Khânzâda chiefs and now a district headquarters in Rajasthan. These include the records of the Ghori, Mamlûk, Khalji, Tughluq, Khânzâda, Sûr and Mughal dynasties, and of them, the Khalji and Tughluq epigraphs were published by me in the previous issue, and the only Ghori record has already been studied in the preceding lines (p. 3, supra), where references to the works giving the history of Nagaur and its antiquities, inscriptions, etc., will also be found. Here, I propose to study one more epigraph from this town belonging to the time of the Sûr king Islam Shâh (1545-54).

It is not that our inscription is the only Sûr record to be found here; as a matter of fact, three records of this dynasty—set up in the time of Islam Shâh himself from this place are known. Therefore, strictly speaking, it is not that our record supplies new information about the political status of Nagaur in the Sûr period, though unfortunately most of the writers on the subject, including eminent historians like Shri Ram Sharma and A. L. Srivastava, fail to take notice of this important epigraphical evidence. The value of this and the above-mentioned three records, in this aspect too, being corroborative and authentic, cannot be overlooked, and it is indeed a pity that these epigraphs should continue to be ignored by the writers on the history of Rajputana. For example, it is generally believed that Sher Shâh’s death gave Mâdeva his opportunity and by the end of the year 1546, he was again lord and master of Jodhpur and Marwar. This can only be partially correct.

But what we want to stress here is the fact that the inscription is important from another point: it helps to establish the identity of a saintly figure of Nagaur, who seems to have been respected alike by the Hindu and Muslim communities of the town and who is mentioned in two more inscriptions, one from Nagaur itself and the other from Delhi, as we will have occasion to mention presently.

1 A Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, vol. XXIII (Calcutta, 1887), pp. 64-72 (account by Mr. H. B. W. Garrick). Mr. Garrick was the first to describe Nagaur and its antiquities, and he also briefly reported a few inscriptions from that place. It was, however, left to Dr. M. A. Chaghtai of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, to make a systematic study of the inscriptions of Nagaur and other places in the erstwhile Jodhpur state (Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica (EIM), 1949-50, pp. 18-33). But his study of the Nagaur inscriptions (ibid., pp. 35-53) was confined to the records of the Sûra and the Mughals. Chaghtai does not seem to have been aware of the record under study.


3 Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1967, pp. 4-8, 10-11.

4 EIM, 1949-50, pp. 36, 37, 38.

5 For the history of Nagaur during the pre-Mughal period, please see Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, 'Nagaur, a forgotten kingdom', Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, vol. II, nos. 1-2 (1940), pp. 166-83.

6 Sri Ram Sharma, Studies in Medieval Indian History (Sholapur, 1950), p. 186; A. L. Srivastava, Sher Shâh and his Successors (Agra, 1950), pp. 50-51, etc.

7 Ibid.
The inscriptional tablet is now in the custody of Pir Baghlu'd-Din Suhrawardi, the sayyāda-
nas̄hin of the khānqāh, at Nagaur, of the famous thirteenth century saint Qādir Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī, who lies buried at Delhi. The circumstances in which the tablet came into his possession were thus related to me by him. It originally belonged to the old building of the Madrasa, now replaced by a new building housing a school run by the local Muslims, situated inside the Nahār-Pole (Gate). A few years back, some unknown persons removed and threw it in the river thinking that they had disposed of it permanently. But the present custodian of the tablet somehow managed to recover it. It will be seen from the text cited below that the epigraph refers only to a mosque in the khānqāh of the saint. On the other hand, may be argued that the Madrasa where the said slab existed before its theft, was part of the khānqāh-complex. No statement in this regard can be conclusive.

Be what it may, it is a matter of satisfaction that an interesting document has been saved from destruction, and as a result, it has been possible not only to place the contents of the record for the benefit of historians and scholars, but also to identify beyond doubt one saintly person whose name had occurred, as stated above, in two more records. I am thankful to Mr. Suhrawardi for his having acceded to my request for the examination of the epigraphical tablet lying in his house and preparation of its rubbing, particularly at a rather late hour.

The slab measuring 58 by 43 cm. contains a text of four lines in Persian, which records the construction of a mosque inside the khānqāh of His Holiness Shaikh Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī Suhrawardi, by Miyān Khwāja, son of Shukr (or Shakar) Bata'ī in 1552. It also mentions His Holiness Shaikh'ul-Masāhiḥ Shaikh Sulaimān, as the spiritual successor of Qādir Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn. Lastly, the name of the king occurs in the last line, but part of the slab being broken at the left corner, the name of Iṣlām Shāh is lost, and of that of his father Sher Shāh too, only the initial Sh has survived.

The style of writing is Nashk which in itself is of no particular merit, but its execution is quite neat, and to a certain extent pleasing too, despite the uneven size of letters in different parts and lack of proper alignment. Its calligraphy is almost the same as that of another inscription from this town, also mentioned as Shaikh Sulaimān, to which we shall refer in the following lines.

The text has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate V (b)*

(1) بلآکرد این مسجد در خاطرات بلندی حضرت شیخ حمیدالدین نکوری سهروردی

(2) صاحب سجاده ایشان بلندی حضرت شیخ المشاہد شیخ سلیمان

---


2 *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pl. XVI a.
HUMAYUN'S RECORD

(a) Inscription mentioning Babur's wife, Bulandshahr (p. 29)

(b) Record of Islam Shah, dated A.H. 959, Nagraur (p. 34)

(c) Epitaph of H. Qadi Hamidu'd-Din Nagraur, Mehrauli, Delhi (p. 37)
A SUR INSCRIPTION FROM CENTRAL RAJASTHAN

(3) ين شيخ بيده بتوتيق الله تعالى سباق خواجا بن نشكر بنughty a غرة دج بسه تع و خمسين و تمتعا

(3) در عهد سلطان السراجين الواثق باتائيد الرحمان أبو العظيم (سليم شا، نشاط) شا [شير شا]

سلطان

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the ḥānqāh of His Holiness, Ḥāḍrat Shāikh Ḥamdūd-Dīn Nāgaurī Suhrwardī,

(2) (during the tenure of his) sajjāda (lit. carpet, i.e. holder of the carpet—spiritual successor), His Holiness Ḥāḍrat Shāikh al-Masāḥīkh Shāikh Sulaimān,

(3) son of Shāikh Bhīkh, through the guidance of the Exalted Allāh, by Miyān Khwājā, son of Shukr (or Shakar) Batawān (on) the first of the month of Rajab, year (A.H.) nine and fifty and nine hundred (1 Rajab 959-23 June 1552),

(4) in the time of the king of kings, the reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Abu'l-Muṣtafa Qādir Islām Shāh, son of Shāker Shāh, Sultan.

It is not possible to establish the identity of the builder, Miyān Khwājā. His father's name can be read either as Shukr or Shakar, but the first form is preferable. That Miyān Khwājā was an Afghān is clear from his clan-name Batawān. The honorific appellation Miyān, prefixed to his name, not only points to that too, but it may also be taken to indicate sufficiently high social or official status.

The chief importance of the epigraph, as stated above, lies in that it furnishes extremely useful information about Shāikh Sulaimān, about whose identity, nothing was known so far from sources other than epigraphical. Even the aforementioned Pir Baghīru'd-Dīn, who is his direct descendant both in lineage and spiritual succession, could not supply any information in the course of my first visit. When I visited Nāgaur for a second time in 1966, I requested him to show the Family Tree (shajara) in his possession. On consulting it, it was found that while Pir Baghīru'd-Dīn is twelfth in descent from Shāikh Sulaimān, mentioned in our epigraph, the latter is a thirteenth degree descendant of Qādir Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgauri. One of the sons of Shāikh Sulaimān was Shāikh Bāyazīd, who is believed to have been buried in the Mahalla-Suhrwardiyān inside Nahār-Pole at Nāgaur, and this appears to be correct, for an inscription on a nearby mosque states that the said mosque was constructed in the ḥānqāh of Shāikh Bāyazīd in A.H. 997 (1588-9 A.D.). Shāikh Sulaimān himself is locally believed to be buried in the enclosure of the Tomb of Pir Zuhūru'd-Dīn Ahmad, a son of Qādir Hamīdu'd-Dīn, which is situated in the Loharpura locality of the town.

1 I was also allowed to consult, on request, a copy of the Family Tree in possession of Pirzāda 'Abdu'l-Ghānī Shāhīb, the sajjāda-nāga of Ḥāḍrat Tārikh Shāhīb (Hamīdu'd-Dīn Shāft Sāḥī Nāgaurī) at Nāgaur. It varies from the copy mentioned above in one or two places. For example, one name is made into two: Shāikh Masā'īkh Baghīru'd-Dīn Bhīkh of the first copy appears as Shāikh Bhīkhī (son of Shāikh Zuhūru'd-Dīn Bhīkh in the other. But the main point of difference is that in his copy, Pir Baghīru'd-Dīn is stated to be a descendant of Shāikh Sulaimān through the latter's son Shāikh Mustafā, while in the other copy, he is shown as having descended from his other son Bāyazīd.


3 For the inscriptions from this tomb, see ARIE, 1965-66, No. D, 358-61.
The saint Shaikh Sulaimān is not an unknown figure in epigraphical research. So far, we had two epigraphs mentioning him: one from Nagaur itself, which is now in the State Museum, Jodhpur, dated about four months earlier than the one under study and the other, at Delhi, set up in A.H. 974, on the tomb of his ancestor Qāḍī Ḥamīḍu’d-Dir. While both these epigraphs furnish interesting details about him, it is only the present one which discloses his identity and throws light on his connection with the saintly order.

It may be recalled that the Nagaur inscription under reference, which was published in a previous issue of this journal, furnishes an extremely interesting example of the dispensation of justice and of religious tolerance too, and can, therefore, be described here briefly. There was a Jaina 佁rāl (religious building), standing in the name of Bhattārī Kīrā Chand, which seems to have been occupied either for public or private use. When, by whom and under what circumstances this had happened, is not mentioned in the said record which states that through the intercession of Shaikh Sulaimān, the building was vacated and handed over to the original owners, under the orders of Majlis-i-ʿAlī Yūsuf Daulat Kūn Sir, who was most probably the governor. This incident, which took place in February 1552, testifies, on one hand, to the broad outlook marked by high traditions of tolerance as practiced by Muslim divines, and on the other, indicates the extent of respect in which the Shaikh was held by the authorities and also by the non-Muslim residents of the town. Very likely, he was approached to use his good offices in the matter; even so, it would illustrate the great confidence and faith which his sense of justice and uprightness must have inspired in the minds of the local Jaina community.

It is surprising that the inscription just referred to did not contain any information that would throw light on Shaikh Sulaimān’s identity. It is only from the record under study,—apart from the Family Tree mentioning barely his name—that we know for the first time that he was the spiritual successor of Qāḍī Ḥamīḍu’d-Dir and the head of the Nagaur khanqah. No other information about him is available from any source. But Shaikh Sulaimān was alive at least until A.H. 974 (1566-67 A.D.), in which he constructed the tomb of Qāḍī Ḥamīḍu’d-Dir at Delhi, as stated in its inscription, described in the following Appendix.

**Appendix**

The epigraph just referred to in the last paragraph is inscribed on the foot-side of the bottom tier of the sarcophagus of Ḥaḍrat Qāḍī Ḥamīḍu’d-Dir Nagauri, at Mahrauli, Delhi. To the left of the passage running east to west, which leads into the large enclosure on its right, marking the resting place of his spiritual preceptor, Ḥaḍrat Qūṭbu’d-Dir Bakhtyār Kāki, is the open three walled enclosure on a high terrace, the fourth side of which, towards the north, overlooking his master’s grave, is wide open. The bottom tier of the grave is of marble, and the upper one, of granite, which suggests that it is a later addition. A low marble railing set under a square chhatri supporting a flat roof on twelve pillars, which appears to be comparatively modern, surrounds the sarcophagus. From this, it would appear that nothing but the bottom tier remains of the original construction. The surface of this tier is inscribed with religious texts in beautiful Thulḥī letters on three, i.e. north, east, and west sides, and with the historical record on the remaining, i.e. southern or foot-side.

---

4 The text on the north side comprises Qur’an, Chapter X, verses 62-63, on the west, ibid., Chapter XLVIII, verse 1 and part of verse 2, and on the east, a Tradition of the Prophet.
A worn-out rubbing of the historical inscription was found among the old impressions in my office, but as the record is not noticed in the List prepared by the late-lamented Maulvi Zafar Hasan, who has otherwise described the grave of Qāḍī Hamīdʿ-ʾDīn, I was doubtful about its survival. That it did once belong to the tomb was never in doubt, since Thoma Willian, Beale, and following him, Sayyid Ahmad Khān and others, have cited its reading in their works. But I feared that it had perhaps disappeared some time after they wrote or the above rubbing was taken. Even Mr. Abdul-Qādīr Siddiqi, our mechanic for taking impressions, who was once sent to ascertain its existence and prepare its rubbing, reported that there was none. But subsequently, in the course of one of my visits to Delhi, I could ascertain that the epigraph is in situ.

The text is engraved on the foot-side half of the bottom tier except where the surface is overlaid by the next upper tier. It consists of two parts, one recording the date of the death of the saint, which is stated to be the night of Monday, 11th Ramāḍān 641 (22nd February 1244) and the second that of the construction of his tomb by Shaikh Sulaimān, son of Bikh (Bhikh) in A.H. 974 (1566-67 A.D.). The style of writing is Naskh, which though quite artistic, still suffers in comparison with the excellent Thulth of religious texts mentioned above.

The text of this epigraph published first by Beale and subsequently quoted by Sayyid Ahmad Khān and Bashirud-Dīn Ahmad, as stated above, is incorrect in many respects. According to them, for example, the tomb was built in A.H. 774, and the saint had expired in A.H. 695.

The text, as deciphered by me, reads as follows.

**TEXT**

Plate V (c)

(1) هذا مرقد المنور قطب الأولياء في الأئم و غوث الانتقاء بالاستحاق الامام العالم العايد
(2) الولى الفاضل الكامل شيخ حميد الدين نورالله مرقد عمر هذا الروضة خادم القمرا
(3) سليمان بن شيخ بيكه في سنة اربع و سبعين و تسعمية

(b) Right margin.

(1) وفات حضرت شيخ
(2) المحققين و قطب
(3) العارفين ساكن بارگه
(4) قدس و طائف كعين ائس

---

3 Are, 1904-05, No. D, 23.
4 See foot-note No. 2.
5 The spaces occupied by a, b and c are 20 by 17 cm., 20 by 17 cm., and 105 by 17 cm. respectively.
(c) Left margin.

(1) در درا حقيقت جوهر كان طريقت
(2) مجيب حضرت محمد حميد
(3) بلدي شيخ محمد حميد نوراالت مرقده
(4) در شب دو شره يازدهم ماه رمضان سنة ٧٣٧ جاه الشمس

الحمل ذالك اليل

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) This is the illuminated grave of the Quṭb (lit. pole-star) among the saints of the horizons (i.e. universe) and the Ghauth (lit. helper) among the pious by right, the learned and the devout Imām,

(2) the accomplished and the perfect saint, Shaikh Ḥamīdū’d-Dīn, may Allāh illuminate his grave. This mausoleum was constructed by the servant of the mendicants, Sulaimān, son of Shaikh Bīkh, in the year (A.H.) four and seventy and nine hundred (A.H. 974=1566-67 A.D.).

(b & c) The death of His Holines, the Shaikh among those who have attained the Truth and the Quṭb among the Gnostics, the resident in the audience-hall of Purity and the visitor of (lit. circumlocutor at) the Ka’ba of Proximity, the pearl of the ocean of Truth, the gem of the mine of Spiritual Path, the beloved of His Holiness Prophet Muhammad the praised one, His Reverence Shaikh Muḥammad, (the) Ḥamīd, may Allāh illuminate his grave! took place in the night of Monday, the eleventh of the month of Ramaḍān, year (A.H.) 641 (11 Ramaḍān 641=22 February 1244). The sun has come into the Aries on this night.⁴

The importance of this record is considerable, and that is why, it is all the more inexplicable why it has not received any detailed notice so far. We have already seen that it furnishes a later date in the career of Shaikh Sulaimān. Incidentally, the name of Shaikh Sulaimān’s father is given in the text as Bīkh, but the correct name seems to be Bhikh, as given in the Nagaur record studied in the preceding lines and the two copies of the Family Tree mentioned above.⁶

But here, it is intended to stress its evidence on the date of the death of the saint, which is differently quoted in hagiographical works. The fourteenth-century author Mīr Khurd, perhaps the earliest to mention him, as far as I have been able to ascertain from the material at my disposal, does not specify the date; he merely states that Qaḍī Ḥamīdū’d-Dīn survived, by ten years, his spiritual preceptor Khwāja Bakhtyār Kākī, who had expired on the 14th Rabi’I 633.⁸ This would place the Qaḍī’s death in A.H. 643. This is also the date given by Muḥammad Ghauth, the early seventeenth-century hagiologist, who quotes 29 Ramaḍān 643.⁷ According to Abūl-Faḍl, he

---

1 In Sāfī hagiocracy, a Quṭb occupies the first place.
2 In Sāfī hagiocracy, a Ghauth occupies the second place.
3 Ḥamīdū’d-Dīn was the title and Muḥammad, the name of the saint.
4 Part of this phrase, upto Aries, were it preceded by the conjunction w (i.e. and), would yield 641, the Hija year of death.
6 Mīr Khurd, op. cit., p. 56.
7 Faḍl-i-Aḥmad, op. cit., p. 48.
died on the night of 5 Ramaḍān 644.\footnote{Abūl-Faḍl, op. cit., vol. II (Calcutta, 1877), p. 217.} Dārā Shukhūh, who speaks of his having paid a visit to the tomb, also gives A.H. 643.\footnote{Dārā Shukhūh, op. cit., p. 113.} Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Ḥaq Muḥammad writing after him gives a much earlier date, viz. A.H. 605; at least, the printed edition of his work has it both in figure and words.\footnote{‘Abdu’l-Ḥaq, op. cit., p. 38.} On the other hand, Ghulām Sarwar who wrote in the last century, quotes a much later date, viz. 10 Rabi‘ II or 9 Ramaḍān 678.\footnote{Ghulām Sarwar, op. cit., p. 312.} Beale, on the authority of the Mukhбирu’l-Wāṣilin has A.H. 695, which he gives in his reading of the record too.\footnote{Beale, op. cit.}

There is, thus, no unanimity about the date of the saint’s death, and therefore, to that extent, the statement of our record on that subject acquires an added significance. It is also to be borne in mind that chronologically the present record is the earliest document to specify the date of the death, since the only earlier reference of some purport on the subject by Mir Khurd, which is the nearest in time to the saint,\footnote{Before Mir Khurd, Barani, Tārtīb-i-Furūs (Calcutta, 1862), p. 346 and ‘Īsā, Futūḥu’s-Salāfā (Madras, 1948), pp. 117-20, mention the saint, but the former only in connexion with his works and the latter in connexion with the event of the opposition of the orthodox Qāḍī to his vocation of Samā’ and the discussion on the subject between the two parties in the presence of Ilutmish.} gives only the year, as seen above; the next authority Muḥammad Ghāthṭi, is later than our record, though it gives not only the same year as Mir Khurd, but in addition the day and the month.

Evidently, the dates given by ‘Abdu’l-Ḥaq, Ghulām Sarwar and Beale are either too early or too late. That the learned Qāḍī had survived his master is more or less an established fact; and likewise, he did not live until A.H. 678—forty five years after the death of the latter, as is also more or less certain from the statements made by Mir Khurd and also by the Delhi saint Ḥaḍrat Nizāmud-Dīn Auliya quoted by the former as well as by Ḥasan Sijsi.\footnote{‘Hasan, op. cit., p. 188.}

Therefore, the question only remains about the other two dates : A.H. 643 or A.H. 641. It only stands to reason to infer that the date quoted in the inscription must be correct, since the inscription was caused to be engraved by the saint’s spiritual heir and descendant Shaikh Sulasūmān himself, who can be reasonably expected to possess the correct information. Then, it will be noticed that the text records the date to the day of the week, and it is perfectly regular. All these point to the fact that the date mentioned in the record is correct.

Qāḍī Ḥamūdud-Dīn, one of the most talented and scholarly among the early Sufi saints of India, was a spiritual disciple of Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Qutbudd-Dīn Baḵhtyār Kākī and was held in high esteem both by the latter’s successors, Ḥaḍrat Farīdu’d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar and Ḥaḍrat Nizāmud-Dīn Auliya. He was well-versed in Arabic and Persian, and has to his credit a number of works on mysticism. But his greatest contribution to the Indian mysticism is his pioneer role in popularising Samā’. His son Maulānā Nasīhil’ud-Dīn and grandson, on daughter’s side (nabīsah)

\footnote{Some details about his ṭaḥākīr and sayings, titles of and extracts from his works, etc., will be found in Ḥasan Sijsi, op. cit., pp. 53, 83, 162, 239-41, etc.; Mir Khurd, op. cit., pp. 343, 472, 476-77, 501-02, 507, 519-20, 526, 676, etc. A modern estimate of his work and mission will be found in Khaliq Ahmād Nizāmī, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the thirteenth century (Aligarh, 1961), pp. 153, 198, 220, 221, 266-67, 269, 278-81; 302-03.}

\footnote{‘Īsā, Futūḥu’s-Salāfā (Madras, 1948), pp. 117-20, mention the saint, but the former only in connexion with his works and the latter in connexion with the event of the opposition of the orthodox Qāḍī to his vocation of Samā’ and the discussion on the subject between the two parties in the presence of Ilutmish.}

\footnote{‘Īsā, Futūḥu’s-Salāfā (Madras, 1948), pp. 117-20, mention the saint, but the former only in connexion with his works and the latter in connexion with the event of the opposition of the orthodox Qāḍī to his vocation of Samā’ and the discussion on the subject between the two parties in the presence of Ilutmish.}

\footnote{‘Īsā, Futūḥu’s-Salāfā (Madras, 1948), pp. 117-20, mention the saint, but the former only in connexion with his works and the latter in connexion with the event of the opposition of the orthodox Qāḍī to his vocation of Samā’ and the discussion on the subject between the two parties in the presence of Ilutmish.}
Maulanā Sharafu’d-Din find mention in the malfūsāt of Ḥaḍrat Niẓāmu’d-Din Auliya.1 His grandson Bahā’u’d-Din, commonly known as Rāja, is quoted by Storey, as the author of Āṣūru’l-Mashāikh.2

It may strike one as a little odd that the tomb of Qāḍī Ḥamīdu’d-Din stands on a terrace at a considerably higher level than that of his master. In this connexion, we may note what the printed edition of Mr. Khurd’s work has to say in this regard. According to it, Qāḍī Ḥamīdu’d-Din had willed that he should be buried at the foot of his master. This was not liked by his heirs, but not daring to defy his will, they buried him at the foot-side of the grave of the master alright, but on a higher terrace. The same information is repeated in Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Ḥaq’s work.3

If that be the case, the grave must have been constructed at least twice. However, we cannot rule out a possibility that the statement occurring in the printed text of Mr. Khurd’s work is an interpolation either by the scribe or by the publisher, who copied out in the text the statement of Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Ḥaq. In that case, the latter must have referred to the construction of the tomb mentioned in our record. A final word on the subject can perhaps be pronounced when a pre-seventeenth-century manuscript of Mr. Khurd’s work is consulted.

---

1 Hanum, op. cit., pp. 174, 188-89; Mir Khurd, op. cit., p. 343.
‘ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANKAPUR

By A. A. Kadiri

Epigraphical Assistant

Bankapur, situated in 14° 55' N. and 75° 15' E., is described as the most important fortress in Karnatak in the medieval period. Under Aurangzeb also, it was the headquarters of a surkār.

At the time of the establishment of the Bahmani dynasty in Deccan, Bankapur belonged to the Vijayanagara king Harihara I, and had resisted the efforts of the first two Bahmani sovereigns ‘Alā’ū’d-Din Ḥasan (1347-58) and Mūhammad Shāh I (1358-75) to annex it to their empire. Even active efforts by Muhājīd Shāh (1375-78) in 1377 for the subjugation of Bankapur fort and the country around, do not seem to have met with complete success. It was only during the reign of Firūz Shāh (1397-1423), according to Firīştā, that Bankapur became a Bahmani possession. We are told that in the winter of A.H. 809, i.e. in about October 1406, Mir Faḍlullāh Injū was sent with the army of Bārār to conquer the fort of Bankapur. The fort and the surrounding country were reduced by him and handed over, under the king's orders, to Mīyān Siddhā the Sarnaubat. At this time, the Vijayanagara king Deva Rāya I was made to give his daughter in marriage to Firūz Shāh, and agree to include the newly conquered Bankapur fort also in the dowry of the Vijayanagara princess.

The next mention of Bankapur occurs in the account of the events of A.H. 847 (1443 A.D.), when Deva Rāya II captured the Mudgal fort and commissioned his sons to lay siege to the forts of Raichur and Bankapur. Enraged at this, Aḥmad Shāh II (1436-58) despatched Mālikū’t-Tujjār Khālaf who succeeded in compelling the sons of Deva Rāya to raise the siege of the two forts. Bankapur seems to have been a Bahmani possession thereafter, for in A.H. 860 (1454 A.D.), the rebel nobles Sikandar Khān and his father Jalāl Khān who were compelled to flee, are reported to have taken refuge in the Bankapur fort, which was besieged by Māḥmūd Gāwān who ultimately pursued the rebel father and son to surrender and sent them to the royal court.

---

2 Firīštā, op. cit. For the comments on Firīštā's account of Muhājīd's expedition to and siege of Vijayanagara, etc., see R. C. Majumdar, ed. Delhi Sultanate (Bombay, 1960), p. 281; H. K. Sherwani, The Bahmanis of the Deccan (Hyderabad, 1953), pp. 119-21; Robert Sewell, A Forgotten Empire (Delhi, 1982), pp. 36-43.
4 Sherwani, op. cit., p. 161, makes Mīyān Siddhā, the Sarnaubat, the leader of the Bankapur expedition on the authority of Firīštā, op. cit., p. 314. But what Firīštā says is that the Sultān sent Mālik Siddhā along with Khān-i-Khānān to lay waste the southern part of the Vijayanagara empire and Amir Faḍlullāh Injū, along with the Bārār contingent, to conquer Bankapur.
6 Firīštā, op. cit., p. 332; Sherwani, op. cit., p. 238; Some modern scholars like Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and others (Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 254-55, 281, 285, 287, 289, etc.), have expressed disbelief in Firīštā's account. For the untenability of their strictures, see Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1962, pp. 54-56.
7 Firīštā, op. cit., p. 338, where Bidar appears to be a misprint for Bankapur; GBS, Dharwar, p. 75.
Nothing is known about Bankapur’s history after this until A.H. 877 (1472 A.D.), when Birkana Ray, the ruler of Belgaum, made an unsuccessful attempt to retake Goa, from the Bahmani forces, at the instance of the Vijayanagara king, at whose orders the commander of the Bankapur fort had allied with the Belgaum chief. This would indicate that some time in or before 1472 Bankapur was wrested from the Bahmanis, for we know that in 1509, the chief of Bankapur was a vassal of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagara.

According to Firighta, Bankapur was retaken by ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah I towards the close of his reign; the exact date of this conquest is stated by another authority to be A.H. 981 (1573-74), which is corroborated by an inscription from Mudgal, dated A.H. 982 (1574-75).

But epigraphical evidence clearly shows that long before that date, Bankapur was taken by the ‘Adil Shahi forces, and had changed hands at least twice, since in Inscription No. I of the present study, Bankapur is shown as being under the ‘Adil Shahi authority in A.H. 945 (1538-39 A.D.), the reigning king mentioned being Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah I (1534-58). Very likely, Bankapur was captured by Ibrahim during his campaign against Vijayanagara in A.H. 942 (1535-36 A.D.), or by his general ‘Asad Khan who had laid siege to Adoni, later in the year, and defeated Venkatadri. And it was probably some time towards the end of his reign that the place was again lost to Vijayanagara. After the death of Ram Raya in 1565, it was occupied by Velapa, a former attendant of the latter, whose name is variously written as Nimbputra (as in Zubairi), Balaba (which could be either Vallahba, Velapa or Belapa, as in Firighta), and Velapa Raya (as in the District Gazetteer); and this Velap had, after the death of his master, become independent. In A.H. 981 (1573-74 A.D.), ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah I, urged by his Prime Minister Mustafa Khan Ardastani marched against the said Velapa and reduced the fort after a siege of four months. After the conquest, Bankapur and its dependencies were put in charge of Mustafa Khan, who held it till his murder in 1580. A little earlier, after the assassination of ‘Ali I in March 1580, a section of the nobles who did not see eye to eye with Kishwar Khan thought of requesting Chand Sultana to summon Mustafa Khan from Bankapur and entrust the ministership to him. But on receipt of this intelligence, Kishwar Khan planned to get Mustafa Khan removed from the political scene through Mirza Nuruddin Muhammad Masghadi, a protege of Mustafa Khan himself, who held fief in the vicinity of Bankapur and was promised the jagir of Bankapur for the job. Mirza Nuruddin carried out the evil design through one Muhammad Amin. Historical works are silent about the fate of the last mentioned two persons who succeeded in putting Mustafa Khan to death. Nor do they name any immediate successor to the fief of Bankapur. But it is possible that Mirza Nuruddin might have succeeded his former

1 Firighta, op. cit., p. 352; Sherwani, op. cit., p. 319; Majumdar, op. cit., p. 298.
2 Sewell, op. cit., pp. 118-19, 123.
3 Firighta, op. cit., vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), p. 41.
5 Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1933-36, p. 16.
7 Firighta, op. cit., p. 43; Zubairi, op. cit., p. 127; GBS, Dharwar, p. 766.
8 Firighta, op. cit., pp. 44-44; Zubairi, op. cit., pp. 127-29. According to GBS, Dharwar, p. 766, Bankapur fell after a siege of one year and three months.
9 Firighta, op. cit., p. 45; Zubairi, op. cit., p. 129; GBS, Dharwar, p. 767.
10 For details, see Firighta, op. cit., p. 50. According to Zubairi, op. cit., pp. 172-73, Kishwar Khan deputed one Abdu’l-Mu‘min Mughalzada for the purpose.
11 According to Zubairi, op. cit., p. 172, ‘Abdu’l-Mu‘min was also killed by people after the murder of Mustafa Khan.
benefactor. Even if it were so, he does not seem to have enjoyed the fief for long, for at least in A.H. 991 (1583 A.D.), if not earlier, we find Khurshid Khan, the Naib-i-ghaibat, in charge at Bankapur, according to a farmān, dated the 22nd Shāb‘a‘n 991 (31st August 1583) issued by Ibrahim ‘Ādil Shāh II. Khurshid Khan appears to have been the governor of Bankapur between A.H. 1006 (1597-98 A.D.) and A.H. 1011 (1602-03 A.D.) as is evidenced by two inscriptions from the place (Nos. IV-V). The inscription dated A.H. 999 (1590-91 A.D.), included in this article (No. II), mentions one Najafi Khan as the builder of a bastion. While this name proclaims him to be an official of note, it is difficult to say if he has anything to do with an independent charge of Bankapur, or was merely working as a subordinate of Khurshid Khan. Likewise, it is not possible to say for certain, if the latter had held Bankapur uninterruptedly from A.H. 991 (1583 A.D.) to A.H. 1011 (1602-03 A.D.). Then, we are told that according to local accounts, Bankapur was regained for a short time by a Hindu chief, in 1593. But the veracity of this statement is not proved by any other source. On the contrary, from Firista’s account, it transpires that while some local chiefs in the neighbourhood of Bankapur, who had been submissive to Muṣṭafā Khan, had become independent, and defied for sometime the royal authority after the Khan’s death, capturing Chandrakoti etc., Bankapur continued to remain in charge of the royal amīr. According to the same authority, at about this time, i.e. close of A.H. 1002 (1594 A.D.), at the instigation of ‘Ali Shāh, son of ‘Ainul-Mulk, the Ahmadnagar king Burhan Nizām Shāh and Rām Rāya of Nalgonda entered into an alliance to wrest Sholapur, Mudgal and Bankapur, from the ‘Ādil Shāh king. It is not specified if they succeeded or not. But very probably, the commander of the Bankapur fort had held his ground, or if he had lost, it must have been a temporary loss, for in the inscription dated A.H. 1006 (1597-98 A.D.) referred to above, we find Khurshid Khan, who was apparently the highest authority at Bankapur, constructing a bastion, evidently to improve the defences of Bankapur. The same Khan was also the deputy of the ‘Ādil Shāh king in A.H. 1011 (1602-03 A.D.), as seen above. It is a pity that Khurshid Khan does not find mention in historical works. He appears to have been an efficient and benevolent officer, and was governor of Bankapur for a considerable time.

The next official of Bankapur of whom we have any information is one Muhammad Ishāq mentioned in a farmān of Ibrahim II, dated 3rd Shab‘a‘n 1027 (16th July 1618). He seems to have been succeeded by Mtr ‘Ali Rīdā who is mentioned as the Havaldar of the mu‘āmala of Bankapur in two farmāns dated 18th and 20th Dh‘l-Hijja 1035 (31st August and 2nd September 1626). ‘Ali Rīdā must have continued at Bankapur till about A.H. 1037 (1627-28 A.D.), when he was recalled to the capital, for soon after the accession of Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh, in that year, Kadam Rao, the new commandant of Bankapur revolted and ‘Ali Rīdā was commissioned to chastise him. Kadam is stated to have defied him for about a year, but was finally captured and put to death. Having settled the affairs at Bankapur, ‘Ali Rīdā returned to the capital.

We do not have any information about the next commandant of Bankapur, except that in an epigraph (No. VI), dated A.H. 1050 (1640-41 A.D.), one Mtr ‘Ali is mentioned as the Havaldar of Bankapur, and in a farmān dated 9th Dh‘l-Hijja 1053 (8th February 1644), one Sidi Dīlawar is designated as the Havaldar of the mu‘āmala of Bankapur. While no mention of the successive

---

1 G. H. Khare, Persian Sources of Indian History, vol. III (Poona, 1939), p. 3.
2 GBS, Dharwar, p. 86.
3 Firista, op. cit., pp. 70-71, 75. Unfortunately, the name of the official in charge is not mentioned.
4 Ibid., pp. 84, 156.
5 Khare, op. cit., p. 87.
6 Ibid., pp. 3, 76.
8 Khare, op. cit., p. 7.
governors of Bankapur is found in historical works or elsewhere, the fact that 'Adil Shāhī authority was acknowledged in the region is more than proved by a number of farmāns, ranging in their dates from 1644 to 1675, issued to Hanumanta Gauda,² the Desāi of Guttal, in the Bankapur mu'āmalā.³ From the number of these farmāns, it appears very likely that the said chief was made governor of the district, though there is no clear mention of any such authority held by him. According to one of these farmāns, dated 3rd January 1655, Hanumanta Gauda was directed to co-operate with Malik Raiḥān, who was commissioned to deal with the refractory chief of Chitrakal.³ But the connection of Malik Raiḥān vis-a-vis Bankapur is also not clear.

Likewise, it is reported that Nawwāb 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Buhlūl Khān was commissioned to subdue Karnatak in A.H. 1073 (1662-63 A.D.).⁴ We are also informed that Nawwāb ‘Abdu'r-Raḥīm was later summoned to join the royal camp at Bankapur in 1663, when 'Ali II had reached there.⁵ His death is reported to have taken place in A.H. 1075 (1664-65 A.D.).⁶ It is, however, not absolutely clear if ‘Abdu'r-Raḥīm Buhlūl Khān had anything to do with the fief or the governorship of Bankapur.

According to the District Gazetteer, Buhlūl Khān's son ‘Abdu'l-Karīm Khān was appointed to the governorship of the place in 1673.⁷ This statement, the source of which is not mentioned, is indirectly supported by a farmān of 'Ali II, dated A.H. 1086 (1675 A.D.), from which it is clear that before that date, the mu'āmalā of Bankapur, etc., was given in jāgīr to 'Abdu'l-Karīm also entitled Buhlūl Khān. According to this farmān, consequent upon the rebellion of Chikan, son of Hanumant Gauda, his grants and other rights, etc., were forfeited, and the desāi-ship of Guttal and of the forts Muḥammad-Koṭ and Rattehallī was given to Shāikh Aḥmad, (son of) Hājī Mubārak, while the desāi-ship of Tollali, Hargalli, Holjāl fort and Harihar fort—all in the mu'āmalā was granted to Nawwāb 'Abdu'l-Karīm, of Bankapur, and on the representation of Lingan, another son of Hanumant Gauda, only the desāi-ship and other rights in respect of these as well as other places which were granted to Khawāṣ Khān and other sons of the late Khān Muḥammad were ordered to be restored to him.⁸

The last mention of Bankapur during the 'Adil Shāhī period is again in connection with an event of the same year—11th November 1675, when Nawwāb 'Abdu'l-Karīm arrested Khawāṣ Khān and sent him to Bankapur.⁹ This would also suggest that Bankapur region was held in jāgīr by 'Abdu'l-Karīm Buhlūl Khān. This is further proved by the fact that his son 'Abdu'r-Ra'ūf entitled Dīlīr Khān had continued to hold the sarkār of Bankapur and Savnur until after the Bijapur kingdom was annexed to the Mughal empire.¹⁰

As seen above, the inscriptions of the 'Adil Shāhī kings, found at Bankapur, furnish valuable information about the past history of the place. They moreover preserve the names of some officials linked with its administration, who would have remained unknown to posterity but for these epigraphs. We also get the names of a few composers and one scribe.

---

¹ The surname Gauda is throughout transcribed as Gauda in the farmāns to which references are given here.
³ Ibid., p. 19.
⁴ Zubairi, op. cit., p. 290.
⁵ Ibid., p. 301.
⁶ Ibid., p. 438.
⁷ O.B.S., Dharwar, pp. 767, 781.
⁸ Khare, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
⁹ Zubairi, op. cit., pp. 446, 449.
¹⁰ Sūhāb Nawāz Khān, Mu‘āṣirū'l-Umarā, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), p. 68.
(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 945, from Bankapur (p. 45)

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 909, same place (p. 40)
These epigraphs, six in number, range in their dates from A.H. 945 (1538-39 A.D.) to A.H. 1050 (1640-41 A.D.) and represent the reigns of three kings, Ibrāhīm I, Ibrāhīm II, and Muḥammad. They are studied in the following lines in chronological order.

Ibrahīm I

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 945

This earliest inscription of the group, bearing the date A.H. 945 (1538-39 A.D.), which is obtained from a chronogram, is inscribed in three panels on a rectangular slab, measuring 1.06 m. by 21 cm., fixed above the central mihrāb of a ruined mosque inside the fort.1 The right panel contains the First Creed. The left panel also contains the same Creed, but in an inverted position and has below it, a phrase referring to the king. The middle panel contains part of a Quranic text and a poetical fragment of two couplets composed in different metres. The poetry of the text does no credit to its composer, whose name Amin appears in the second couplet.

The epigraph records the foundation of the mosque, described as lofty, by one Khān Malik. The builder was very probably an official, but I have failed to trace any reference either to him or to the poet Amin, in the Persian chronicles at my disposal. Nevertheless, the importance of the record, as has been shown in the preceding lines, lies in the evidence it furnishes about the political status of Bankapur, which was at about this period a bone of contention between the Vijayanagara king and the Bijapur ruler.

The style of writing is Nāskh of a fairly good order, and the execution is quite neat and pleasing.

The text has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

(a) Right panel.

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(b) Left panel.

(1) Kalima in reverse order.

(2) ملکان عادلشاهی بتوافق الی

(c) Middle panel.

(1) تو انزلت هذة القرآن على جبل لرايته خاصا متصدعا من خشية الله و تلك الأمثال

نضربها لنفس نحن نشكون هو الله الذي لا إله إلا هو عالم الغيب و الشهادة هو الرحمن

(2) الريحوم هو الله الذي لا إله إلا هو الملك القدوس السلام المومن المهتجين العزيز

الحب: المتكدر سبجان الله عما يشكرن هو الله الخالق البارى المصير له الاساءة ليس له

TRANSLATION

(a) First Creed.

(b) (1) First Creed (inverted position).

(2) Sultan 'Adil Shahi. Through the guidance of Allah.

(c) (1-2) Qur'an, Chapter LIX, verses 21-24.

(3) (Verse:) The foundation of the lofty mosque which was laid by Khan Malik, may the flower of his prosperity blossom in the garden of desire.

its date was announced by Amin in the words: Serve your Lord till there comes to you that which is certain.¹

The chronogram is contained in the last hemistich, the total of the numerical values of whose letters gives the date A.H. 945 (1538-39 A.D.).

Ibrahim II

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 999

The slab bearing this inscription, which measures 1.04 m. by 48 cm., is now lying loose in the Dargah of Shahn 'Alau'd-Din Qadirî.² Its text consists of two Persian couplets executed in relief in fairly good Nasta’liq characters in two lines, and assigns the construction of a bastion to Najafi Khan in A.H. 999 (1590-91 A.D.). In this case too, the date is afforded through a chronogram which occurs in the last hemistich. The quality of the metrical text is much better.

The text has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

(1) (Verse:) A beam of the two bastions is equal to the weight of this arch.

(2) (Verse:) The date is contained in the words: the bastion of Khan-i-Najafi.

TRANSLATION

(1) Look at this exalted bastion, which is, in height, the sphere of Mars.

(2) Wisdom, for its date, told me, 'Its date is (contained in the words:) the bastion of Khan-i-Najafi.

The name of the builder in the metrical text is given as Khan-i-Najafi, which is the same as Najafi Khan. As in the case of Khan Malik of the previous record, it has not been possible

¹ This represents a slight variation of Qur'an, Chapter XV, verse 99.
to determine his identity from the Persian chronicles available to me. But there seems to be little doubt that he was also an official associated with Bankapur. On the other hand, the manner in which the text mentions him and the construction of the bastion suggests a very strong possibility that he was perhaps, if not the governor of the place, at least one of the deputies of Khurshid Khān, who, we have already seen above, the Naib-i-ghaibat at Bankapur for about two decades.

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1006

This epigraph is again on a loose slab, lying in a field in the cattle-farm area inside the fort. The writing which occupies a space of about 1.15 m. by 0.65 cm. on the stone, comprises three Persian couplets carved in relief in Nasta'liq characters in an equal number of lines. The quality of verses, like the calligraphy, is quite good. The text records that in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, the Khurshid (lit. sun) of the Time, i.e. Khurshid Khān, constructed a bastion in A.H. 1006 (1597-98 A.D.).

The text has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (a)*

1) شهید دانا دل ابراهیم عادل
2) بن انجری که مناله در جهان نه
3) بسال أنف وست تتعمر دادش

**TRANSLATION**

(1) A wise-hearted king, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil (possesses) the glory of Alexander and judgement of Luqmān (and is) perfect.

(2) In his reign, the sun of the time (i.e. Khurshid Khān) constructed a bastion whose like there is none in the world.

(3) He constructed it in year (A.H.) one thousand and six (A.H. 1006-1597-98 A.D.). In height, (it is such that) it has cast his shadow on Saturn.

The builder Khurshid Khān finds mention in two other inscriptions to be studied next. As stated above, he is not mentioned in any Persian chronicles which I have been able to consult, but in a *farmān* referred to above, dated 1583, he is mentioned as the Naib-i-ghaibat and Karkun of the *mu'amala* of Dārūl-Fāth Bankāpur. That Khurshid Khān had continued to hold Bankapur at least till A.H. 1011 (1602-03 A.D.), is indicated by the other two inscriptions at Bankapur.1

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1011

The slab containing the fourth inscription is fixed in the west wall, to the left of the central *mihrāb*, in the Jami' Masjid of the town.5 The tablet which measures 1.3 m. by 0.42 cm., contains

2 Khurshid Khān is also mentioned in a record from Hangal in Dharwar district, which is dated A.H. 1009 (*ARIE* 1965-66, No. D. 274).
four lines of writing in Persian, comprising eight couplets, carved in relief in beautiful Nasta‘liq characters except for the last verse which is executed in an equally good Naskh hand. The epigraph states that the conquering Khān and the deputy (nâ‘îb) of the king, Khurshid Khān, who illuminates the world like the sun, constructed a mosque in A.H. 1011 (1602-03 A.D.). The date is contained in a chifonogram occurring in the last but one hemistich of the text, which is both composed and inscribed by Abu’l-Qāsim, son of Shaikh Nizām. Incidentally, the last mentioned also composed and inscribed another record of Khurshid Khān dated A.H. 1009 (1600-01 A.D.), set up at Hangal, also in Dharwar district. Apart from its calligraphy, which is a fine specimen of Nasta‘liq and Naskh styles of writing, the importance of the epigraph, as already referred to above, lies in the fact that it provides a later date in the career of Khurshid Khān as the governor of Bankapur. Like the Khān, the post-calligrapher Abu’l-Qāsim is also an unknown figure in historical works. From the quality of his verses and style of writing, he appears to have been a man of considerable art and talent.

The text has been read as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (b)*

(1) خان غازى پناه اهل زمان مدعى جود و ملع احسان

(2) خادم اهل بيت نگام و حجوار جمله مسئولان

(3) نایب شاه عادل کامل صایب الزلزل نادر الدوران

(4) هست خورشید خان باسم و برسم همو رخوشید در جهان تابان

(5) اینجین مسائل بنام خاک که سرافراز باد در دو جهان

(6) هست تاریخ آن بخوان و بدان مال تاریخی از خدا بیقا

(7) سبک او و اذکروا که امر خداست ناظم و دائم این نظام و کلام

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The champion Khān (is) the asylum of the men of the Time, mine of generosity and fountain-head of benevolence,

(2) deputy (nâ‘îb) of the perfect and just (‘Ādil) king, possessor of sound judgement and prodigy of the age.

Khurshid Khān is, both in name and in practice, like the sun shining over the world!

(3) He constructed such a mosque; may he be distinguished in both the worlds.

I sought its date from God in a prayer. The angel from the Unseen said, “O simpleton,

---

(a) Record, dated A.H. 1006, from Bankapur (p. 47)

(b) Another record, dated A.H. 1011, same place (p. 48)
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1050, from Bankapur (p. 50)

Scale: 47

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1011, same place (p. 49)

Scale: 14
(4-5) ‘Glorify and praise (Allāh)’¹, which is the injunction of God, is its date; recite and know it (to be so).\(^2\)

The composer and scribe of this poem and speech is [A]bū’l-Qāsim, son of Shāikh Nizām.

V. SUPPLEMENTARY VERSION OF THE SAME INSCRIPTION

The fifth record is also from the same Jāmi‘ mosque. It is engraved on a slab, measuring 1.31 m. by 44 cm., fixed to the right of the central miḥrāb.\(^3\) It consists of four lines of writing carved in relief, of which the first two are in Nāshī characters and contain the Throne Verse, while the remaining two contain the historical text in Persian prose and verse engraved in Nasta’līq characters. The calligraphy, which is of a fairly high order, is the same as in the previous record, and therefore it must have been the result of the pen of its scribe Abū’l-Qāsim.

The epigraph purports that the mosque was built in A.H. 1011 (1602-03 A.D.), during the reign of ‘Alījāh Abū’l-Muzaffar Ibrāhīm ‘Aḍīl Shāh (II), and is thus, in a way, a supplementary version of the previous record. The date is given in words in the poetical portion of the text. It will be seen that the text quotes the full titles of Ibrāhīm II including the one ‘Alījāh which is not found in all the records of this king.

It has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

\(1\) (1) Allāh la a la hu al-hi al-qiyam la taaxhse saha la ha ma ma fi asma'at wa ma fi

al-a'razī min za al-dhi yistiqan 'anha la ba'adhihi yala'm ma bi'nihih wa ma

\(2\) khaf'in wa la yhiyītun yihi 'in min al'dha la ba sahab wad qaryis al-asma'at wa al-a'razī

wad la yaxus haflatna wa wad al-a'alum yasīlim yatiq al-ta'lla' wad yafqī el-sala

\(3\) dīr zanān sulallt shah al-alīyāh 'abd sīhīr jallīt wad qimar udallat sīhī xīlīl allāh

al-zamīn al-ba'rahām al-adlīshāx al-mu'manāt al-dīr al-'arham nimmud shid

\(4\) 'on bīnīliyāt xīdārī mīsāal 'alībīnī gash mīnīyī iğmāl

īdhī ristīh zaman hirīt al-fī wa ayudī wad asī'ī asī'ī asī'ī al-salā

TRANSLATION

(1-2) Throne Verse.\(^3\)

(3) In the time of the sovereignty of the king of lofty position (‘Alījāh), sun of the sky of majesty and resplendent moon of equity, namesake of the friend of Allāh (i.e. Prophet Abraham) Abū’l-Muzaffar Ibrāhīm ‘Aḍīl Shāh, the construction of this holy house of Allāh took place.

¹ Qur’ān, Chapter XIX, verse 11 (part). Chapter II, verse 203 (part).
³ Qur’ān, Chapter II, verse 255.
(Verse 4) When this building was completed with perfection, through the support of the most high God, from the time of Migration, had passed a thousand and one and ten years (A. H. 1011-1602-03 A.D.).

Muhammad Shah

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1050

The sixth and the last inscription of this group and the only record pertaining to the reign of Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shah, is carved on the headside of a sarcophagus, in the local graveyard situated outside the town on the bank of a lake. Its three-line text, carved in beautiful Naskh style, contains, apart from a religious formula, the name of Mīr ‘Ali Riḍā, son of Muḥammad Ḥusain, the Ḥavāldār of Bankāpur, and the date A.H. 1050 (1640-41 A.D.). The text is evidently intended as an epitaph and the date, as that of the death of Mīr ‘Ali Riḍā.

The text has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(1) تَوَكَّلْتَ عَلَى اللَّهِ مَعْمَدٍ ﷺ
(2) ﴿۬بِن مُعْمَّدٍ حُسَيْنٍ﴾[مشار] ﷺ عَلَى رَضِي
(3) حَوَالِدَهُ ﷺ بِنْكِبْوَرِ سَنَةَ ١٠٥٠

TRANSLATION

(1) I rely on Allāh 'Muḥammad, 'Ali.


(3) the Ḥavāldār of Bankāpur. (He died in the) year (A.H.) 1050 (1640-41 A.D.).

This epitaph is quite important as it has preserved to us the name of an official. He is evidently identical with Mīr Riḍā mentioned in a farman, dated 31st August 1626 as the Ḥavāldār of Bankapur. This ‘Ali Riḍā is again probably the one who was deputed to put down the revolt of Kadam Rao, as has been referred to above (p. 43, supra). Our epigraph thus provides the date of the death of this official, and inter alia shows that he had continued in the post of Ḥavāldār at Bankapur, until A.H. 1050 (1640-41 A.D.). This is in conformity with the evidence of another farman which mentions Sīdī Dīlāwar as the Ḥavāldār of Bankapur in A.H. 1053 (1644 A.D.).

---

2 This word is written in the second line for symmetry.
3 This word is written in the third line for symmetry.
4 Qur'an, Chapter XI, verse 56.
5 Khare, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 76.
INSCRIPTIONS OF AKBAR AND JAHANGIR FROM MADHYA PRADESH

BY S. A. RAHIM

Epigraphical Assistant

Over the past decade, we have found quite a good number of Mughal epigraphs, most of which belong to the reign of Aurangzeb, from various parts of the central Indian State of Madhya Pradesh, which now includes the ancient territories of Bundelkhand, Chhattisgarh or Mahācōshal, Malwa, etc. and the erstwhile states of Bhopal, Gwalior, Indore and the like. These records constitute a valuable source of information on the political status and local history of these different regions at different periods, and also provide interesting information for other aspects of its life as well. It is a matter of regret that no systematic efforts were made in the past to utilize this important source.

I have selected for detailed study here, ten early Mughal inscriptions in all, seven of which belong to the time of Akbar and three to that of his son and successor Jahāngir. Of Akbar’s records, three are from Sarangpur in Rajgarh district, two from Narwar in Shivpuri district and one each, from Ujjain, headquarter of the district of the same name, and Joura-Alapur in Morena district. Two of the three inscriptions of Jahāngir, were found at Udaiypur, and one at Sironji in Vidisha district. These records are studied below in chronological order.

Akbar

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 986, FROM UJJAIN

The first inscription of Akbar is engraved in relief on a loose slab. It is now preserved in the Mahākāl-Mandir Dharmāshāla, at Ujjain, which houses the State Museum of Antiquity.¹ The tablet is stated to have been recovered from the debris in the heart of the Ujjain town, during operations under an Improvement Scheme. According to the local tradition, it belonged to the gate, called Shāhī Darwāza, of the local Sarāi, portion of which existed a few years ago. In any case, it must have belonged to the Sarāi, as it records the construction of one such edifice. It was copied by my colleague Shri W. H. Siddiqui, Senior Epigraphical Assistant.

The inscription seems to have been first found by the officers of the Archaeological Department of the erstwhile Gwalior State,² and was subsequently published by Mr. R. S. Saksena on their request.³ But in Mr. Saksena’s article which was mainly confined to describe the contents of the inscription, no attempt was made to identify the person mentioned therein.

The tablet which is of basalt stone, available locally, measures 60 by 82 cm. (and not 18 by 10 inches as mentioned by Mr. Saksena)⁴ and is inscribed with five Persian couplets written in ten lines horizontally, with one hemistich to a line, and the famous Quranic Throne Verse along its right, top and left borders. The style of writing of the Arabic, i.e. the Quranic text is Naskh and that of the Persian verses, Nastaliq, of a fairly high order.

¹ Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1963-64, No. D, 149.
² Cf. Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State (ARDGS), 1924-25, p. 37, No. 46 of Appendix E.
⁴ Ibid.
The record states that in the time of Jalālūd-Din Muḥammad Akbar, the Ghāzi, Shāh Fakhru'd-Din of decent nature, who was famous for his benevolent actions in the world, constructed a strong Sarāi for the comfort and convenience of the public. The foundation of the edifice is stated therein to have been laid in A. H. 982 (1574-75 A. D.), which is given in figure as well as in a chronogram, and it took four years to be completed. The date of completion is also given in figure as well as in two chronograms; in figure, it is shown as A. H. 986 (1578-79 A.D.), while both the chronograms yield A. H. 987 (1579-80 A.D.). I have preferred the date given in words, because according to the science of chronogram, the composer enjoys the poetical licence of arriving at the value by one more, or one less.

The builder of the Sarāi, Shāh Fakhru'd-Din, is fortunately known through historical works. A Mūsawi Sayyid of Mashhad in Iran, he came to India in A. H. 961 (1554 A.D.) along with the Moghul emperor Humāyūn and was appointed to a responsible post under Akbar.

The prefix Shāh to the name indicates not royalty, but his descent from a high Sayyid family. Though nowhere it is so mentioned, yet, there are indications that he was closely connected with the Mashhad family of the descendants of Imām 'Ali Riḍā. He is stated to have been married to a daughter of Prince Khāmrān, but I have not been able to check the reference.

After serving Akbar in different capacities under various noblemen including Mirzā 'Alī Koka, he was appointed as the governor of Ujjain, and received the title of Naqābat Khān, after Akbar's forced march to Gujarat in Jumādā I 981 (August 1573). He continued to govern Ujjain till in the 23rd or 24th Regnal Year, when he went to Gujarat to succeed Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān in the governorship of Patan. He is stated to have died in that province immediately thereafter.

There is, however, some difference of opinion about the date of his death. According to Nizāmu'd-Din Aḥmad, Shāh Fakhru'd-Din expired in A. H. 986 in Gujarat. But according to Abu'l-Faḍl, he went from Ujjain to Patan (Gujarat) to relieve Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān of his charge of Patan sometime in the middle of Dāi (the tenth month) of the Regnal Year 23, which would work out to about the end of Shawwāl A. H. 986 (December 1578 A.D.). On the other hand, Shāh Nawāz Khān places the event in the Regnal Year 24 (1579-80 A.D.). It may be that actual orders were issued on the earlier date, but were carried out only in the Regnal year 24. But this would mean that he had not expired in Gujarat in A. H. 986, no part of which was covered by the Regnal Year 24. The correct explanation may perhaps be that the Regnal Years as given by Shāh Nawāz Khān were calculated according to the lunar Calendar. In any case, judging from the above data, it appears that Shāh Fakhru'd-Din went to Patan in Gujarat in or after Shawwāl A. H. 986 and may have died there soon after or in the beginning of A. H. 987. This would also corroborate our surmise that the date of the completion of the Sarāi, A. H. 986, given in figure is the correct date.
PLATE IX
MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MADHYA PRADESH
(Plates IX-XIII)

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 986, from Ujjain (p. 53)

Scale: 1

(b) Record, dated A.H. 995, from Joura-Alapur (p. 54)

Scale: 27
It is clear that Shāh Fakhrū’d-Dīn had ordered the construction of the Sarāī immediately after his appointment to the governorship of Ujjain, and it was only in A.H. 986, i.e. four years later, that the building was completed. It is difficult to say why it took four years to complete. The Sarāī was built for public use, evidently for travellers visiting Ujjain.

The text of the record is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate IX(a)

(a) In the Margin.

(1) بدوران جلال الدين من آخر غازی
(2) كه عالم زا مسخر كرد اقبال خداذادش
(3) شه پاکینه سیرت شاه فخر الدين كه پوسته
(4) جهانی را باحسان بنده دارد طبع آزادش
(5) في آمیش مردم سرايى ساخت زینگونه
(6) كه خواند آسانان از محکمها حصن خولادش
(7) ت و در وقت بنایی استعانت خوایت از ایرد
(8) خرد زان استعانت ياقته تاريخ بنهادش
(9) وگر تاريخ جوئی از پی اتمام اين يقعه
(10) بجو از پیه عیر و به بين درکار استادش

(b) Main portion.

982

986

TRANSLATION

(a) Throne Verse.¹

(b) (1) In the reign of Jalālu’d-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the Ghūzl, whose God-given good fortune has conquered the world,

¹ Qur’an, Chapter II, verse 255.
(3-4) the Shāh of pure nature, Shāh Fakhru’-d-Din, whose magnanimous (lit. free) nature perpetually keeps people enslaved through benevolence,

(5) constructed such a surūṭi (i.e. hospice) for the comfort of the people that
(6) (even) the Sky terms it as the 'Fort of steel' on account of its great strength.
(7) Since he implored Divine help at the time of its construction,
(9) And if thou desiratest the date of the completion of this edifice,
(10) search it in (the words:) Holy Edifice 986, and look in the Work of its Master, 986. (A.H. 986-1578-79 A.D.).

The sets of words in lines 8 and 10 of the metrical text comprise the chronograms.

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 995, FROM JOURA-ALAPUR

The second inscription comes from Alapur, situated in the Joura tahsil of Morena district. It is engraved on a slab of stone, 36 by 30 cm., which is built up into the west wall, to the right of the central mihrāb, of a dilapidated mosque locally called Faqiron-Ki-Masjid.¹ It was found by me for the first time.

The name of the town Alapur indicates a Muslim origin, but in the course of my visit to the place I did not come across any pre-Mughal inscription. Mughal inscriptions there are quite a few, the earliest being of Akbar’s time —— the one under study —— and four more, of Aurangzub’s.² Thus, it would appear that though now reduced to a small place, the town was a place of importance during the time of the Mughals.

The weathering of the tablet has considerably damaged the writing consisting of five lines of Arabic and Persian. The Arabic portion occupying the first two lines, comprises Bismillāh and the First Creed only, while the Persian text is metrical, comprising three couplets. It records the construction of a mosque and a well by Khwāja Qābil in A.H. 995 (1586-87 A.D.), in the reign of Jalālu’-d-Din Muḥammad, i.e. Akbar. The date is given by way of a chronogram.

The style of writing is Nasta’liq, of no particular merit. The quality of the verses, on the other hand, is quite good.

The text reads as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate IX(b)*

\(1\) بِمَّنَّ الَّلَّهُ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
\(2\) لَا إِـلَـهَ إِلَّا [اللَّهُ] اَسْـلَمُ [رَسُولُ اَللَّهُ]

¹ *ARIB*, 1962-63, No. D, 76.
² *Ibid.*, No. 76.81.
INSCRIPTIONS OF AKBAR AND JAHANGIR FROM MADHYA PRADESH 55

(3) بدوران جلال الدين محمد
شة باحمدت و شيرين شمايل
(3) جناب خواچه قابل کرد بنياد
چه و مسجد که هر دو هست قابل
(5) چو میکردم خیال سال تاریخ
خرد میکفت گو خیر المنازل

TRANSLATION

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

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

(3) In the reign of Jalālud-Dīn Muḥammad, the king with magnificence and sweet nature,

(4) the honourable Khwāja Qābil constructed a well and a mosque, both of which are worthy (like his name).

(5) When I thought of the year of its date (of construction), Wisdom replied, “Say, (it is:) the best among places”.

The date, afforded by the chronogram contained in the last hemistich, is A.H. 995 (1586-87 A.D.). The chronogrammatic phrase could be either with or without ‘Say’ (gū). But since in quite a few cases of this type, where the year is also given in figure, this word is found to be a part of the chronogrammatic phrase, I have also treated it as such. Otherwise, the date would work out to be A.H. 969 (1561-62 A.D.).

As regards Khwāja Qābil, we are unable to give any definite information. Abu’l-Faḍl mentions one Qābil, son of ‘Atīq in his list of officials enjoying a rank of 200 horse.1 But in the absence of any other evidence, it is difficult to assert if both are identical. Very likely, they are.

III-IV. EPIGRAPHS, DATED A.H. 996, FROM SARANGPUR

The third and the fourth inscriptions of the time of Akbar, are identical in purport. They were found at Sarangpur, a taluk headquarters in Rajgarh district.

The tablet bearing the first of these two records, measures 60 by 50 cm., and is fixed on the northern side of the Bāland-Darwāza of the fort.2 It consists of six lines of writing in Persian executed in Nasīḥa of a fairly, good order, which states that Nawwāb Muḥammad Sharīf Khān ordered Maḥrām, the Kotwāl, to construct (or more correctly, reconstruct) the gate for the fort of Sārangpur and accordingly, the gate of the fort and the Chabūtara for the Kotwāl were completed in A.H. 996 (1587-88 A.D.). It is not known if any trace now remains of the Chabūtara for the Kotwāl.

Of the two persons mentioned in the record, the identification of Maḥrām is not possible. That he was the Kotwāl of the Sarangpur fort, is indicated by our epigraph, which thus supplies an interesting piece of information for local history. As regards Nawwāb Muḥammad Sharīf Khān, he can be safely identified with Sharīf Khān, a brother of Shamsu’Dīn Muḥammad Atara.

1 Blochmann, op. cit., p. 594.
2 ABIE, 1963-64, No. D, 130. This and the next inscription were copied by Shri Siddiqi.
Khān, and foster-brother to Akbar. He was made governor of Malw in June 1580 and held that office for about a decade.¹

Below is given the full text of the epigraph:

**TEXT**

*Plate X(a)*

¿ هو 
(1) در عهد حضرت خاتان آفتا سلطان
(2) حضرت نادر الدين محمد أكبر بادشاه خاتم خليج الله ملكه
(3) بتعمر طاق حصار سوانگور نواب مستتاب محمد شريف خان
(4) سلهمه الله تعالى بحمري كوتوال حكيم فرمود الحمد لله و العمة به
(5) كه در سنة 996 عمارت طاق حصار با جيоторه كوتوال صورت اتمام يافته

**TRANSLATION**

(1) He is (Allāh)!
(2) In the reign of His Royal Highness, the sun of sovereignty,
(3) His Majesty Jalā'ud-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh, the Ghāzi, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom!
(4) for the construction of the gateway of the fort of Sārangpūr, His Grace Nawwāb Muḥammad Sharīf Khān,
(5) may Allāh the Exalted keep him safe, gave orders to Mahram, the Kotwāl. Praise be to Allāh and gratitude to Him
(6) that in the year (A.H.) 996 (1587-88 A.D.), the construction of the gateway of the fort along with the Chabūtar-i-Kotwāli received completion.

The tablet bearing the other record, measuring 65 by 48 cm., is fixed on the southern side of the same gateway.² It is badly damaged, and as a result, the writing thereon has flaked off in many places. Consequently, its metrical text cannot be deciphered in full, but the missing portion does not materially affect the purport, which is quite clear. As a matter of fact, it is more explicit than its counterpart in that it clearly states that originally the fort at Sarangpur had a lofty gate, but as it had become decrepit, that nobleman — Nawwāb Muḥammad Sharīf Khān whose name is omitted in the text — ordered its reconstruction, and consequently Mahram, the Kotwāl, got it rebuilt in A.H. 996 (1587-88 A.D.). The date is indicated by the numerical values of three letters, ǧād (90), ǧād (6) and ǧād (900). This epigraph, in addition, quotes the name of the calligrapher Abu'l-Faṭḥ.

¹ Abu't-Faḍl, op. cit, vol. III, p. 67; Blochmann, op. cit, p. 415.
² ARIS, 1963-64, No: D, 131.
(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 996, from Sarangpur (p. 56)

(b) Damaged record, same place (p. 57)
The text consists of a fragment of seven couplets, preceded by an invocation to Allāh and followed by the endorsement containing the scribe’s name, and is inscribed in fine Nasta'liq. It also uses the title Malik for the Kotwāl who is stated to be an old retainer of the Nawwāb. Incidentally, the name of emperor Akbar is not mentioned in the text. It has been read as under:—

**TEXT**

Plate X(b)

(1) هو

.........

(2) حصريست در شهر سانگپور

(3) در دی داشت علی و ليکن کسین

(4) که باپ جهان تازه از لطف او

(5) که بود آن ملك خانزاد قدیم (؟)

(6) بفرناد بر محرم کروتال

(7) باترخیز یکسیاد و یک و و نا

(8) الله بود با بناء جهان

(8) کاتب ابی الفتح

**TRANSLATION**

(1) He is (Allāh)!

(2) There is a fort in the city of Sārangpūr which is the place of shelter from ..................

(3) It had a lofty gateway but (it grew) old. Its reconstruction was ordered by that noble personage (i.e. Nawwāb Muḥammad Sharīf Khān),

(4) through whose kindness, the garden of the world is flourishing (and) on account of whom, the heart of the people (of the world) is free from (any kind of) fear.

(5) He gave orders to Maḥram, the Kotwāl — that Malik, who was an old servant (of the Nawwāb).

(6) On the date (afforded by) one ṣād (90), one ḫeṣw (6) and one ḥa (900) (i.e. 90+6+900 or A.H. 996=1587-88 A.D.), the gateway was built ..................

(7) O God! As long as the edifice of the world lasts, protect it from ............... enemy.

(8) The writer of this is Abūl-Fath.

**V-VI. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 979, FROM NARWAR**

The fifth and the sixth epigraphs of Akbar were found by me at the town of Na:war in the Karera taksil of Shivpuri district. The town which is now reduced to a small place has been in the past an important place, as is testified to by the inscriptions of Sikandar Lodi.¹

¹ Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1965, pp. 29-38.
The first of these two inscriptions appears over the central mihrab of a mosque in front of the local High School, situated on the Narwar-Shivpuri Road. There is another inscription fixed above the one under study, but it contains only Quranic verses (Chapter IX, verse 18). The lower epigraph consists of three lines of Arabic and is engraved on a slab, measuring 60 by 24 cm. It states that the mosque, evidently the one on which it is found, was built by Mīrāk, son of Aḥmad Khān Kolābī, who is described as the ‘chief among the great Khāns’, in January-February 1573, during the reign of Jalālū’d-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bāḏghāī Ghāzī. The latter’s name is prefaced by the high titles, ‘lord of the necks of the kings of the East and the West, the sovereign among the sovereigns of Persia and Arabia’ which were commonly used in the early Sultanate inscriptions.

The style of writing is beautiful Naskh, though the letters have lost their proper shape due to the weathering of the stone. However, this defect has not prevented a complete and correct decipherment of the text, which reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XI(a)*

(1) بني هذا المسجد في زمان ملك ملوك الشرق والمغرب سلطان سلطان. العجم

(2) جلال الدين محمد أكبر بادغش غازى خلي الله ملكه وسلطانه و [س]قاط على العالمين بو

(3) و احسانه رأس الخوارج العظام ميرك أحمد خان كولاني و قد وقع الفراق من

البناء في شهر رمضان سنة سبعين وسبعين وسعماة

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This mosque was built in the time of the lord of the necks of the kings of the East and the West, the Sultan of the Sultans of Persia and Arabia,

(2) Jalālū’d-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bāḏghāī Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and extend to the people of the worlds his benevolence

(3) and munificence, by the chief (lit. head) among the great Khāns, Mīrāk, (son of) Aḥmad Khān Kolābī. And the building was completed in the month of Ramaḍān, year (A.H.) nine and seventy and nine hundred (Ramaḍān 979=January-February 1573).

The second inscription from Narwar, forming the sixth record of Akbar, occurs over the central mihrab of the Jāmī’ mosque of the town. The epigraphical tablet measuring 1.08 m. by 45 cm., which contains three lines of writing in Persian, has much more weathered than the one just mentioned, and the writing is considerably damaged. A few letters in the second line and almost the whole of the third line comprising that portion of the text which contained the name of the builder’s father and the date, have peeled off, with the result that though fortunately the name of the builder has survived, the date of the record is completely lost. The extant text refers to the

3 *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 96; *ARDGS*, 1927-28, No. 100 of Appendix D.
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 979, from Narwar (p. 58)

Scale: 3

(b) Damaged record from the same place (p. 59)

Scale: 17
reign of emperor Jalālu’ddin Muḥammad Akbar Bāghāh and governorship of Nawwāb Mirāk Ḥān Kollābī and assigns the construction of the mosque to Shaikh Bāyāzīd, of whose father’s name only the prefix Shaikh is legible.

The style of writing is Nashī of a fairly good type. The text has been deciphered by me as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XI(b)*

1) در عهد شهنشاه جلال الدين اسماء بهदشأه[ه] خلاد الله ملکه وسلطان[ه]

2) حکومت و [ز]مان (؟) نواب میرک احمد خان کولای بناگرد این [ه]سجد د

3) شیخ بایزید (این) شیخ

**TRANSLATION**

1) In the reign of the emperor Jalālu’ddin Muḥammad Akbar Bāghāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,

2) government and time of Nawwāb Mirāk, (son of) Aḥmad Ḥān Kollābī, this mosque was built by

3) Shaikh Bāyāzīd, son of Shaikh

It is difficult to establish the identity of Shaikh Bāyāzīd, the builder, in the absence of any other details about him including the date, that might have been given in the text, particularly since there are quite a few persons of this name who flourished in the early part of Akbar’s reign.¹ In the case of Nawwāb Mirāk Aḥmad Ḥān Kollābī, however, we have some information, though that too is not much. He is mentioned in historical works in connexion with the events of the early part of Akbar’s reign, under the name Mirāk Ḥān Kollābī which shows that his name was not Mirāk Aḥmad Ḥān, but Mirāk or Mirāk Ḥān only and Aḥmad Ḥān was his father’s name.² It is rather surprising that a noble of his status does not get any detailed notice. What we know about him is little. In the very first year of Akbar’s reign (October 1555), he fought against Hemi.³ In January 1573, he displayed great fortitude and bravery in the battle at Khaṭauti,⁴ against Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mirzā. Next year, he was on his way to Gujarat as an auxiliary of Muẓaffar Ḥān, the governor of Malwa, who was summoned by the emperor to join him in his Gujarat expedition.⁵ That Mirāk Ḥān is identical with Mirāk Ḥān of our epigraph is also clear from the fact that he was an auxiliary of the Malwa governor. We do not have any further information about him except that his son Muḥammad Šāliḥ was killed in the siege of Chitor in A.H. 975 (1567 A.D.).⁶

---
¹ For example, see Indexes to Abu’l-Fadl, op. cit.; Niẓāmu’d-Din, op. cit.; Bāyāzīd Bayāt, *Tabākirtu’l-Waqī’at* (Calcutta, 1941); etc.
² At this period, the system of dual names was not so common.
³ Niẓāmu’d-Din, op. cit., p. 214.
⁴ Abu’l-Fadl, op. cit., pp. 34-35. In the printed text, the site of the battle is called کہتلوئی (Khaṭauti) which lies in the Jaol tahsil of Nagaur district of Rajasthan.
Our epigraph is thus quite important, as it is the only document which discloses the fact that Mirak Khān was in charge of the Narwar region, where he seems to have remained for a considerable time.

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1008, FROM SARANGPUR

This new record of Akbar, his last in present group, was found by Shri W. H. Siddiqi at Sarangpur. The epigraphical tablet is fixed at the southern corner of a domed building locally called Ma'gūm Shāh-kā-Gumbad.1 Measuring 63 by 49 cm., it contains one more visitor's note hitherto unnoticed, inscribed by the famous nobleman, official and literate of Akbar's court, Mir Muḥammad Ma'gūm Nāmī of Bhakkar, recording the fact that His Majesty emperor Akbar had, on his way to Deccan in the Ilāhī (Regnal) Year 44 corresponding to A. H. 1008 (1600-01 A. D.), camped at the place.

The text runs into four lines of Persian, which are inscribed in Nasta'liq of a fairly high order. It has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII(a)

(1) در حینی که بنگان ظل الله جهان پناه عازم

(2) تسخیر دکن پرند و نزول اجلال درنقام

(3) واقع شد سه سال از سال جهان و چار موافق

(4) هزار و هشت هزار مومید محمد متعصو نامی البكري

TRANSLATION

(1) At the time when His Majesty the shadow of Allāh, shelter of the world (i.e. emperor Akbar), had set out

(2-3) to conquer Dakan (i.e. Deccan), and at this place was his august camp, in the Ilāhī year 44, corresponding to

(4) (A. H.) one thousand and eight (A. H. 1008-1599-1600 A. D.), this was written by Muḥammad Ma'gūm Nāmī al-Bakkari (i.e. of Bhakkar).

Amīr Muḥammad Ma'gūm with the poetical name Nāmī, a resident of Bhakkar, is too well-known a person to need any detailed mention here. As a poet, he has a Diwān and a Khamsa to his credit and is also the author of Tārīkha-i-Sind and Mufradāt-i-Nāmī. He was in active service of the emperor, who had also sent him in A. H. 1010 (1601-02 A. D.) as ambassador to Persia.2

1 ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 129.
Nizâmu'd-Dîn Aḥmad, who was his personal friend, devotes a brief notice to him, and Badâyûnî too gives a slightly more detailed account. The latter is highly appreciative of Nâmî as a man. Blochmann is perhaps the first person who gave all available data about him. Despite these accounts, there are a few details which are still unknown about him. That he had accompanied Akbar throughout his expedition to Deccan and return to the capital in the Hîdâr year 44, is known only from this and several other inscriptions of similar purport engraved by him at Fatehpur Sikri, Bayana, Gwalior, Kolaras in Shâpuri district, Kaliadeh near Ujjain, Sadulpura, Mandu, Burhampur and Asirgarh. These fully corroborate Abu'l-Faţîl's account of the marches and halts of Akbar in his expedition to Deccan.

Jahangir

VIII. Inscription, Dated A. H. 1014, FROM UDAYPUR

The first of the three records of Jahângîr is from Udaypur, an ancient place situated in Basoda tahsil of Vidiha district. It is published here from an old rubbing lying in our office, which is stated to have been taken from the tablet fixed on the local 'Idgâh. The epigraph contains in all twelve lines of which, the first six and part of the seventh line contain First Creed and Throne Verse, while the rest assign the construction of a mosque—evidently the 'Idgâh, to Khwâja Basâwan, son of Bahâdur Khân, during the governorship ('umâl) of Râja Birkamâjît, son of Bârathî Chand. It is dated the 4th Ramadan 1014 (3rd January 1606) in the reign of Jahângîr.

The language of the epigraph is Arabic and Persian, and the style of writing is Naskh with slight Nasta'îy flourishes. This is one of the earliest records of Jahângîr.

The builder Khwâja Basâwan cannot be traced from available records. There was in Akbar's court a painter by that name without the surname Khwâja.

As to Râja Birkamâjît, the governor, it is not easy to establish his identity. One Birkamâjît was a grandson of Râja Râm Chand Bâghelâ, who had, while a minor, rebelled against Akbar some time after A. H. 1001 or so. Râja Birkamâjît who was in the Muskul army that besieged Asirgarh in A.H. 1008 and was subsequently sent as an auxiliary of Abu'l-Faţîl to punish Râjî Dâkanî, seems to be different from the Bâghelâ chief, but is perhaps identical with Râja Birkamâjît Bhaduriya whom Abu'l-Faţîl mentions among the nobles who received rank, etc., from Akbar in A.H. 1013. This Bhaduriya chief is also reported to have served Jahângîr until his death in the latter's Regnal Year 11 or A.H. 1025 or so. The names of Birkamâjît and Bârathî Chand (not as the son and father) occur in the list of the Bundela chiefs, but their dates seem to be slightly later. The dates of Râja Birkamâjît Bhaduriya — the last, A.H. 1013, being hardly a year prior to the date of our...
inscription — make it more probable that he is the one mentioned in the text as the governor. If so, it would mean that he held the region around Udaypur in his fief.

The writing, as seen from the rubbing, occupies a space of 27 by 31 cm., and has been deciphered as under:

\[
\text{Plate XII(b)}
\]

\[
(1) \text{ لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله}
\]

\[
(2) \text{ باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله لا اله الا هو الحي}
\]

\[
(3) \text{ الذي لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السماوات و}
\]

\[
(4) \text{ ما في الأرض من ذلك يستحق عنه إلا باذنه يعلم}
\]

\[
(5) \text{ ما بين يديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشيء من علما الا}
\]

\[
(6) \text{ بما شاءا مع كسبهم السماوات والأرض ولا يوجد حفظه]
\]

\[
(7) \text{ هو الذي أعطيهم در عهد خلافة بنت نبر الدين محمد}
\]

\[
(8) \text{ جهانگر بادشا غازی بن جلال الدين محمد أكبر بادشا}
\]

\[
(9) \text{ غازی در عهد زاج بکرماجیت ابن بهادر تهیتی}
\]

\[
(10) \text{ بن بکرم تهیتی بن بهادر خان تحریر فی}
\]

\[
(11) \text{ التاریخ مقیار من شهیر رمضان المبارک سنه 1013}
\]

\[
(12) \text{ اربع عشر اف مه که در مسجد نماز گذارد برای [ایمان باو دعا کند]}
\]

\[
\text{TRANSLATION}
\]

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

(2-7) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Throne Verse. ¹

(7). In the reign of the asylum of the Caliphate, Nūru’d-Dīn Muḥammad

(8) Jalālūd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bàdhah

(9) Ghāzī, (and) in the time of the governorship (‘amal) of Rāj(a) Bikramājīt, son of Bhārathī Chand, the mosque

(10) was built by Khwāja Basāwani, son of Bahādur Khān. Written on the

(11) date 4, fourth of the month of the auspicious Ramadān, (year A.H.) 1014,

¹ Qur’an, Chapter II, verse 255.
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1008, from Sarangpur (p. 60)

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1014, from Udaypur (p. 62)
PLATE XIII

(1) Record dated A.H. 1036, Udaypur (p. 69)

Scale: 18

Scale: 2
(12) fourteen (and) one thousand (4 Ramadān 1014=3 January 1606). Whosoever offers prayers in the mosque (should pray) for [the faith of the builder].

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1026, FROM THE SAME PLACE

The second record of Jahāngīr is also from Udaypur. Engraved on a slab, measuring 65 by 42 cm. and fixed on the central mihrāb of the Qādiyān-ki-Masjid, it records the construction or foundation of the mosque by Qāḍī Aliyā, son of Sayyid ‘Abdu’s-Šamad al-Ḥasanī on the 28th June 1617, at the time when Jahāngīr was on a visit to Mandu. From the text it is not clear if the mosque was completed by the builder. But from another inscription of a later date from the same mosque, fixed on the outer face of the northern wall, it would appear that the mosque had remained incomplete. According to this inscription, the mosque was commenced by Qāḍī Aliyā, son of Sayyid ‘Abdu’s-Šamad during the reign of Abu’l-Muafjar Nūru’d-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr, but the building was not even half complete when both the emperor and the Qāḍī died, whereupon after one year, Sayyid Ambiyā strove to complete it, but he also expired in the meantime, and ultimately Sayyid Ḥāmid and Sayyid Dā’ūd, sons of Qāḍī Aliyā completed it in the first year of Shāh Jahān’s reign. It bears the date 10 Dhi’l-Ḥijja 1041, which fell in the fourth year of Shāh Jahān’s reign.

The inscription under study contains nine lines of writing of which, the first is devoted to Bismi’llāh and the First Creed in Arabic. The rest are in Persian of a florid type, particularly in the portion containing the honorific and eulogistic titles of the emperor. In the four corners are inscribed the names of the first four caliphs. About Qāḍī Aliyā or such of his kith and kin as are mentioned in the epigraph, no information is available. The style of writing is ordinary Nasḵh.

The text has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate XIII(b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
(2) قال عليه السلام من بناء مسجد[لا] في الدنيا نبا إله تعالى قصرا في الجنة بناء مسجد
(3) اللهم مويذ تأييدات وبدأ، وبيان من توفيات سبطائنا دُنا ظلنا جهاندارى وآثار
(4) وبهت بخبرته شاه سماكه
(5) آم نود نود شرذ قبض شاه كاهن الامام مركز قدوه شهيرى سامى قرام بيت
(6) آنكى كرْئْك عدل عدل كشت قاطئ عنصاف (7) و آنكى كراى احسان جلال حلم نمانده در كناف
(8) مهند قوافين عنصاف قانع بإيام منين اعتصام حامي الدين

1. ARIE, 1960-81, No. D, 106. It was copied by Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant.
2. ARIE, 1965-86, No. D, 135. Udaypur is described in the inscription as a qāḍī in the Chanderi sarkār of the sūba of Malwa, and lying on the border of Gondwāna.
3. For remarks on this inscription, see ARIE, 1965-86, pp. 16-17.
4. The solitary Persian complet in the text is mediocre.
(b) Upper corners.

(2) (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god except Allāh; Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.

(3) He (i.e. the Prophet), may peace be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque in the world, Allāh the Exalted builds a palace (for him) in Paradise'. The mosque was founded in the just reign of

(3) . . . . the one who is supported by Divine supports and by the blessings of the guidance of the Glorified Lord, upper garment of the magnificence of sovereignty, inner garment of effulgence of good fortune, kingdom-adorning king,

(4) sun of bright judgement, asylum of the people at large, focal point of monarchs; verse: He who with the sword of equality, killed the forsaker of justice,

(5) and one on account of whose glorious beneficence, sorrow has disappeared from the corner (of the world), spreader of the canons of justice, remover of the strong foundations of violence, supporter of the religion of

(6) Ḥījāz (i.e. Islām), Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ṣūrū'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādghāh-i-Ḡāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,

(7) this mosque was founded at the time when His Majesty king, with his august and happy presence, had graced Mandu.

(8) This mosque was founded by Qāḍī Auliya, son of Sayyid Abdu'ṣ-Samad al-Ḥasanī. Whosoever offers prayers in the mosque, he should pray for the faith
(9) of His Majesty, the king. The year (A. H.) one thousand and twenty and six, corresponding to the fourth day of the month of the dignified Rajab, (of) the year (A. H.) 1026 (4 Rajab 1026-28 June 1617). May the end be good!

(6) Abā Bakr, 'Umar.

(7) Uthman, 'Alī.

X. A DAMAGED ROYAL ORDER, FROM SIRONJ

The tablet bearing the tenth and the last inscription of the group and the third of Jahāṅgīr was found by my colleague Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant, at Sironj, a tahsil headquarters in Vidisha district. It is fixed in the ground to the left of the entrance of the Civil Court. Subjected to inclemencies of weather, the writing is considerably damaged, particularly in the lower portion containing the date. It registers a royal order (farmān) prohibiting the levy of zakāt throughout the kingdom and intimating the governors, officials, jāgirdārs, kārōvs, rūhdārs and gudharbāns of the qaṣba Sironj, not to charge the same.

The text comprises twelve lines of writing which occupy a total space of about 50 by 80 cm. The language is Persian, and the style of writing is crudish Nastāliq.

It has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIII(a)*

| (1) | فرمان ابن الأنظف نور الدين محمد جهاذگیر بادشا ظغی | (4) | تجار دیده و دانسته زکوة در کل مالک | (7) | محروه معاف فرمودیم ایواب مطالبه آنرا مسدد | (10) | خلاف (؟) فرمان اقدس اعل خواهد نمود بذات | (13) | سنه [ × ] ١٠٠۰ |
| (2) | حکام کرام و عمال و قاجیرداران و کروپیان و | (5) | حال کافه عبد الله مصروفت خصوصاً | (8) | ساخته اسم هرکس بعد ازین نام زکوة بر زبان | (11) | که نموده غضب الی انت گرفتان |
| (3) | راهداران و گنریان قصبه سرونق بدانند | (6) | دانسته و دانسته زکوة در کل مالک | (9) | آرذ بحرمان گوناگون گرفتار گردید اگر کسی بعد ازین |

---

TRANSLATION

(1) The royal order (fārmān) of Abu’l-Mu’azzaf Nūrū’d-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī.

(2) The great governors, commissaries, jāgīrdārs, karorīs,

(3) rāḥdārs and gudharbāns of the qāṣba of Sironj should note

(4-5) that since whole of the wisdom-decorating attention (of the emperor) is engaged on the welfare of the general public (lit. all of the creatures of Allāh), more particularly

(6-8) the traders, we have, of our knowledge and experience, remitted zakāt in the whole of the protected kingdom (and) have closed the doors of its levy. Whoever after this (order), utters (even) the word zakāt on his lips,

(9) will be liable to different kinds of punishments. If any one should, after this,

(10) act contrary to the exalted (and) most holy royal order he will be,

(11) .................................subjected to................which is a specimen of Divine wrath.

(12) .................................year (A. H.) 101[x].

A point or two may be noted about this inscription before we conclude the present study. Firstly, this is one of the quite a few stone-edicts of Jahāngīr remitting zakāt that have been found so far only in Madhya Pradesh. This is a little surprising since, as is well known, the remission of this levy, ordered by the emperor, applied to his whole kingdom. At least in no other part, we have so far come across such orders. The other two places, where similar epigraphs are found are Kolaras and Shivpuri. Another point that arrests attention here is the stress laid on the well-being of the trader who, in particular, was intended to be benefitted most by the order of remission. In the other two orders above, no such distinction is made.

---

1 These have been published in EIAPS, 1964, pp. 79-82.
BILINGUAL RECORD FROM JAIPUR DISTRICT

(a) Inscription, dated Y.S. 1694, from Bhaunara (pp. 67-8)

(PLATES XIV - XV)

THREE RECORDS OF AURANGZEB.

KOTA DISTRICT

(PLATES XIV - XV)

(b) Record, referring to a grant, Gagraon (p. 77)
A BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION FROM JAIPUR DISTRICT

By Dr. Satya Prakash

Director, Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur

The tablet bearing the inscription which, forms the subject matter of this short article, is built up into the wall of a step-well at Bhaupura or Bhāpura near Renwal, situated between Phagi and Renwal, at a distance of about forty-five kilometers from its district headquarters Jaipur, in Rajasthan.

It contains a bilingual record, written both in Persian and Rājasthāni. The Persian version is executed on the right hand side of the slab in Nasta’liq characters in relief and consists of five lines. Its Rājasthāni counterpart is in Nāgari characters and is engraved to its left. The Persian text is well worded and more elaborate, but the main purport of both the versions is the same.

The epigraph assigns the construction of a step-well to the male-nurse (Dhā’u) Chatrā and (his wife?), the female-nurse (Dhā’i) Laknī of Mahārājādhirāj Mahārājā Jai Singh. It is dated the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in Vikrama Samvat 1694. Mahārājā Jai Singh, referred to in the inscription, is Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh, a contemporary of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān, as is clear from the Vikrama year referred to in this record.

My reading of the text is as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(a)

(1) الله أكبر

(2) پترا دھا چرک مکی دھا چرک دندگان سہارا

(3) دھارج مہاراجہ جی سنہک د سال ست 1694

(4) موافق جی میں تبردی در موافقہ بہاؤ برف

(5) موافق نانگل بہاؤ برف یک بارو آب بہاؤ کے آسودگی

(6) خلق اللہ داست سخت الہی ہمیشہ پرآب باشد

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is great!

(2) Chatrā Dhā’u (male-nurse) and Laknī Dhā’i (female-nurse), servants of the

(3) Mahārājādhirāj Mahārājā Jai Singh, in the year (Vikrama) Samvat 1694

(4) on the 13th day (of the) dark (fortnight) of Chaitra, in the village Bhāupur

(5-6) village Nāngal-Bharthā caused to be built one step-well (būnāri) of water, for the

comfort of God’s creatures. Oh my God! May it always remain full of water!

(67)
In the above text, the word مواقف in line 4 is redundant for, meaning as it does, ‘corresponding to’ or ‘according to’, it should normally be used when followed by some corresponding date of any other Calendar, which is not the case here. Therefore, either there is some omission before مواقف or, as is more likely, the word has been used in a superfluous manner. As at present, its removal from the text does not affect the meaning of the record at all.

The Nāgarī version which is in Rājasthani language contains six lines of writing, apart from a few more words, written probably at a later date, on the upper part of the slab above the two versions. It has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XIV(a)

(1) Śrī Rāma
(2) संवत् १६९४ चैत्र बदर १२
(3) Śrī Māhārajājīthirāja Mahārāja Śrī
(4) Jātiswāli kā chālā chātara baalā
dohā
(5) likhimī baandhi pānī kī sīrā há mē
(6) jē Bhārab kā nāgal mē puñī Śrījī kē

TRANSLATION

(1) Śrī Rāma
(2) In (Vikrama) Sambat 1694, (on the) 13th day of Chaitra in the dark fortnight,
(3) Śrī Māhārajājīthirāja Mahārāja Śrī
(4) Jai Singhī’s male-nurse Chatarā, female-nurse
(5) Likhimi (Lakshmi) got constructed a bāori of water, in the
(6) village Bhārtā-kā-Nāgal, dedicating it to Śrījī.

From the above, it is learnt that Bhāpura or Bhaupura was also known as Bhārtā-kā-Nāgal, and in that village was constructed a bāori or step-well of water by Chattrā Dhā’ū and Lakshmi Dhā’ū, male and female attendants respectively of Māhārājājīthirāja Mahārāja Śrī Jai Singh in V. S. 1694 on the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra. Nothing is known about Chattrā (Chaturā) or Lakshmi who may have been husband and wife. It is, perhaps, the only record which has preserved their names even. Also, it is very likely that they were inhabitants of Bhārtā-kā-Nāgal or Bhaupura, where the step-well was constructed.

Like all such places, this step-well was also meant for public use, and as in their case, this bāori was also dedicated to Śrījī, whose devotees the donors were. Śrījī literally means Goddess Lakshmi, but it may here mean, in general terms, the God Vishnu also, of whom the donors were, perhaps, the devotees.

The execution of the Rājasthāni text is not so fine as that of the Persian inscription. The fact that the text was composed in two languages, which were the court and the regional languages, is also indicative of the keen desire of the donors to see that the inscription was read by both the Muslims and the Hindus, presumably with the intention that the step-well could be used by the general public, irrespective of any caste or creed.
THREE GRANTS OF THE TIME OF AURANGZEB FROM KOTA DISTRICT

By M. F. Khan

Epigraphical Assistant

So far only 12 inscriptions of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, from the State of Rajasthan, the traditional abode of the Rajputs, have been published in this Series. But this small number is in no way an indication to the actual number of the epigraphs of this emperor obtaining in the State; quite a few of them have been brought to light in the past decade, and an extensive survey would yield many more. Here, I propose to study three of his inscriptions which I recently came across in that part of the State which comprises the present district of Kota, in 1965.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the whole of Rajasthan was divided into many independent principalities. Out of these, the two principalities of Kota and Bundi were being ruled by the Hádjas, the most important among the twenty-four clans of the Chaubhans. The separation of Kota from Bundi took place in the time of Sháh Jahán, who bestowed it and its dependencies on Mádho Singh, the second son of Ráo Ratan Hádja for his gallantry in the battle of Burhanpur.

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1090, FROM SHAHABAD

Of the three inscriptions that are studied below, the first is from Shahabad, a takṣiil headquarters, situated in 25° 14' N. and 77° 09' E. It is surrounded by the Bhámútt range of hills, an important feature in the landscape, and near here is found its highest point. According to local accounts, Shahabad was so named by Aurangzeb, as it lay on the main route of his marches to Deccan, and during his reign, it was mostly populated by the Muslims who built here many fine buildings. But none of these edifices has now survived except a beautiful mosque known as ‘Álamgírí-Masjid which resembles in design to the Jámí-Masjid of Delhi.

The stone on which this inscription is carved is in the form of a pillar, which is now lying loose in the takṣiil office. I was informed that some years ago it was fixed on a platform in front of the Police Kotwál. Measuring 30 by 120 cm., it is slightly damaged, resulting in the loss of some portion on the right top corner. But the text originally engraved thereon, can be made out with little difficulty, as it contains the name of the Mughal emperor.

The epigraph is an important bilingual record comprising sixteen lines of writing in Persian, followed by eighteen lines in the local dialect, which are respectively inscribed in Naṣṭaʿlīq and Naqṣa characters. The Persian version contains the text of a royal order (farmān) issued by the orders of Aurangzeb on the 14th of Ramadán of his 23rd Regnal Year, corresponding to A. H. 1090 (19th October 1679). It purports that on being apprised, personally, of their complaints by several communities, such as the makhājans, traders and Brahmins of the village Sháhábād, that the sāyir taxes were being recovered from them, a royal decree was issued directing that as...
sāyir taxes were prohibited from the royal court, they should not be levied, and consequently, Randaula Khān, the Jāgīrdār, in compliance with the royal decree, instructed his subordinates to dispense with half of the sāyir taxes like zakāt, batā'ī, tolā'ī, khōn, kotwālī, etc., the representationists having agreed, on their own, to pay the remaining half.

The style of writing in which the text of the record, except for the last line, is incised on the stone, is Nasta'īq of a fairly high order, and despite the fact that the letters have been affected due to the effects of weather and passage of centuries, it is quite pleasing to the eye. The last line does not run horizontally in line with the rest, but is inscribed slantingly. It appears to be in a different hand, as its calligraphy is not of the same quality.

The text has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

(1) [اورنگز زیب عا]لم کِر بادشاه غازی‌الله، اکبر خلیفه رحمه
(2) [یتی]زیاد که در احیان مائزان المبارک سنه ۳۳ جلیل ولی
(3) سیاهان و زنارداران بیوپریان و غیبر قصبه
(4) [شاٰ]یاد بدرک خلاقی فتاه قدر قدر زیاد
(5) استفتائی شدید که محصول سایر از مایان
(6) میگیرند بیرین تقدیر حسب الحكم الاعل، شریف
(7) نفاذ نافذ که از محصول سایر که ممتعه بارگه
(8) ولی است مزاهم تشوند دریونا اامرد میلت
(9) رئوف خان جاگیردار بموجب حکم اشرف الا عل
(10) بمنصبان حرذ نوشته که از محصول سایر مزاهم تشوند
(11) لهرا محصول سایر زکوی وتی و کویوت و التاوی و
(12) کوتوی(؟) و غیره ایواب ممتعه بارگه و ولی است
(13) نصف معاف نموده شد و نصف محصول که برضای و
(14) رغبت خود قبول نمودند آنرا جواب تمکریمات پاشند
(15) و تولیدانه و یتی(؟) و کنخدا و غیره بالکل معاف نموده شد
(16) مسلمان را خدا درمیان زناردار دام درمیان

¹ Could it be "نسبت" meaning betrothal?
(a) Royal order, dated regnal year 23,
from Shahabad (p. 70)

(b) Another royal order, dated A.H. 1106,
from Gagraun (p. 57)
THREE GRANTS OF THE TIME OF AURANGZEB FROM KOTA DISTRICT

TRANSLATION

(1) [Aurangzeb 'Ā] lamgir Bādgahā Ghāzi. Allāh is great! The vicegerent of the Beneficent.¹

(2) [On] the fourteenth day of the blessed month of Ramadān, Year 23 of the exalted accession (14 Ramaqān 1090=19 October 1679),

(3) the mahājans, the Brahmins and the traders and the like of the town (qaṣba)

(4) [Shāhā] bād, having gone to the court, which is the asylum of people and has the force of the Divine Decree, of (Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir Bādgahā Ghāzi).²

(5) (and) complained that the levy of sāyir taxes was being recovered from them,

(6) this royal decree and the supreme orders of (the vicegerent of the Beneficent),³ attained the honour of

(7) issue that (the levy in question) is forbidden (under orders) from the sublime audience-hall,

(8) (and hence) they should not be subjected to it. (Accordingly), now the one possessing the high dignity of nobility, (viz.)

(9) Randaula Khān, the jāgīr-holder, in pursuance of this noble and exalted order,

(10) wrote to his agents (mutqaadāli) that they should not subject them to sāyir levy.

(11) Therefore, the sāyir imposts (like?) zakāt, baṭā'ī, khonš and tolā'ī,

(12) kottwāli, etc., are forbidden by the sublime audience-hall (i.e. the court),

(13-14) (and accordingly), half (of the levy) is remitted and the remaining half, they have, by their own pleasure and freewill, accepted and held themselves answerable for.

(15) And the taxes on birth, house (or betrothal), marriage, etc., have been totally remitted.

(16) (On the violators be the curse of) God if they be Muslims and of Rām, if they be Hindūs.

The inscription is, thus, quite important. It provides useful information about the situation of the jāgīr of Randaula Khān, who was originally a Bijapur nobleman. He had joined the services of Aurangzeb after the latter's return from the viceroyalty of Deccan and rendered him good services. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh which took place in 1658, he was rewarded with the title of Randaula Khān and the rank of 4000. Subsequently too, he saw service in Deccan and Chanda region (now in Maharashtra) and died in A. H. 1094 (1682-83 A. D.).³ In none of the sources at my disposal any mention of the location of the jāgīr of Randaula Khān could be traced. The present epigraph and the one discovered by me recently, from Sanwer in Indore district, are our only source for the information on this point. The record under study shows that Randaula Khān held jāgīr in the Shahabad region, with Shahabad, perhaps, as its headquarters, at the time of our record. The Sanwer record which is dated A. H. 1085 (1674 A. D.) refers to the same Khān as the Jāgīrdār.⁴ Thus, these two epigraphs between themselves

¹ As in royal orders, the royal name and titles should be read along with the text in the fourth and the sixth lines respectively of the text.
² Please see the above note.
determine the whereabouts and possibly, the extent of the jāgir of Randaula Khān. It may also be recalled here that in one inscription from Madhya Pradesh—Dhamoni in Sagaur district, also dated A. H. 1085, Randaula Khān is stated to have encamped at that place.\(^1\) It is not known where he lies buried.

Then, as already stated above, this farmān adds one more to the numerous farmāns issued by Aurangzeb for the well-being of the public.\(^2\) Here it is seen that on receiving the representation of the elite of Shahabad town, the emperor issues orders for the discontinuance forthwith of the unauthorized sāyir taxes. It in a way provides a less known aspect of Aurangzeb’s administration, which requires to be more widely known. It also shows how the grievances of the people were redressed, even when they were against powerful noblemen. There seems to have been some sort of guarantee for the social security for those who made complaints. Otherwise, in the absence of any, they would not have dared approach the emperor directly to complain against the powerful Jāgirdār.

At the same time, it is also indicated by the present record that the Jāgirdārs, at least in remote places, did not carry out royal orders to the letter. This effrontery on their part is somewhat inexplicable, though it can be explained away by saying that the emperor could not keep an absolute control over all the subordinates all over the kingdom. Anyway, this does reveal a weak spot in the central authority. Here, attention may be drawn to the fact that this type of partial non-compliance of the royal orders does not represent any unknown state of affairs. Khāfi Khān has put on record that in spite of the clear standing orders of the emperor about the remission of certain taxes, some officials did exact them, though the same historian adds that such offenders were punished on reports reaching the government. But here is the case of open action of the Jāgirdār in abolishing only half of the sāyir levies and putting the same as a permanent memorial in the form of an inscription. Of course, he did have a technical excuse ready for his action through the stipulation that the people had voluntarily agreed to pay the remaining half.

The inscription is also important in indicating to some extent, the correct connotation and nature of certain revenue items that were being levied in those days. We have seen above that the general term used in the text for the items for which remission was sought and accorded is mahrāl-i-sāyir. According to Abu’l-Faḍl, the duties on land under cultivation were termed māl, those on manufactures (anwa’-i-muhārāfa), jiḥāt and those on the remaining items—miscellaneous, sāyir-i-jiḥāt.\(^3\) But this distinction was, most probably, observed only on paper. As it is, as Mr. H. H. Wilson points out, the term sāyir among other things, means ‘remainder, and hence, it came to denote the remaining or all other sources of revenue accruing to the government, in addition to the land-tax, from a variety of imposts, as customs, transit duties, licences, fees, house-tax, market-tax, etc. In this sense, the term was current throughout India during the British regime. According to Wilson, the several imposts under this name are reported to have been abolished by the British government, with the exception of government customs, duties on spirituous liquors, and other minor specified items. The term had also, then, applied to various items of the income

---

\(^{1}\) E.I.M., 1937-38, p. 38.

\(^{2}\) For example, according to Khāfi Khān, Muntazāb al-Maḥbūl-Lubāb, vol. II (Caleutta, 1874), pp. 87-89, in A. R. 1069, Aurangzeb promulgated an order, remitting as many as eighty imposts which were then current and which brought crores of rupees to the State Exchequer, to give relief to the general public. Likewise, there is on record a farmān, whereby the Diwān of Gujarat was ordered to remit a number of taxes there (‘Ali Muhammad Khān, Mīr’-ā-Abshārī, vol. I, Baroda, 1928, pp. 286-88).

from landed property not comprised in the produce of cultivation, as rent from fisheries, from timber and fruit-trees, bees' wax, etc. It also designated certain admitted manorial rights or prescriptive fees and cesses levied from the residents in a village, or from the cultivators by the proprietors, which have been long established. According to this, which was the actual practice until at least the middle of the last century, the sāyir taxes covered almost all the major taxes apart from the land-revenue.

This is also fully corroborated by the text of our record in which such varied duties as zakāt (as wrongly levied—or so it would appear—from the non-Muslims, as will be mentioned presently), batātī, khoñt, tolāi, kowtūlī, etc., are referred to as sāyir-revenue; to this category, also may be taken to belong the other items such as birth-tax, house-tax or betrothal and marriage-tax also mentioned in the text.

All the above taxes except perhaps what has been doubtfully read as bait, can be easily explained, though all of them, at least under this name are not found in the list of sāyir taxes abolished by Akbar, as given by Abu'l-Faḍl. By batātī is probably intended the tax on the actual division of the crop between the cultivator and the land-lord or the government; likewise tolāi (weighing-tax) is obviously the same as kayyālī or wazzānī of Abu'l-Faḍl’s list or tarāsū-kāḡī or Dharān or Ḍandī-ḍārī of the farmān of Aurangzeb issued to the Diwān of Gujarāt in his 16th Ragnāl Year. As for kowtūlī, it is a variety of town duties. Khoñt has been described as a share in the lands of a village by hereditary descent, and also in all the privileges and rights which it involves. It may have been used here in the sense of payment of revenue according to ancestral shares, without reference to actual condition or produce of the shares, for which the term khoñtaiti was generally used. As referred to above, the reading bait of the levy occuring in line 15 is not certain. It could be read as nisbat meaning ‘betrothal’.

It will be observed that the order stipulates total abolition of taxes on birth and house (or betrothal) and marriage. The tax designated in the text as tawalludāna occurs in the above-mentioned farmān of the emperor addressed to the Diwān of Gujarāt. The one termed in our record as kadkhatāi occurs under the name nikāhāna in the same order. But I have not so far been able to trace the tax on betrothal, if the reading nisbat as suggested above, is found to be correct.

It may be of interest to attempt to find out at whose instance the royal order was issued. It has been seen above that the text mentions them as mahājans, bevpāris (traders) and zummārdārs (Brahmins). While the first two terms, are not, strictly speaking or necessarily, used exclusively for non-Muslims, they are certainly associated mainly with the Hindu mercantile and business community, as their usage even to-day would show. Therefore, it stands to reason to infer that it was the members of the Hindu community comprising the traders, the business men and the Brahmins, who had approached the emperor with their grievance against their being subjected to
the levy of illegal and unauthorised imposts, and the same was promptly redressed by the emperor. That this was so is also indicated by the inclusion of zakāt in the forbidden revenue; not only it could not be a forbidden levy in the case of the Muslims, but even the government, at least under Aurangzeb as we know, took necessary steps to see that the Muslim population on whom the payment of zakāt was obligatory and who evaded the same by resorting to various devices, actually paid the same. The inscription, therefore, can only be taken to indicate that the agents of the Jāgirdār were recovering from the Hindus too, zakāt which was a forbidden levy in their case, being required to pay jizya.

II-III.—INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 1106, FROM GAGRAUN

These two inscriptions are from Gagraun, a place of great antiquity and historical importance, in former days, but now a small village, in the Sangod tahsil of Kota district.

Situated in 24°33’ N. and 76°12’ E. at the junction of Ahu and Kali Sind rivers, about 5 kilom. north-east of Jhalawar and 70, to the south-east of the district headquarters, the place is remarkable for its fort, which was considered to be one of the strongest in Rajasthan. It had successfully resisted a siege by Alau’d-Din Khujji in 1300. In 1423, it was conquered by Hosang Shāh of Malwa and placed under prince Ghazni Khān, who strengthened the fortifications by throwing up more ramparts and bastions and extending the walls up to the Sind river. During the time of Sultan Mahmūd I, who was then busy suppressing internal disturbances, Palhan Singh Khichi, son of the old Rāja of Gagraun succeeded in re-conquering it, but in 1444, in the time of Mahmūd II, Gagraun was again captured by Medni Rāi, who placed it under the command of his son Hem Kahan. It was captured by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat (1532), and again passed on to the authority of the Malwa kings. When in 1560, emperor Akbar, on his way to Malwa, reached near the fort of Gagraun, he gave orders for its reduction, but the officers of the Malwa Sultan Bāz Bahādur, voluntarily surrendered the fort. During Akbar’s time, it was one of the districts (arkir) of the province (sūba) of Malwa. In the time of Aurangzeb, the fort seems to have been placed in the charge of Shaikh Firuz, when Nawab Irādat Khān was the governor of the province. It remained under the Mughal authority till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Mahī Rāo Bhīm Singh of Kota obtained it by grant from the Mughal emperor Farrukh Siyar.

Outside the fort, at some distance, is situated the Dargah of the saint Ḥādīrat Ḥamīdu’d-Dīn popularly called Mīṭṭha Shāh. In its enclosure, there is a small mosque, on the southern wall of which is fixed the tablet, measuring 23 by 65 cm., which is inscribed with eighteen lines of writing in Persian. The epigraph assigns the construction of a Jami’ mosque to Irādat Khān, son of Nawab Irādat Khān, and grandson of Nawab A’zam Khān and registers the grant in cash sanctioned by him from the total revenue (mīl-‘aṣ-ṣayār) of Gagraun for the maintenance of the mosque. It further gives the daily rate of expenditure, viz. five Buhlūls, of which three Buhlūls were meant for the Imam (leader-of-prayers), one for the Mu’adhdhin (caller-to-prayers), who would also be responsible for the daily cleaning of the mosque, and half each towards the expenses on water and illumination. It also expresses the belief that whoever from the officials appointed

---

1 For example, see the farrāh in ‘Ali Muḥammad Khān, op. cit., pp. 286-88.
2 The above five paragraphs and part of the one preceding them are by the Editor.
3 For an account of its antiquity, see Imperial Gazetteer (IG), vol. XII (Oxford, 1908), pp. 121-23; Gahlot, op. cit., pp. 29-31.
to Gagraun (among others), pays obeisance to Shāh Mīthā will get his desires fulfilled. This also shows that the Jāmi' mosque of the inscription is the same mosque on which the inscription occurs.

The record names Shaikh Firūz as the person incharge of the fort, who supervised the work on behalf of his master, as stated in the text. Nothing is known about him from the available historical records. Our inscription is the only source to supply the information that he was placed in charge of the fort as his deputy by Irādat Khān.

Shāh Mīthā who finds mention in the record, was a wellknown saint of his time. He is reported to have died in the year A.H. 1003 (1594-95 A.D.).

As regards Irādat Khān, he is none other than Mir Mubāraku'llāh, entitled Irādat Khān, the second son of Jahāq Khān, entitled Irādat Khān, and grandson of Mir Muḥammad Bāqir entitled Nawwāb A'ẓam Khān, a nobleman under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Irādat Khān of our inscription is also celebrated as a poet who wrote verses in Persian under the nom-de-plume Wādīh and, has to his credit, a collection of poems and a number of books. Under Aurangzeb, he was first the sūbadār of Chākna near Poona and thereafter of Mandasor and Malwa. He died in A.H. 1128 (1716 A.D.).

The style of writing is Nasta'liq of no particular merit. The text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XV (b)*

1. در سنه ۱۱۱۱ یکهزار و یکصد و تیم میلادی
2. بنده درگاه از مرز اد(default)
3. آن نوبات اعظم خان
4. این مسجد جامع را عند الله احاطه
5. نموده هر کس که از حاکمان بصدام تمام
6. در برگه حضرت شاه مینه خدمت خواهند
7. کرد عقرب بمراد خواهند رسيد و بشرت
8. خدمت مسجد يوميه پنج بهلهی مقرر کرده شد
9. امام سه بهلهی و موذن و همین جاروب کش

---

1 The saint seems to have been known as Miyan Miththa Bodi as stated by his contemporary, the seventeenth-century historian of Gujrat, Sikandar. In the printed edition of his work, however, Sikandar, Mir'at-i-Sikandari (Baroda, 1981), p. 283, the popular name is given as 'Miyan Mahatta Bodka.'

2 Ghulam Sarwar, Kitāb-i-Agfyā, vol. I (Kampur, 1902), p. 446. If this date is correct, the noble edifice (i.e. the tomb of Shāh Mīthā) stated to have been constructed in A.H. 991, according to an inscription fixed into the wall on the right side of the entrance of the Darqāh, by Miyan 'Inā, during the governorship of Sulīman Rārhor, must have been built during the life-time of the saint.

3 Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ma'āthi'r-Umarā, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), p. 204. Almost all the biographical works of the poets of this period devote a notice to him.
(1) In the year 1106, one thousand and one hundred and six, of Migration (A. H. 1106=1694-95 A. D.),

(2) a servant of the royal court, Irādat Khān, son of Nawwāb

(3) Irādat Khān, son of Nawwāb A’zām Khān,

(4) constructed this Jāmī’ mosque for the sake of Allāh.

(5) Whoever from among the officials, with all sincerity,

(6) will render service to His Holiness Ḥadrat Shāh Mīṭhe,

(7) will soon attain the fulfilment of his desires. And by way of

(8) rendering service to the mosque, five Buhlālis, per diem, have been set apart——

(9) three Buhlālis for the Imām (leader-of-prayers) and for the Mu’āthdhin (caller-to-prayers) who will also do the sweeping,

(10) one Buhlāl, and for water, half Buhlāl and for oil for lamp,

(11) half Buhlāl——from the land-revenue and other revenue accounts of Gāgraun; this amount should be made available daily.

(12) And whosoever from (Allāh’s) creatures comes in the mosque,

(13-14) for the sake of Allāh, may not forget this humble servant in his prayer for good, (namely) that may the end be happy;

(15) One of the humblest devotees of this court and

(16) the least among the house-born slaves of the afore-mentioned Khān Šāhib,

(17) viz. Shaikh Firūz, the deputy incharge of the fort (nā’ib-i-qal’ah), who was the supervisor (for this work),

(18) is hopeful of good prayers (for him). And there be peace!
THREE GRANTS OF THE TIME OF AURANGZEB FROM KOTA DISTRICT

The importance of the above record is obvious. Apart from the helpful information for the local history of Gagraun, which it gives, the epigraph supplies information about the pay-structure of a certain class—the leader-of-prayers and the caller-to-prayers (with the additional duty of cleaning the mosque) of a village mosque. According to the fixture by the Khān, the local revenue account was to disburse three Buhlūlīs a day to the former and one Buhlūlī a day to the latter. This may also serve as an indication, however indirectly, to the economic condition of that time. Another point that may interest students of numismatics is that the currency at this—almost later Mughal—period was Buhlūlī, a coin that was set in circulation by the Lodī king Buhlūl Shāh. It also shows that in different parts of the country, the coins of earlier denominations were legally current in succeeding centuries. In this connection, it is to be remembered that according to Abu'1-Fadl and others, the copper Dām (and subsequent Fulūs) were also called Buhlūlī, but some of the modern numismatics like Mr. Neville are inclined to doubt the veracity of his statement. Unfortunately, no definite information about the exact value of this coin is available, but Neville holds it reasonable to apply the term to the 80-rati billion coin of Buhlūlī.1 In any case, the epigraph supplies important information.3

The second inscription from Gagraun and the third and the last inscription of the group is also from the Dargāh of Miṣṭha Shāh. It is engraved on a slab, measuring 24 by 55 cm., which is fixed in the tympanum under the arch of the main gate.4

The text which consists of seven lines of writing in Persian, is executed in Nasta'īq characters of an ordinary type. It refers to an endowment of the land-revenue (mālṣūbl) of the village Chaukiyāh, which was ordered to be made by Irādat Khān, for the expenses of the annual celebrations ('urs) at the Dargāh. It enjoins upon the future officials not to interfere with it.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(1) خون محمد صDrawable خوکیا
(2) عرس دِرگاہ بنده
(3) دِرگاہ ارادخان نفر
(4) گرده هر بلدہ خدا
(5) گھر دریاگا وارد گردد
(6) مزاحم نشود گھ
(7) عند اللہ اجر عظیم است

---

1 For details, see H. R. Neville, The Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi (Delhi, 1936), pp. 287-289.
2 This para is by the Editor.
TRANSLATION

(1) As the land-revenue of the village Chaukiyā,
(2) (for) the annual celebrations ('urs) of the Dargāh, the humble servant,
(3) of the court, Irādat Khān, has endowed,
(4) every creature of God,
(5) who comes to this place (as an official),
(6) should not interfere (with it), as
(7) (the maintenance of the grant) carries great reward with Allāh.

There is no date in the above record, but it is evident that it was set up sometime during his tenure of governorship by Irādat Khān of the previous inscription, which, as we have seen above, bears the date A. H. 1106 (1694-95 A. D.). It is not known if the Dargāh still enjoys the grant of the village as mentioned in the present record. Likewise, it has not been possible to locate the village Chaukiyā on the present maps. There are quite a few villages bearing the names Chauki and Chaukia, but they are situated too far off from Gagraun to be the intended village, since it stands to reason to hold that this Chaukiya was situated in the vicinity of Gagraun where the Dargāh for which its revenue was endowed is situated.
THE DAKANI INSRIPTION ON THE AMIN DARGAH AT BIJAPUR

BY M. AKBARUDDIN SIDDIQI

Department of Urdu, Osmania University, Hyderabad

Haḍrat Amīnu'd-Dīn A'īlā, also known as Amīnu'd-Dīn, 'Allī Sher-i-Khudā (lion of God), is a celebrated spiritual personality of the seventeenth century, who came from an equally renowned family of spiritual guides and saints, and is renowned alike, like his father Shāh Būranū'd-Dīn Jānām and grandfather Haḍrat Mīrzā Shamsu'll-'Ushshāq, for his piety and saintliness as also for his services to the Dakani-Urdū literature. It is, therefore, rather surprising that no information should be available about the exact date of his birth, which can fortunately be fixed with considerable amount of certainty from available literary evidence.

It is related that Haḍrat Mīrzā Shamsu'll-'Ushshāq came to Shāhpur, and became a disciple of Haḍrat Shāh Kamālū'd-Dīn Mūjarrād (lit. celibate) Bayābānī, who, it is reported, advised him to settle down and to lead a married life. Accordingly, Shāh Mīrzā got married in a respectable family of Bhiṅgār in Ahmadnagar District. He had at least two sons, namely Būranū'd-Dīn Jānām and Khwāja 'Aṭī'ālī, of whom the latter died young and was buried on the same hillock at Shāhpur, where now the Mausoleum of Amina'u'd-Dīn A'īlā stands.

There are quite a few works which contain details of the members of this illustrious family. One of these is Tadkhīrā-i-Ghauthiyā, in Persian verse, which describes the teachings of the saint's grandson 'Ali Pir and contains praises of the saint, and his father and grandfather. Haḍrat Shāh Būranū'd-Dīn is therein described as the pillar of the religious code (ṣher) of the Prophet, the spiritual successor of Shāh Mīrzā, lord of man and genii, master of generosity, ascetic, pious and steadfast, solver of difficulties, guide and shower of path to God's creatures at large, the upholder of the dignity of Fagr of the Prophet, etc. The same work describes Amina'u'd-Dīn A'īlā, whose name it gives as Amīnu'd-Dīn 'Ali, as the occupier of the sajjāda (lit. carpet) of his father, the custodian of the divine secret, the guide in both the worlds, the one popular with God, who did not remain a single moment without His meditation. The same work records 'khutm-i-walī' (i.e. the last of the saints) as the chronogram for his death, which yields A.H. 1086 (1675-76 A.D.).

According to Mu'azzam, a disciple of Shāh Amina'u'd-Dīn and a pupil of Qādir Lingā-Kotāl, who is the author of a poem entitled Shajaratul-Atiqiyā, Būranū'd-Dīn Jānām completed his education at the age of fifteen, became a disciple of his father and set out on tour—a sort of academic exercise then considered necessary for proper training of mind and soul—lasting for about three years. It was after his return that his father died, but only after the latter had made him his successor, and imparted him true knowledge of God.

This would indicate that at the time of his father's death, Jānām was eighteen to twenty years old. In the elegy in Dakani-Urdū composed by him on the death of his father, depicting his overwhelming grief at this loss and the genuine love in which he held his saintly father—which ranks

1 This area is enclosed by four walls, and it is said that any member of the family who dies young and unmarried, is buried there.
2 Reference to the Tradition, 'I take pride in Fagr'.
3 Tadkhīrā-i-Ghauthiyā (Ms. in the Library of Amin Dargah).
4 Mu'azzam, Shajaratul-Atiqiyā (Ms. in the Sīlah Jang Library, No. 230 of Section Ṭasawwur wa Akhlaq).
as a fine specimen of poetry too—Shāh Jānām has given the date, month and year of his father's demise. When I had referred to this elegy in my introduction to the Kalimatul-Haqīq, a work on Sufism in Dakani-Urdū prose by Shāh Jānām himself, I had to rely on the manuscript of the elegy then available to me, and had doubtfully read the year of the death نو سو و اس پر آگلے پہی دو اور 84 سو ن و اس پر آگلے پہی دو 1 and the age of Ḥāḍrat Mirānī جاسود دو و اس پر آگلے پہی دو. This means that these words respectively stand for '902 with 2 more', and 94. In other words, Shāh Mirānī had expired in A.H. 904 (1499 A.D.), at the age of 94.

This should now settle the issue once for all. In other words, Mirānī died at the age of 94, on the night of Wednesday-Thursday on the 25th Shawwāl 904 (5th June 1499). This would mean that the saint was born in A.H. 810 (1407-08 A.D.), and since Jānām was then somewhere between 18 and 20 years, his year of birth can also be worked out to A.H. 884 to 886 (1479-81 A.D.). Jānām is also the author of a long poem named Isrāshād Nāma composed in A.H. 990 (1582 A.D.), which is the year assigned by the late Maulavi Dr. ‘Abdu’l-Haq. 2 And since the Kalimatul-Haqīq quotes certain lines from the Isrāshād Nāma, it must have been written some time after A.H. 990, though it is difficult to ascertain the interval between their dates of composition. In any case, the date assigned by Dr. ‘Abdu’l-Haq, is earlier by a few years, and Jānām appears to have died much later. For, one of the diaries found in the library of Gachchi-Maḥal at Bijapur, in the form of the death of several important persons and events are transcribed, contains the chronogrammatic phrase عزیز جان میری موت یہ جاہم which on calculation yields the year A.H. 1006 (1597 A.D.).

If this be the year of the death of Jānām, as appears to be the case, it should also provide the date of the birth of the saint Aminu’d-Din himself, who was born within a few days of the death of his father, as has been stated in details by Mu’azzam. 3 Of course, this would mean that Jānām must have been of a ripe age of more than 120 or 122 years, at the time of the birth of his son.

Aminu’d-Din A’lā, according to the will of his father, was brought up by Shaikh Maḥmūd Khūsh-Dahān, Sayyid Dāval and Sayyid Khudāwānd Shāh, who were among the prominent disciples of Jānām. 4 He rose to be a great saint, and author of a number of works on Sufism and like spiritual matters. Numerous miracles have been attributed to him in almost all the concerned Sufi hagiologies dealing with Indian saints and works dealing with the history of Deccan, which unfortunately do not give much details of his life as such.

The saint was always in disfavour with the theologians and religious leaders of his time. This was due to two reasons: Firstly, we are told by Mu’azzam that the custom of prostration out of reverence (ṣijda-i-ta’ṣīmi) which was being made to Jānām was continued by Aminu’d-Din A’lā

1 For the details about this elegy, etc., please see Burhān’u’d-Din Jānām, Kalimatul-Haqīq, ed. Professor M. Akbarud-Din Siddiqi (Hyderabad, 1961), p. 5. The complete elegy has since been published in the monthly Urdu magazine Sabrās, Hyderabad, April 1968 issue.


3 Mu’azzam, op. cit.

also. Secondly, the saint could never follow the Shari‘at (Religious Code), as he was almost in a meditative trance all the while. It is also related that once one of the religious leaders, Sayyid Muḥammad Bukhārī, lodged a complaint against him before the Bijāpur king Ṣikandar ‘Ādil Shāh, and A‘lā was compelled to say prayers.¹

A‘lā belonged to the Chishti order of the Sufis,² and used to impart instruction in spiritual matters and religious rites. Some great saints and religious leaders as well as scholars and poets were born in his family.

It may be noted here that the Chishtiyya order owes its currency in the Deccan to Mīrānjī Shamsu’l-Ushāq. One of his disciples, besides his son, Jānām, was Faṣṭu’l-Dīn Bābā Sajanjāl,³ who is mentioned in several books of the period as a poet of renown. Among the disciples of Jānām were Sayyid Dāwāl, Ḥājī Muḥammad Isḥāq Mādrāsī, Khūḍawān Shāh, Shaikh Khān Miyān, Shaikh Muḥammad Khūsh-Dāhān, Ran Sīngār Khān and Muḥammad Baḥrī’s father Qādī Baḥrū’l-Dīn Qādī-i-Daryā, who were also men of letters. Likewise, among the disciples of Aminu’d-Dīn A‘lā, besides his son Ḥaḍrat Bābā Shāh and grandson, ‘Alī Pir, there were such illustrious men as Shāh ‘Abdūl-Qādir well known as Qādīr Lingā-Kotāl, Sayyid Shāh Muḥammad Qādirī Nur-i-Daryā, Maṣ‘ūm, Shāh Man‘āraf, Shāh Mīrān Ḥusainī Mirānjī Khudā-Numā (buried in the Kambakhi-Gumbad at Kārwān-i-Sāhā in Hyderabad), Mīrān Sayyid Ḥasan Khudāwānd Khudā-Numā (buried at Chincholi in Gulbarga District), Shāh Muḥammadī and Mu‘azzām Bījāpūrī.

Aminu’d-Dīn A‘lā died on the 24th Ramadān in A.H. 1085 and not in A.H. 1086 as stated by Maulāvī ‘Abdūl-Ḥaq.⁴ He was buried temporarily near the site of his present tomb, and subsequently shifted there on its completion. The tomb, a building of no mean pretentions, was constructed by one of the saint’s disciples Aḥṣāl Khān Bātanī. The latter is stated to have built a house, the ruins of which may still be seen, about half a kilometre away from the Khānqāh on the hillock, during the saint’s life-time. It is said that by some skill of building art, any sound, such as even clapping of hands, made on the platform of the Khānqāh, could be heard in Aḥṣāl Khān’s house. This is stated to have been done to ensure that whenever the saint wanted to see him, a clap of hands would bring Aḥṣāl Khān to the Khānqāh.

There are several works to the credit of Aminu’d-Dīn A‘lā, in verse as well as in prose. These are: (1) A panegyric in praise of his father (2) Muḥīb Nāma (3) Ramzu’s-Sāliḥīn (4) Rīsāla-i-Wujūdiyya (5) Rīsāla-i-Quṣūbiyya (6) Nūrīza (7) Irshād Nāma (in prose). Besides these, there are several lyrics and poems written in Rekhtā (having half of the couplet in Persian and the other half in Dakani).

The inscription under study occurs on the Mausoleum, which is locally called Aṁīn-Dargāh. Situated on elevated land, in the midst of a large enclosure containing the Khānqāh and other buildings, which is entered through a gate, the white-washed tomb, glittering in the sun as if of white marble, is a prominent feature in the landscape, and attracts the attention of wayfarers.

---

¹ This is mentioned in almost every hagiographical work of the time.
² Incidentally, a poet Sādīq belonging to the Qādiri order, wrote a long satire against A‘lā, a copy of which is preserved in the above mentioned Gaecchi Mahal Library.
³ For the inscription recording the date of his death and construction of his tomb and a mosque at Shahpur which is now in the State Museum, Hyderabad, see Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement, 1959 and 1960, p. 29.
from a great distance. The Dargah building is likewise a fine specimen of 'Adil Shāhī architecture, and is among the very few buildings of Bijapur which are octagonal and not square.  

The inscription is engraved in relief on the wide stone-frame, enclosing the whole of the southern face of the building, within which is contained a large recessed arch, pierced by a square ornamental door. It starts from the bottom on the right vertical side, runs on from right to left on the horizontal, that is top side, and continues from top of the left vertical side, to end at its bottom.

This is perhaps the largest single inscription to be found on a Muslim tomb in India, and indeed, even on other buildings, too, very few inscriptions of this magnitude and impressive execution will be found. The writing occupies a total space of about 21.47 m. by 60 cm. being 4.30 m. by 60 cm. on each vertical side and 2.87 m. by 60 cm. on the top, between them. On account of its execution, the epigraph can easily rank among the finest specimens of calligraphic art on stone in India. The writing is remarkable for its bold Thulūḥ letters with Tughrā flourishes, and the disposition of the text is also remarkable, aiming as it does at symmetrical distribution with an eye on diversity to avoid monotony. Each of the side represents the facade of a domed building with the central and side domes crowned with crescent-topped pinnacles, rising out of the bands of conventional petals, at the corners of a line of recessed parapet topped with merlons, and the base formed by the motif of the rai-e-i elephant-trunk (a prominent feature of the 'Adil Shāhī buildings). The whole of the facade above the said base-motif, including the domes and parapets, is taken up by writing. The space below the parapet is cut into a number of panels comprising three sets of three vertical or longitudinal panels, containing a set of two plain arches, separated from each other by three horizontal or latitudinal panels containing a set of two foiled arches, and from the parapet and the base by two. Each of these vertical panels and one of the set of the two or three panels, contain one hemistiche of Dakanī-Urdū verse except in the bottom-most panel, while each of the remaining horizontal panels is cut up into three squares, each enclosing a circle, containing invitations to the saint and his predecessors by their epithets. The total number of the hemistiches of Dakanī in each side thus comes to twelve, the bottom-most containing a Persian couplet.

The top side is cut into three rectangular sections, the central section being made prominent by a latitudinal lozenge of two foiled-arch pattern inscribed with the First Creed in still bolder letters, and the four spandrel-corners carved with floral design of fine workmanship, each with one inscribed medallion inside; the four medallions contain a Tradition of the Prophet. Each of the side sections is cut up into two vertical panels flanking a set of three horizontal ones. Each one of former is again cut up into three squares, each enclosing a medallion, inscribed with the names of the twelve Imāms, while the six horizontal panels contain six hemistiches in Dakanī-Urdū verse.

The text thus comprises a Dakanī poem of thirty hemistichs or fifteen couplets and one Persian verse, the latter being inscribed in both the bottom-most panels of the sides, and a number of medallions, parapet-arches, etc., containing invitations to the twelve Imāms, the saint and his predecessors, religious texts, etc.

The ingenuity of the calligraphist has found expression, apart from the beautiful script, in the disposal of letters and their shafts. Every lozenge-shaped panel has been divided so to say into two parts by the prolongation of the horizontal part of a letter after straightening it, with the text inscribed above and below. This has been done, though without observing any continuity.

1 Another tomb of this design is one of the pair called Jod-Gumbad, but the Amin-Dargah, though of smaller dimensions, is a more well-balanced building.
or arrangement of words or their letters, but at the same time, with artistic skill. Then, the elongated shafts of letters like alif, lām and kāf, have been generally arranged at equal distance, irrespective of their number, two, three or five. No fixed arrangement has been followed for the curves of letters—they are for example, in the case of sûn either executed in their usual curved fashion of the Thulūḥ style or at times in the Riqq style making it difficult to differentiate it from the letter rā. Likewise, the diacritical and vowel marks are not invariably given. The scribe has also filled up blank places, wherever necessary, as usual, by writing under the letters their miniature forms, adding to the beauty of the inscription.

As the students of epigraphy will be aware, it is comparatively easier to decipher the inscriptions in Arabic and Persian than to unravel the one in a language like Dakani-Urdū, particularly when there is no continuity of the matter, and the composition or lettering of the words and their usual sequence, as explained above, is totally ignored. The writing has been slightly affected by the weathering of the stone in one or two lines but that presents no difficulty as compared to the above-mentioned arrangement. It is perhaps on account of this that though one or two early scholars have had occasion to see the epigraph, they had either ignored it or dismissed it by saying that it contains only the Quranic text. However, Maulavi ‘Abdu’l-Haqq of revered memory had published readings of five couplets or ten hemistiches (from which my reading differs in a few places), having found them in some manuscript, but he was not aware of these hemistiches also being a part of the epigraph, nor had he any knowledge of the inscription under study.

At the end, that is, in the bottom-most panel of the left side, the scribe has signed his name as Husain with the date A.H. 1088 (1677-78 A.D.). The epigraph thus furnishes the name of a skilled calligrapher of the ‘Ādil Shāhī period. Also, it supplies authentic information about the time of the construction of the tomb which must have been completed immediately before or latest by that year.

It may be noted that the poet calls his poem, in the text, a qhazal and has also stated the number of its couplets, viz. fifteen. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the author of these verses. The late Maulavi Shāhib was inclined to attribute their authorship to the saint himself, whose name occurs as a radīf throughout the poem. But after a study of the whole poem, which it has been now possible to decipher completely and, I presume, correctly too, I feel that it was composed by a disciple of the saint. Unfortunately, his name is not known, and the qhazal too does not offer any clue in this regard, in the form of the nom-de-plume, usually quoted in the last verse.

This is, incidentally, the second oldest inscription on stone composed in old Urdū, the first being the inscription dated A.H. 961, from Ahmadabad.

I now quote below the reading of the epigraph. With a view to enable the scholars to follow the deciphered text in this intricately designed inscription, I have chosen to keep the arrangement as on the stone, and give the qhazal in its proper form separately.

---

1 Dr. M. Nāgīm who edited a large number of inscriptions of Bijapur including the one set up at the gate of the enclosure of the Amin-Dargah in his Bijapur Inscriptions (Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49, New Delhi, 1936), p. 81, has not included this epigraph in his book, nor has he alluded to it. Prof. B. D. Verma of Poona had also seen this epigraph and, as Dr. Z. A. Desai informs, given its reading in his doctorate-thesis on ‘Ādil Shāhī Epigraphy.

2 For example, Bashru’d-Din Ahmad, Wāqi’āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr, part II (Agra, 1915), p. 100.


4 Ibid.

5 It was also first brought to light by Maulavi ‘Abdu’l-Haqq in the Journal Urdu, (April 1938), and was subsequently published by Dr. G. Yazdani in Epigraphia Indo-Mulsimica, 1935-38, pp. 51, pl. XXXIV a. Later on, Dr. M. A. Chaghoti gave its revised reading in his Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad (Poona, 1942), p. 81, pl. XXXVI c.
A. Right side (Plate XVIa).

(a) Bottom-most horizontal panel:

بنیادی زه عشق پانزه
ژر درد بل نبود مفصود

(b) Horizontal panels, above a,

(1) Side circles: یا امین مدد

(2) Middle circle: یا حاجت دوا

(c) Three vertical panels:

(1) دل بحر مین غواص هو روح صد فکی کاجین امین

(2) در ای بها تسر صند مین جان نور تون ساجین امین

(3) گرگین کت عرفان تون سنهال سینیتی چیر کر

(d) Horizontal panel, above c,

(1) Side circles: یا صاحب کرایات

(2) Middle circle: یا امین مدد

(e) Above d,

موفق مزینهات لی عرفان انگون پرکار امین

(f) Above e,

(1) Right circle: یا شمس العشاق

(2) Middle circle: یا معشوق ربان

(3) Left circle: یا انتباه المهتاب

(g) Three vertical panels, above f:

(1) سو هم نور تون تسد حال جو ظاهر طلوع

(2) کرنا حضر حق اوجت هدین ایس تسب تون امین

(3) مقبول حق از حق هو یاگه چراکس جا ده

(h) Horizontal panel above g,

(1) Side circles: یا حاجت روا

(2) Middle circle: یا امین مدد

(i) Above h:

راضی رضا حق هو بدا تهان ذوق تا دوجا امین
INSRIPTION ON THE AMIN-DARGAH, BIJAPUR

(Plates XVI-XVIII)

(b—pp. 84-5) (a—p. 84)

Scale: 1
(j) Above i (Plate XVIb),

1. Right circle: 
   يا عاشق شهباز

2. Middle circle: 
   يا امين مدد

3. Left circle: 
   يا باند پرواز

(k) Vertical panels, above j:

1. اس ذوکی تمثیل کون کس میکی سون کیا گر کیوں
2. ناہر کیپ زهرا تهان تا اور کنوئی سکیا امین
3. حق وصل سون بھو بھانگے تس پہاکی قلت اللسان

(l) Horizontal panel above k,

1. Right circle: 
   يا نور نور

2. Middle circle: 
   يا امين مدد

3. Left circle: 
   يا سرسے

(m) Above l:

کوئں کھم منزہ روبه سے بهوجک اجنیہ کن امین

(n) Three parapet-arches above m, from right to left:

الله کلی - اللہ محمد علی - اللہ شافی

(o) Two small domes, each:

با اللہ

(p) Big dome:

لَّهِ اِنا اللَّه

B. Top side.

i. Right Section (Plate XVIIa).

(a) Right vertical panel,

1. Top circle: 
   امام علی المرتضی

2. Middle circle: 
   امام محمد الاباقر

3. Bottom circle: 
   امام محمد الکی

(b) Horizontal panels to the left of a:

1. وصل بحیر امواج مین هادیہ هدایت جس ایلن
2. وارنی شفا اغلب تهان باریک در تاریک امین
3. لیکن عروج اینہ سن غواص دکلی سمع تون

(c) To left of b,

1. Top circle: 
   امام حسن المجتبی صابر
(2) Middle circle: 


(3) Bottom circle: 


ii. Middle Section (Plate XVIIb): 

(a) Centre: 

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله تعالى شانه 

(b) Corners, 

(1) Top right: 

قال رسول الله و بي ينشفاء 

(2) Top left: 

صل الله عليه و وله و صحبه و سلم 

(3) Bottom right: 

ثنا أسرى إلى السماء الدنيا 

(4) Bottom left: 

ادل على مكتون العرش 

iii. Left Section (Plate XVIIc): 

(a) Right vertical panel, 

(1) Top circle: 

امام حسين الشهيد كربلا 

(2) Middle circle: 

امام موهب الكاظم 

(3) Bottom circle: 

امام حسين العسكر 

(b) Horizontal panels to the left of a: 

(1) امماج طفس اموات الله تهين نادر امين 

(2) مطلوب من انسان تام انكال نه متشكيل توج 

(3) جا ذوب كر ابشار جا بيجار تون كرنا امين 

(c) To left of b, 

(1) Top circle: 

امام زين العابدين 

(2) Middle circle: 

امام موهب الرضا 

(3) Bottom circle: 

امام محمد المهدي 

C. Left Side (Plate XVIIIa): 

(a) Big dome: 

As in p of A above. 

(b) Two small domes: 

As in o of A above. 

(c) Three parapet-arches, below b, right to left: 

الله معنئي - الله محمد على - الله باقئ 

(d) Below c: 

بيجا بود ورسو بس يردا الله توجه ام منه
(e) Below d,
(1) Right circle: انہا من نوراہم
(2) Middle circle: یا امین مدد
(3) Left circle: وکل شی من نوره

(f) Vertical panels below e:
(1) مردان حق تن نام ہی جن ہم اپنی ہمیشہ اپنی امین
(2) شاهد هو دل انسان دنا دلار زور تر
(3) پیرہ معلم خاص تهی امداد لی حق سون امین

(g) Below f,
(1) Right circle: یا بنده نواز
(2) Middle circle: یا امین مدد
(3) Left circle: یا کیسی دراز

(h) Below g:
برہان کہرے فیض سون گوتا لیا ان دھوندہئے

(i) Below h (Plate XVIIIb),
(1) Right circle: یا غیاث العاشقین
(2) Middle circle: یا امین مدد
(3) Left circle: یا تاج الموحدين

(j) Three vertical panels below i:
(1) یا ایا جو تفہم خیال آب ء رہ امین هو امین
(2) برہان بن میران کیرے درگم کے سب خاکہ بر
(3) قربان تن بل چان میں دیکر کہا کیتا امین

(k) Below j,
(1) Right circle: یا اقتباس المفتی
(2) Middle circle: یا معشوش رہائے
(3) Left circle: یا شمس الشام

(l) Below k,
خط غلامی منجھے سما آسیر (س دربار کا

(m) Below l,
(1) Right circle: یا هادیہ زمر
(2) Middle circle: 
يا امين مدد

(3) Left circle: 
يا سالى كوير

(n) Vertical panels below m:
(1) آزادگی کردن نتیجه محنت نتشتی پایا امن
(2) ابیات خالی پنجره تخت کیا ای غزل مین
(3) مفهوم کرسار هوا تاعیب چو هونا امن

(o) Below n,
(1) Side circles: 
يا امين مدد
(2) Middle circle: 
يا حاجی روا

(p) Below o,
بنیاد نهاد عشق راگز
جز درد بلا توابه مقصود
کتابه حسین

TRANSLATION

A.
(a) He laid the foundation of (i.e. initiated) the game of love. The aim was nothing else but pain.

(b) (1) O Amin! Help!
(2) O fulfiller of needs!

(d) (1) O performer of miracles!
(2) O Amin! Help!

(f) (1) O Shamsu'-Ushshaq (lit. sun among the lovers)! ²
(2) O divine beloved!
(3) O sun of (and?) the moon!

(h) (1) O fulfiller of needs!
(2) O Amin! Help!

(j) (1) O 'Ashiq-i-Shahbāz (lit. lover-falcon)! ³
(2) O Amin! Help!
(3) O Baland-parwāz (lit. high-soaring)! ⁴

(l) (1) O light of My light!
(2) O Amin! Help!
(3) O secret of My secret!

¹ It is proposed to give the translation of the couplets of the ghazal at the end along with the text in its serial order, since giving translation of hemistiches in the order given above, would have been confusing for reference.
² The epithet of Shāh Aminu'd-Din's grandfather.
³ This was the epithet of the celebrated Dacian saint Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Banda-nawāz Gaisā darār (d. A.H. 823) of Gulbarga and also of Aminu'd-Din himself.
⁴ This was also the epithet of the Gulbarga saint as well as of Aminu'd-Din.
Inscription on the Amin-Dargah, Bijapur—concl.d.

(a—pp. 86-7)  
(b—pp. 87-8)
THE DAKANI INSCRIPTION ON THE AMIN DARGAH AT BIJAPUR

(a) Allah sufficeth! Allah, Muhammad, ‘Ali! Allah is the Healer!

(o) O Allah!

(p) Verily, I am Allah!

B. (i)

(a) (1) Imam ‘Ali al-Murtaza.
(2) Imam Muhammad al-Baqir.
(3) Imam Muhammad a‘t-Taqi.

(c) (1) Imam Hasan al-Mujtaba, the patient.
(2) Imam Ja’far a‘a-Sadiq.
(3) Imam ‘Ali a‘n-Naqi.

(ii)

(o) There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah. Lofty be His Glory!

(b) (1) The Prophet of Allah, .............. has said,
(2) may Allah’s blessings and salutations be upon him, his progeny and his companions,
(3) ‘When He caused (me) to walk during the night towards the sky of the earth,
(4) He guided me to the utmost Emperean’.

(iii)

(a) (1) Imam Husain a‘sh-Shahid (at) Karbalah.
(2) Imam Musa al-Kazim.
(3) Imam Hasan al-‘Askari.

(c) (1) Imam Zainul-‘Abidin.
(2) Imam Musa a‘r-Ridha.
(3) Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi.

C. (a) & (b): As in p, c respectively of A above.

(o) Allah is my Forgiver! Allah, Muhammad ‘Ali. Allah is everlasting!

(e) (1) I am from the light of Allah!
(2) O Amin! Help!
(3) And everything is from my light!

(g) (1) O Banda-nawaz (lit. cherisher of slaves)!
(2) O Amin! Help!
(3) Ya Gaisu-daraz (lit. long-haired one)!

(i) (1) O asylum of lovers!
(2) O Amin! Help!
(3) O crown of monotheists!

---

1 Qur’an, Chapter XXVIII, part of verse 30.
2 Epithets of the Gulbarga saint.
(k) (1) O moon of (and?) the sun!
    (2) O divine beloved!
    (3) O Shamsu’l-Ushabhaq (lit. sun among the lovers)!

(m) (1) O path-finding guide!
    (2) O Amīn! Help!
    (3) O sāqī (cup-bearer) of Kauthar!

(o) (1) O Amīn! Help!
    (2) O fulfiller of needs!

(p) He laid the foundation of (i.e. initiated) the game of love. The aim was nothing else but pain.

This was written by Ḥusain. A.H. 1088 (1677-78 A.D.).

Before I conclude, I quote here, for easy reference, the whole ghazal as deciphered above and append its free rendering in English:—

\[
\begin{align*}
1 & \quad \text{A stream in Paradise.} \\
2 & \quad 'Abdu'l-Haq, op. cit., has \text{ bā' } dār. \\
3 & \quad \text{Ibid. has } \text{ nūr jan tā.} \\
4 & \quad \text{Ibid. has } \text{ sūn.} \\
5 & \quad \text{Ibid. omits this word.} \\
6 & \quad \text{Ibid. has } \text{ kāstāna.} \\
7 & \quad \text{Ibid. has } \text{ kāstāna.}
\end{align*}
\]
THE DAKANI INSCRIPTION ON THE AMIN DARGAH AT BIJAPUR

(2) O Amin! If you want to obtain the precious pearl of the Secret of life, you will have to dive deep into the sea of heart to find the soul of shell.

(2) O Amin! Have your religious preceptor in your mind and break the shell, so that you may obtain the beautiful pearl. Always keep knowledge of God in mind.

1. Ibid. has بیاجاہو.
2. Ibid. has میں.
3. Ibid. has اوس پریلا.
4. Ibid. reads گامی.
5. Ibid. reads یہ کہ.
(3) O Amin! You look beautifully resplendent like light. When you achieve the knowledge of God, you can present yourself as a suitable gift to God.

(4) O Amin! You are the favourite of God. Where else can you go now? Being submissive to His pleasure, sacrifice yourself for him, (as) there can now be no other desire there.

(5) O Amin! How and with what tongue can I speak of the hidden meaning illustrating this desire? None has the capacity nor is one able to say it.

(6) O Amin! There are different ways of reaching God, but we are unable to name them. It cuts our tongue. His most pure and refined figure throws us into wonder every moment.

(7) O Amin! The sea is stormy and raging. Only one who is guided by the spiritual guide (murshid) can reach God. Otherwise, the path is narrow and dark and there is every possibility of despair and disappointment in the attempt.

(8) But O Swimmer! listen to me with the ears of your heart. Do not be afraid of the waves of carnal desires which are other than God, O Amin!

(9) O Amin! Then, it will be easy for you, to achieve the goal. There is in fact no difficulty; (and) if there is, it is only you. Go, take a dive (in the ocean of love), and cross over to the other side. Do not hesitate.

(10) These confusing ideas are out of place, and are curtains obstructing your aim. O Amin! Men of Truth are only those whose hearts are filled with the love (of God).

(11) Be a witness with body and soul, and seek help from your teacher and guide, who is mighty, wise and brave, to attain God, O Amin!

(12) Through the bounty of Burhān, you have dived deep to seek Him, and you have found the pearl befitting you. Now live in tranquility, O Amin!

(13) On the dust of the Dargāh of Burhān, son of Mirān, Amin has sacrificed his body, nay, soul and mind too.

(14) I have received the deed of servitude of that audience-hall. O Amin! I have renounced the universe to gain you.

(15) I have completed this qasid in fifteen couplets. O Amin! Accept this overlooking (its shortcomings) and do not be fault-finder.

---

1 Reference to the saint's father Shāh Burhānu'd-Din Jānām.
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 (f.n. 1)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 (f.n. 10, 11)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48, 49</td>
<td>48, 49</td>
<td>48, 49</td>
<td>48, 49</td>
<td>48, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, 19, 20</td>
<td>18, 19, 20</td>
<td>18, 19, 20</td>
<td>18, 19, 20</td>
<td>18, 19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42, 43, 44, 46, 82, 83</td>
<td>42, 43, 44, 46, 82, 83</td>
<td>42, 43, 44, 46, 82, 83</td>
<td>42, 43, 44, 46, 82, 83</td>
<td>42, 43, 44, 46, 82, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32, 32</td>
<td>32, 32</td>
<td>32, 32</td>
<td>32, 32</td>
<td>32, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28, 29, 30, 31, 32</td>
<td>28, 29, 30, 31, 32</td>
<td>28, 29, 30, 31, 32</td>
<td>28, 29, 30, 31, 32</td>
<td>28, 29, 30, 31, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58, 59</td>
<td>58, 59</td>
<td>58, 59</td>
<td>58, 59</td>
<td>58, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ahmadnagar, in Maharashtra** 43, 70

**Ahì, a river, in Rajasthan** 74

**'Aunì'l Mulk, a Khàlìji general** 7, 8

**'Aunì'l Mulk, father of 'Alì Shàh** 42

**Ajmer, in Rajasthan, inscriptions from** 1 (f.n. 3).

2, 3

**Akbar, Mughal emperor** 38 (f.n. 5), 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 73, 74

**A'Ìlâ, honorific of Ḥàdrat Aminù'd-Dìn (s.v.)** 81 (& f.n. 2)

**Alapur, in Madhya Pradesh, inscription from** 54

**'Alàu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dìn, title of Malik Shàhk** 26

**'Alàu'd-Dìn, title of Hasan, Bahmani king** 41

**'Alàu'd-Dìn, title of Husain Shàh, of Bengal** 13

**'Alàu'd-Dìn, Khàlìji, king of Delhi** 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 74

**'Alàu'd-Dùnyà wa'd-Dìn Abùl-Mużàfàr full titles of the Khàlìji king** 5

**Al-Chiyàgî, a sieba** 3

**'Alì, the fourth caliph** 63, 89

**'Alì, 'Ādī Shàh I, of Bijaipur** 42

**'Ādī Shàh II** 44

**'Alì Pir, Shàh, grandson of Shàh Mirànja** 79, 81

**'Alì Rîdî, 'Ādī Shàh i official** 43, 50

**'Alì Shàh, son of 'Aunì'l-Mulk** 43

**A cigar, in Uttar Pradesh** 4, 6, 9

**'ĀlìKhà, title of Ibàhràm 'Ādī Shàh II, of Bijaipur** 49

**Al-Quôtî, a sieba** 3

**'Amał, i.e. governorship** 28, 29, 61

**Ambiya, Sayyid** 63

**'Amîl, i.e. governor** 9

**Amin, see also Aminù'd-Dìn A'Ìlâ 88, 89, 91, 92**

**Amin, a composer** 45, 46

**Aminù'd-Dìn, A'Ìlâ, Ḥàdrat, a saint 79, 80 (& f.n. 1), 81, 88 (f.n. 2, 3, 4)**

**Aminù'd-Dìn 'Alì, Shèr-i Khûdà, Ḥàdrat Aminù'd-Dìn so called** 79

**Amir Faqlù'Ilhàh Injû, see Faqlù'Ilhàh Injû**

**Amir Muhammàd Ma'sûm, see Muhammàd Ma'sûm**

**Amirù'l-Umarà Êkhtìyàru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dìn, titles of Tamur Sultàni** 4, 5

**As'ād Khàn, an 'Ādī Shàh i general** 42

**Asad Khàn, variant for As'ād Khàn** 42 (f.n. 6)

**Assàdù'd-Dìn, title of Dà'ûd Khàn** 13 (f.n. 1)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Bāyazid, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Sulaimān</th>
<th>35 (f.n. 1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bāyazid Shaikh, a builder</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bāz Bahādur, Malwa Sultān</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Begam, an appellation</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Begam Dildār Aghāsha, see Dildār Aghāsha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bektars, son of Adam, a Gujarati official</td>
<td>18, 19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belapa, variant for Velapa</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belgaum, in Mysore State</td>
<td>42 (f.n. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bengal, a region</td>
<td>13, 15, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Berar, a region</td>
<td>41 (f.n. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Berūrt, i.e. the traders</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhaduriya, a Rajput clan</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhagalpur, in Bihar, inscriptions from</td>
<td>13, 14, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhakkar, in Sind</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhāmūti, a hill in Rajasthan</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhankar, variant reading for Bektars</td>
<td>19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhāpur, a village in Rajasthan</td>
<td>67, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhūnpūr, variant for Bhūpūra</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhūpūra, variant of Bhūpūra</td>
<td>67, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhāratī Chand, father of Rāja Bikramājī</td>
<td>61, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhārthā-kā Nāgāl, olices of Bhūpūr (s.v.)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhātāl Kīrāt Chand, a Jain priest</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhavnagar, erstwhile state of</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhik, Shaikh, a scholar</td>
<td>38 (f.n. 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhikan, variant for Bektars</td>
<td>19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhikh, Malik-i-Sharī, mentioned in an</td>
<td>26, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inscription</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhikh, Shaikh, father of Shaikh Sulaimān</td>
<td>35, 37, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(f.n. 5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhikhji, Shaikh, son of Zuhāru’d-Dīn and</td>
<td>35 (f.n. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>variant of Bhikh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhīm Singh, Mahā Rāo, of Kota</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhimgar, in Maharashtra</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhopal, erstwhile state of</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bidar, probable misprint for Bankapur</td>
<td>41 (f.n. 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bihar, a region</td>
<td>11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 25, 27 (f.n. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bihar Sharif, in Bihar State, inscriptions from</td>
<td>11, 12, 25, 27 (f.n. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bijapur in Mysore State</td>
<td>44, 45, 71 (f.n. 3), 81, 82, 83 (f.n. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bikan, variant for Bektars</td>
<td>19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bikh, Shaikh, variant of Bhikh (s.v.)</td>
<td>37, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bikramājī, grandson of Rāja Rāmchand</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhāghela, a Rajput clan</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhir, chief of Belgaum</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brosch, in Gujarat</td>
<td>20 (f.n. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhlūl Kīnā, title of Nawwabs of Bankapur</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhlūl Shāh, Lodi king</td>
<td>27, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhlūl Shāh, a coin</td>
<td>74, 76, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bulundahah, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>28, 29, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bundelkhand, a region</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bundi, in Rajasthan</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burhân, see also Burhân’ud-Din Jâ'âm</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burhân Nâsir Shah II, of Ahmadnagar</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burhanpur, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>61, 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burhân’ud-Din Jâ'âm, a saint</td>
<td>79, 80 (f.n. 1), 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burj Chanderi, a village in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakna, in Maharashtra</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chând Sulâna, ‘Aâdil Shâh queen</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanda, a district of Maharashtra</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanderi, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chandrakoti, in Karnataka</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chatra Dâhu, a male nurse</td>
<td>67, 68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauhan, a Rajput clan</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauki, village bearing the name of</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaukis, village bearing the name of</td>
<td>78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauhiyâ, a village, endowment of the land revenues of</td>
<td>77, 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chattisgarh, a region</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikan, son of Hanumant Ganda</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinchole, in Mysore State</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chighli, a saintly order</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitor, in Rajasthan</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitrakal, in Karnataka</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dakkan, variant for Deccan</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâm, a copper coin</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dandâ-dârî, a tax</td>
<td>73 (f.n. 5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daru’l-Fath, honorific of Bankapur (s.v.)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâ’ud, Malik, governor of Bihar</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâ’ud, Sayyid, son of Qâdi Auliya</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâwal, Sayyid, a saint</td>
<td>80 (f.n. 4), 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deccan, a region</td>
<td>41, 60, 61, 69, 71, 80, 81, 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dehej, a village in Gujarat</td>
<td>20 (f.n. 4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>1 (f.n. 3), 2, 7, 8, 28, 31, 34, 36, 37, 39, 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>(f.n. 6), 33, 33, 36, 37, 39, 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deogiri, expedition to</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deût, a post</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deva Râya I, of Vijayanagara</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- II</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhamoni, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhar, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>7, 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhârâ, a tax</td>
<td>73 (f.n. 5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharamgarhi, old name for Dhar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharwar, district of Mysore</td>
<td>47 (f.n. 2), 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhâ’u, i.e. a nurse</td>
<td>67, 68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilâr Khan, title of Nawâb ‘Abdul-Ra’uf</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dilâkwar, Sidi, ‘Aâdil Shâh official</td>
<td>43, 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dildâr Aghâchâ, Begam, Bâbur’s wife</td>
<td>28, 29, 30, 31, 32 (f.n. 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divâns, a post</td>
<td>22, 23, 72 (f.n. 2), 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erichh, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>6, 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faqiru’llah Injâ’i, Mr., Bahmani official</td>
<td>41 (f.n. 4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fakhruru’d-Din, Shâh, Mughal official</td>
<td>52, 53, 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faridu’d-Din Baqrât, Ganji-i-Shakar celebrated saint</td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farnâs i.e. Royal order</td>
<td>43, 44, 65, 66, 69, 72 &amp; (f.n. 2), 74 (f.n. 1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrukh Siyar, Mughal emperor</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faqiru’d-Din, title of Bâbâ Sajjanal (s.v.)</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatehpur Sikri, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fârûz Shâh, Bahmani king</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fârûz Shâh, Tughluq king</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fârûz Shâikh, Mughal official</td>
<td>74, 75, 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fula, a copper coin</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gagraun, in Kota District of Rajasthan</td>
<td>74, 75, 77, 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaisâ Darâs, title of a saint</td>
<td>87, 88, 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaur, old capital of Bengal</td>
<td>15, 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gâhâs, variant for Aghâs (s.v.)</td>
<td>31 (f.n. 6), 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghanam Mr. N. G.</td>
<td>1 (f.n. 1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaus, position in Sufi hagiocracy</td>
<td>38 (f.n. 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaznavid, a dynasty</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazni Khan, Malwa prince</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghiyâshu’d-Din Abu’l-Muzaffar, titles of Muhammad Shâh, Sultan of Bengal</td>
<td>14, 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghiyâshu’d-Din Balban, see Balban</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghiyâshu’d-Din Tughluq Shâh, see Tughluq Shâh</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghorid, a dynasty</td>
<td>1, 2, 33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa, in western India</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gondwâna, a region</td>
<td>63 (f.n. 2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujârât, i.e. road-patrol</td>
<td>65, 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat, a region</td>
<td>3, 17, 19, 21, 23, 24, 52, 59, 72, (f.n. 2), 73, (f.n. 5), 75 (f.n. 1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ibrāhim Ḥusayn Mirzā, Mughal nobleman</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ibrāhil-Daunat wā'd-Din, title of Tāmūr</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ibrāhil-Din, title of</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Itutmish, Shamsu'd-Din, Delhi king</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indore, district of Madhya Pradesh and erstwhile state</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Irádat Khán, title of Mughal officials</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Iran, a country</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ishāq Khán, entitled Irádat Khán</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ishkandar, title of ‘Allu’D-Din Khāji</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ismā’īl, son of ‘Abdu’l-Salam, a builder</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>J</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jāfīr, i.e. a sīf</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jāfīrādar, i.e. sīf-holder</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jahāngīr, Mughal emperor</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jahāngīr, variant for Jānlar</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jaipur, in Rajasthan, inscriptions from</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jaisingh, Mahārājā</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jalāl Khán, father of Sikandar Khán</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jalāl'ud-Din Firuz, Khalji king</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jalāl'ud-Din Muhammad Akbar, Mughal emperor, see also Akbar</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jānām, Shāh, see Burhān'ud-Dīn Jānām</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jānlar, Malik, father of Nīkpay Khān</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jānlar, variant for Jānlar</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jawant Singh, Mahārājā, Mughal general</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jaupur, in Uttar Pradesh</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jhalawar, district of Rajasthan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jīhāt, a tax</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jīṣa, a tax</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jodhpur, district of Rajasthan and erstwhile state</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Jours Alapur, in Madhya Pradesh, inscriptions from</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Junā, prince, later Mūhammad bin Tughluq Shāh</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Junagadh, district of Gujarat</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>K</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kabul, in Afghanistan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kadam Rao, commandant of Bankapur</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kadādudī, a tax</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kālī Sind, river near Gagraun</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kaliadeh, in Madhya Pradesh</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kalyani, in Mysore State</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lakmi, corrupt form of Lakshmi (a.v.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lakshmi, female nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Likhimi, variant for Lakmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lingan, son of Hanunant Gauda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lodt, a dynasty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ma‘bar, a region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mādho Singh, son of Rāo Ratan Hādžā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh, State of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mahā Rāo Bhīm Singh, of Kota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mahājan, a community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mahakoshal, a region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māham Begam, Babur’s wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māhrāja, of Jodhpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥāraja Jaswant Singh, see Jaswant Singh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥāraja Jādhirāja, Māḥāraja Jai Singh, see Jaisingh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥmūd, Ṣarqī king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥmūd, son of Yāṣūf, Majlis, a builder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥmūd, Sultān, Mīrān Shāh, central Asian prince</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥmūd Bahri, an official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥmūd Gāwān, Bahamnī minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥmūd I, Khalji, Malwa Sultān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>——II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥmūd Shāhī, Khāsh Dāhān, a saint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥmūd Shāh, Bengal Sultān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māhrām, the kōtēwāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mahrauli, in Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mahṣūl, i.e. land revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mahṣūl-i-Sāyīr, a tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Majlis, title of Māḥmūd bin Yāṣūf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Majlis-i-‘Ālī, title of Yāṣūf Daulat Khān Sūr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mīl, i.e. revenue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Māḥkēva, Marwar chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik, a title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Ādām, see Ādām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Bādr, see Bādr, Malik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Bhīkan, see Bhīkan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Dā‘ūd, see Dā‘ūd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Ḳabīr, see Ḳabīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Ibrāhīm, see Ibrāhīm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik-i-Ṣarq, title of Malik Bhīk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Jānlar, see Jānlar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Malikshah, see Malikshah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Rāhībān, see Rāhībān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Siddēhū, see also Siddēhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Sirāj-dīn, Khānṣāhāna, see Sirāj-dīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malik Sulaimān, entitled A’zām Khān, see also Sulaimān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik Tamur, see Tamur Sulżānī</td>
<td>Miyān Mittha Bodla, the saint Mittha Śāh also known as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malikshah, Malik, governor of Sopraţh</td>
<td>Miyān Siddhā, an official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik'u-l-Umarā Mu'innu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn</td>
<td>Miyān Şaikh, father of Şaikh Ḥusain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titles of Malikshah (s.v.)</td>
<td>Morena, district of Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik'u-sh-Sharq, title of Malik Adam (s.v.)</td>
<td>Mu'āśara, a revenue division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik'u-Tujjār, title of Khalaf (s.v.)</td>
<td>Mu'āṣam, disciple of Śah Aminu'd-Dīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malwa, a region</td>
<td>79, 80, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5, 6, 7, 31, 32, 51, 58, 59, 63</td>
<td>Mubārak Ḥāji, father of Şaikh Ahmad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f.n. 2), 74, 75</td>
<td>Mubārak Śāh, Quṭbu'd-Dīn, Khaljī king 2, 6, 7, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mal-va-Sāgir, revenue term</td>
<td>Mubārakru’llah, Mir, Irādat Khān, Mughal official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mamlik, a dynasty</td>
<td>Mudgal, in Mysore State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2, 33</td>
<td>41, 42, 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man'arat Śāh, a saint</td>
<td>Mughal, a dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>21, 22, 23, 73 (f.n. 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandasor in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>54, 61, 67, 69, 74, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Muhammad, the Prophet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>15, 38, 55, 62, 64, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 32, 61, 63, 64</td>
<td>Muhammad, name of Qādi Hamidu'd-Dīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangalore, variant for Mangrol</td>
<td>Nāgauri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>33 (f.n. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangrol, in Gujarāt</td>
<td>Muhammad, ‘Aḍil Śāh, of Bijapur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21, 22, 23, 73 (f.n. 8)</td>
<td>43, 45, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwar, a region</td>
<td>Muhammad, Sayyid, Bābū, see Sayyid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Muhammad,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma’qūm Śāh, a saint</td>
<td>Muhammad Bukhārī, Sayyid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maudūd, a Gujarāt nobleman</td>
<td>Muhammad bin Sām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulānā Nāshīnu'd-Dīn, see Nāshīnu'd-Dīn</td>
<td>Muhammad, bin Tughluq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulānā Šarafu'd-Dīn, see Šarafu'd-Dīn</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maulānā Wajīhu'd-Dīn Yūsuf, see Yūsuf</td>
<td>Muhammad Amin, an official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masguru'd-Dīn, Shaikh, title of Bhīkh (s.v.)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 (f.n.1)</td>
<td>Muhammad Bāqir, Mir, entitled A’ṣam Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medni Rāj, a chief</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Muhammad Humayūn Bāzāshāh, see also Humayūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir 'Alī Rīḍā, see 'Alī Rīḍā</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Faḍlu’lāh Injū, see Faḍlu’lāh Injū</td>
<td>Muhammad Ḥusain, father of Mir ‘Alī Rīḍā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Mubārakru'llāh, see Mubārakru'llāh</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Muhammad Bāqir, entitled Nawwāb A’ṣam Khān, see Muhammad Bāqir</td>
<td>Muhammad Isbāq, an ‘Aḍil Shāhī official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Muhammad Ma’gūm, see Muhammad Ma’gūm</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Nayyar ‘Alī, of Purnea</td>
<td>Muhammad Isbāq Madrāsī, Ḥājī, a saint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirak, son of Ahmad Khān Kolābī, Mughal official</td>
<td>Muhammad Kūt, in Karnatak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58, 59, 60</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirak Khān, see Mirak</td>
<td>Muhammad Ma’gūm, Mir Nāmü, al-Bakkari, poet and Mughal official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirān, honorific title</td>
<td>Muhammad Sālib, son of Mirak Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirān Sayyid Ḥasan Khudāwānd Nūmā, a saint</td>
<td>Muhammad Shāh, ‘Alāu’d-Dīn, Khāljī king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>4, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirān Shāhī, a dynasty</td>
<td>Muhammad Shāh I, Bahmani king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirānji, Shamsu'l-Ushāhāq, Ḥadhrat, celebrated saint</td>
<td>Muhammad Shāh I, of Gujarat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79, 81</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirzā ‘Azīz Kūkā, see ‘Aziz Kūkā</td>
<td>Muhammad Shāh Sharif Khān, see Sharif Khān, Nawwāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Muhammad Shāh, a post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirzā Hindāl, Mughal prince</td>
<td>4, 5, 6 (&amp; f.n. 4), 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirzā Nūru'd-Dīn Muhammad Maghābī, see Nūru'd-Dīn</td>
<td>Mufīd, a post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 (&amp; f.n. 2)</td>
<td>9, 20, 21, 23, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirzā Rāja Jaisingh, see Jai Singh</td>
<td>Murshidabad, in Bengal, inscriptions from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74, 75 (&amp; f.n. 2), 76</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miyān, an honorific appellation 14, 15, 34, 35, 41, 75</td>
<td>Mūsāwī Sayyid, a family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f.n. 1, 2)</td>
<td>52 (&amp; f.n. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miyān, 'Isā, a builder</td>
<td>Muṣṭafā, Shāhī, son of Shaikh Sulaimān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 (f.n. 2)</td>
<td>35 (f.n. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miyān Khwāja, son of Shukr Batsānī, a builder 34, 35</td>
<td>Muṣṭafā Khān Ardashīntān, an ‘Aḍil Shāhī official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 (&amp; f.n. 11), 43</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadīm-i-majlis, title</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagaur, in Rajasthan, inscriptions from 1, (f.n. 1, 2, 2, 33 (f.n. 1, 5), 34, 35 (f.n. 1), 36, 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na`d ib-i-qhaibat, a designation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na`d ib-i-qair-a, a designation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nafṣi Khan, a builder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Najib, lāqab of 'Abdu'l-Salām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namāzgāh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāmil, poetical name of Mir Muhammad Maṣūm (s.v.) 60 (f.n. 2), 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāngal Bharthā, in Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naqābat Khan, title of Shāh Fakhru'd-Dīn (s.v.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narwar, in Madhya Pradesh inscriptions from 51, 57, 58, 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣīhu'd-Dīn, Maulānā, son of Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn (s.v.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāṣir, a title</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, Mālva Sulṭān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, title of Ahmad Shāh I, of Gujarāt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣīru'd-Dīn Māḥmūd, son of Ilutmish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naurang Lāl Bhat, Shri, of Nagaur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawwāb 'Abdu'l-Kārīm, see 'Abdu'l-Karīm Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawwāb 'Abdu'r-Rahīm, see 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawwāb A'zam Khan, see A'zam Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawwāb Irādāt Khan, see Irādāt Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawwāb Mirak Ahmad Khan Kollābī, see Mirak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawwāb Muhammad Sharīf Khan, see Sharīf Khan, Nawwāb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikāhdāna, a tax</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikbakhsh Khan, alternative reading for Nīkpay Khan 28 (f.n. 7), 29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikī Khan, alternative reading for Nīkpay Khan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīkpay Khan, a builder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nimputra, variant of Velapa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīshat, a tax</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīzām, Shaikh, father of Abul-Qasim 48, 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīzāmu'd-Dīn Auliya, see Ḥaḍrat Nīzāmu'd-Dīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūr-ī-Daryā, Sayyid Shāh Muhammad Qādīrī, see Sayyid Shāh, Muhammad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūru'd-Dīn Muhammad Bāḏshāh Ḡāzi, name and titles of Jahāngīr 62, 63, 64, 65, 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūru'd-Dīn Muhammad Masḥahdī, Mīrzā, 'Ādīl Shāhī official</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pakhalūn, a title</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4, 5, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, 57, 58, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11, 14, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39 (f.n. 6), 81 (f.n. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qādī-i-Daryā, Qāḍī Bahīrūd-Dīn, see Bahīrūd-Dīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qādir Lingā Kotāl, Shāh 'Abdu'l-Qādir, saint and author of a poem 79, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qaṣba, a revenue division 21, 23, 63 (f.n. 2), 65, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutb, position in Sūfī lāqīnsray 38 (f.n. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutbuddīn, title of Mubārak Shāh (s.v.) 2, 6, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutbudīn Alībāb, of Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qutbulūdūn Bakhtīyār, Kākī Ḥaḍrat, celebrated saint 36, 38, 39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Raḍīyya, empress of Delhi 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāḥdār, an official 65, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahmatpur, in Maharasthra 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rahmatullāh Raunāq Uḥmānī, of Nagaur 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rai Sunder Das, name of Raja Bikramājīt (f.n. 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raičhur fort, in Mysore State 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raiḥān, Malik, 'Ādīl Shāhī official 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāja, alias of Bahānīdīn 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāja Bikramājīt, son of Bhārat Chand 61, 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rāja Bikramājīt, title of Rai Sunder Das 61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rāja Bikramājīt Bhadurīya 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajgarh, district of Madhya Pradesh 51, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajput, a clan 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajputana, a region 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan, State of 1, 2, 3, 21, 33 60, (f.n. 2), 67, 69, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rājā Dakānī, Nīzām Shāhī official 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rām Rāya, of Nalgonda 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sädîq, a poet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 (f.n. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’dullâh, Shaikh, a builder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, 15, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagaur, district of Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’id, Shaikh, Lodi nobleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sajjan, Bâbâ, a saint (sv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sajjâdana Afsa, i.e. spiritual successor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 (f.n. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34, 35 (&amp; f.n. 1), 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâki, in Bihar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shiliq Sultan Begam, daughter of Sultan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Miran Shâh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâm, father of Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangod, in Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanwâr, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarangpur, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51, 55, 56, 57, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâr-i-Laghâr, a post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâr-kûr, revenue division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarnâubat, a post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarata, district of Maharashtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 (f.n. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saurashtra, a region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savnur, Sâr-kûr of, in Karnatak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyîr, a tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69, 70, 71, 72 (f.n. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyîr-i-jâhid, a tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd, a family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd ‘Abdu’-Sâmâd, see ‘Abdu’-Sâmâd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Ambiyâ, see Ambiyâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Asrâf al-Husain, father of Hussein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh of Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, 14, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Dâ’ud, see Dâ’ud, Sâyûd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Dâwâl, see Dâwâl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Hâmîd, see Hâmîd, Sâyûd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Hasan Khudâwan Numâ, Mirân, a sâint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Khudâwan Shâh, see Khudâwan Shâh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Muhammad, known as Bâbû</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, 15, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Muhammad Bukhârî, see Muhammad Bukhârî</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâyûd Shâh Muhammad Qâdirî, Nur-i-Daryâ,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a sâint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shâh ‘Abbâs, king of Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 (f.n. 2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sher Şah, Sūr king</td>
<td>15, 16, 33, 34, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shere, Mr. S. A.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sher-i-Khând, title of Amīr 'Alî (s.v.)</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shāhābud-Dīn, title of Muhammed bin Sām</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shīq, a revenue division</td>
<td>21, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shīrpuri, district of Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>51, 57, 61, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sholapur, in Maharashtra</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shukr, Batani, father of Miya Khwaja</td>
<td>34, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siddhā, Malik Miya, 'Ādil Shāh official</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidi Dīlāwar, see Dīlāwar, Sidi</td>
<td>41 (f.n. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikandar, 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikandar, Lodi Sultan of Delhi</td>
<td>27, 31, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikandar Khân, son of Jaîl Khân</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirāj ud-Dīn, probable title of Malik Suleimān</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirāj ud-Dīn, Khânzâda, Malik, son of Suleimān</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirenji, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>31, 65, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siwalik, hills, in Rajasthan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorat, variant for Sorath</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorath, a region</td>
<td>21, 22, 23, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Museum, Jodhpur, inscription from</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīva, a revenue division</td>
<td>63 (f.n. 2), 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sībadar, an official</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subuktigī, Ghānnavīd king</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suleimān, father of 'Ādam</td>
<td>18, 19, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suleimān, Khânzâda, governor of Bihar</td>
<td>11, 13, 13 (f.n. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suleimān, Shalīkh, a saint</td>
<td>34, 35 (f.n. 1), 36, 37, 38, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulṭān, Rathor, a Rajput chief</td>
<td>75 (f.n. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulṭān Mubārūd I, of Malwa, see Mubārūd I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, II of Malwa, see Mubārūd II Khalji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulṭān Mubārūd Mirzā, see Mubārūd Sulṭān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan, of Bengal</td>
<td>11, 14, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan, of Malwa</td>
<td>4, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūr, a dynasty</td>
<td>33, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surajgarh, battle of, in Bihar</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### T

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamār, Variant for Tamur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamur, meaning of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamur, Sulṭān, Ihtiyār ud-Daulat wa-d-Dīn, Amīr-‘Alī, Khalji and Tughluq official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamur, Malik, a name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamur Khân, Qirān, a name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, Sangār, a name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamurchi, a name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarāzuddīn, a tax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### U

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tarikin, Shāhīb, popular alias of Ḥaḍrat Ḥamīdud-Dīn Sāfī Nāgauri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, Mughal governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tātār Khān, son of Zafar Khān, of Gujarat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tughluq ud-Dīn, a tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telangana, a region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timur, variant for Tamur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tochi Valley, inscription from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tola', a tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollali, fort in Karnataka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tughluq, a dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tughluq Shāh, Ghīyāshud-Dīn of Delhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Udaipur, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ujjain, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Umar, the second caliph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Uthmān, the third caliph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh, State of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### W

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wāḥib nom-de-plume of Irādat Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wajīhus-d-Dīn, Yūsuf, Maulānā, see Yūsuf, Maulānā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wajīh-i-Najib, an alias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wali, i.e. a governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wantaj, in Gujarat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warangal, expedition to, in Andhra Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wazūrī, a tax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### X

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yūsuf, father of Majlis Mubārūd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yūsuf, Maulānā, Wajīhu-d-Dīn, a saint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yūsuf Daulat Khān, Majlis-i-‘Alī, a Sūr governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zafar Khan, governor of Gujarat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuhur, an obligatory tax on well-to-do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuhuru'd-Din, Abmad, Pir, son of Qadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamidu'd-Din</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuhuru'd-Din Bhikh, Shaikh, sather of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaikh Bhikhji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zannardar, i.e. a Brahmin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the Series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1969

EDITED BY

DR. Z. A. DESAI

Superintending Epigraphist
Arabic and Persian Inscriptions
Nagpur

Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed by the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1973
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some Inscriptions of Jahāngīr in Bihār</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Dr. Qeyāmu’d-Dīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inscriptions of Shāh Jahān from Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By M. F. Khān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mughal Inscriptions from Mahārāshtra</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By A. A. Kādiri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine Inscriptions of Akbar from Rājasthān</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By S. A. Raḥim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inscriptions of Emperor Akbar from Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By W. H. Siddīqī &amp; Z. A. Desāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1969

SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHANGIR IN BIHAR

BY DR. QeYAMUD-DIN Ahmed, M.A., Ph. D.

Department of History, Patna University

In an earlier issue of this journal,¹ I have studied a few inscriptions of Jahāngīr from the Paṭnā district of Bihār. The present article contains a study of eight more inscriptions of that emperor found in different parts of Bihār.² The historical value of the inscriptions, of the Mughal period, for the reconstruction of the provincial history of the area to which they belong, has already been discussed in my previous article.

The eight inscriptions studied here range in their dates from 1608 to 1626. Five of these epigraphs are listed in the epigraphical reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, while the remaining three (Nos. IV, V and VI) were found and copied by me.³ None of the inscriptions has been published with facsimiles or historical notes.

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1015 (?), FROM BIHĀRSHARIF

The tablet bearing this inscription measuring 110 by 15 cms. is fixed in the west wall of the small open mosque attached to the Mausoleum of Sayyid Muḥammad Sīstānī situated in the Kāchhbi-Maṭhalā in Bihārsharif.⁴ Alongside, on the same wall, is an inscription of Ibrāhīm Sharqī.⁵ The present inscription does not appear to be in situ; very probably it belonged to the nearby Bukhārī mosque which contains two other inscriptions, also mentioning Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī (Nos. II and III, infra). The writing comprises a single-line text containing a crudely composed and also not elegantly designed Persian verse enumerating the names of the first four Caliphs and the four great Imāms—the founders of the four major schools of Islamic jurisprudence. In the centre, between two hemistiches is inscribed, within an arch-like border, the

¹ Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1966, pp. 35-42.
² These include four (Nos. I-III and VIII) from Paṭnā district also, which could not find place in my earlier article due to the delay in obtaining their rubbings and getting some old records.
³ Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1955-56, Nos. D, 60, 71, 81, 83; ibid., 1960-61, No. D, 7. (One more epigraph of the group, to wit, No. V of the study, stated to have been copied by the author of this article in 1959, was received by us in January 1963, from Shri P. C. Singh, Senior Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur, and listed in ibid., 1962-63, No. D, 23. The reproduction of these epigraphs except otherwise stated, are made from the rubbings preserved in or taken by the office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Nagpur, during 1955-1963.—Ed.)
⁵ It has been published in EIAPS, 1962, p. 42.
Kalima, and above it, an invocation to Allâh by one of His attributes,1 while at each of the two ends, within a lined frame, is inscribed the historical portion of the text. That at the right refers to the reign of Nûru’d-Dîn Mu’âammad, i.e. emperor Jahângîr, while the one at the left contains the phrase ‘the Sâhiba (consort!) of Shaikh Farîd Buhkârî’, and the date 1015(?) (1606-07).

The style of writing is ordinary Naskh. The text² has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate I (b)

(a) In the Centre.

Ya Hawâfiz


[recte] Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Malik Buhkârî

(b) Right side.

Dr. Usîlu’d-Dîn Muhammad

(c) Left side.

Sanâhî (?) sheikh Fridge Buhkârî, jëmum 1015

**TRANSLATION**

(a) O Protector!

There is no god but Allâh, Mu’âammad is the Prophet of Allâh.

Recite (the names of) Abâ Bakr, Umar, Uthmân and ‘Alî; know (the names of) Imâm Mu’âazzam (i.e. Imâm Abû Hânîfa), Mu’âammad (Ahmad Hanbal), Mâlik and Shaîî[1].

(b) In the reign of Nûru’d-Dîn Mu’âammad (Jahângîr).

(c) Sâhiba(?) (consort) of Shaikh Farîd Buhkârî. Year (A.H.) 1015 (?) (1606-07 A.D.)

This epigraph seems to be connected with the next two, which may also be described before taking up the question of the identity of Shaikh Farîd Buhkârî.

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1017, FROM THE SAME PLACE

This inscription is engraved on a slab measuring 41 by 45 cms, which is built up into the outer side of the back wall of the Buhkârî-Masjid referred to above.³ The mosque is a massive three-domed structure very similar in design to the ‘Habîb Khân’s mosque, of Shâh Jâhân’s reign, also at Bihârsharif. The inscription seems to be unconnected with the mosque; it is, probably, an epitaph, and the grave to which it belonged was perhaps situated somewhere nearby. The

---

1 This is Ya Hâfiz, which has not come out in the estampage.

2 I am obliged to prof. A. A. Kâsimî, Head of the Arabic Department, Patna College, Patna, for his help in the decipherment of this as well as the texts of the next two inscriptions.

3 ARKE, 1955-56, No. D, 81, where it is stated to be 'on the facade'.
JAHANGIR'S RECORDS FROM BIHAR

(Plates I-III)

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 1017, from Bihārsharif (p. 3)

(b) Record, dated A. H. 1015 (?), same place (p. 2)
name by which the mosque is now known, makes it possible that the wife of Farid Bukhārī, mentioned in the epigraph, either got it built herself or was buried in its compound. Farid Bukhārī himself was not in Bihar, when the record was set up, as will be seen presently.

The text of the epigraph consists of seven lines in Persian of which the first five are in prose and the last two in verse comprising one couplet. It refers to the wife of Nawwāb Sayyid Farīd, son of Sayyid Āḥmad Bukhārī, and to the supervisor (of the building?), Shaikh Lād by name. The year in the date viz. A.H. 1017 (1608 A.D.) is written in a peculiar way — 'thousand' is written in words, but the first two digits, viz. 17, are inscribed in figures. The text is executed in Nastaʿliq characters of no particular merit, and has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate I (a)*

(1) صاحبة
(2) نواب نام داری سید فرید
(3) ولد سید احمد بخاری
(4) ۱۷ شهري رجب سنه هزار و
(5) اهتمام نیک لاد
(6) کرامت جوان مرده و چان دمی ست
(7) مثالات بهوده طبیل توه ست

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Ṣāḥība (wife of) the renowned Nawwāb, Sayyid Farīd,

(2) son of Sayyid Āḥmad Bukhārī,

(3) (dated the) 16th of the month of Rajab, year (A.H.) one thousand (and) 17 (seventeen) (16 Rajab 1017-20 November 1608).

(5) Under the supervision of Shaikh Lād.

(5) (Verse:) Greatness lies in magnanimity and sacrifice; useless talks are but like empty drums.¹

**III. UNDATED INSCRIPTION FROM THE SAME PLACE**

The tablet containing this inscription is built up above the one bearing the previous epigraph. Inscribed at four corners with the same invocation to Allāh by His attribute as in the previous epigraph, arranged in different postures, it contains in the middle the name, Shaikh Farid Bukhārī, son of Āḥmad, in big letters and designed like a monogram, some letters being made to serve their purpose more than once. Below the monogram, on the right, occurs the legend 'designed by* Shaikh Farid Bukhārī (entitled) Nawwāb Murtadā Khān' and, on the left, 'under the

¹ The couplet seems to be in eulogy of Farid Bukhārī who was noted for his bravery and charity, as compared to the recluse who merely indulged in empty speculation.

² See note 2 on the next page.—Ed.
supervision of Shaikh Lād'. A few numerals (e.g. 1000; 10; 2080; 410) are also inscribed above, and to the right of, the monogram, but their significance is not quite clear.¹

The style of writing is Naskh, part of which is in Tughra. The text has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

(a) *In the corners.*

يا حافظًا

(b) *In the centre.*

١٠٠٠
شیخ فرید بخاری
٢٠٨٠
بن احمد

(c) *Below (b), at right.*

صنعه شیخ فرید بخاری
نواب مرتجی خان

(d) *Below (b), at left.*

پاهنام
شیخ (؟) لاد

**TRANSLATION**

(a) O Protector!  
(b) 1000. 10. Shaikh Farid Bukhari, son of Ahmad. 2080.  
(c) 410. Designed by (?) Shaikh Farid Bukhari (entitled) Nawwâb Murtadâ Khan.  
(d) Supervised by Shaikh (?) Lâd.  

Of the three persons mentioned in this as well as in the previous two epigraphs, Shaikh Farid Bukhari is a well-known nobleman of Akbar and Jahângîr. He was assigned to the eastern provinces, in 1583, as a deputy of Wazir Khân. While on a mission, as an emissary, to the famous Afghan chieftain of Orissa, Qutlû Nûhânî, he nearly lost his life due to the treachery of the latter. Subsequently, he was Bakhshî and Diwan-i-Tan for sometime. It was under Jahângîr from whom he received the title of Murtadâ Khan in recognition of his varied meritorious services, that he

¹ The numerical value of Shaikh Farid Bukhari, according to the Abjad system of reckoning, yields 2017, which does not correspond with any of the figures inscribed on the stone.

² This word is very probably intended to be صاحب as in the other allied records.—Ed.
reached the pinnacle of his career. After serving as the viceroy of Gujarat and Punjab, he died in A.H. 1025 (1616 A.D.), and was buried in the family graveyard in Delhi.

Shaikh Farid seems to have had a passion for the construction of works of public utility. He is credited with a number of edifices built at Ahmadâbâd, Delhi and Lâhore. He also founded the township of Faridâbâd near Delhi.

It is to be noted that Shaikh Farid was not personally present in Bihâr during the period when these three inscriptions mentioning him were set up. The beginning of his connection with Bihâr might have occurred when, as stated above, he was deputed in the region during Akbar's reign, and he might have received a jagîr there. Some of the members of his family might also have continued to live there, as is evidenced by these epigraphs mentioning his consort. Incidentally, there is one more epitaph, dated A.H. 991 (1583 A.D.), in the village Mehdâwân also in Paînâ district, in which the deceased Shaikh 'Abdu-r-Ra'hmân commonly known as Mr Wâ'iz is referred to as a son of Sayyid Ahmad Bu khârî; although it cannot be definitely said that the latter is identical with Shaikh Farid's father, the nearness of time and the use of the appellation Shaikh with the son's name make it quite likely.

These epigraphs are thus quite important in that they furnish new information about Shaikh Farid.

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1023, FROM SASRÂM

This inscription was first reported by General A. Cunningham. He had found the detached slab on which it is inscribed at the foot of the Chandelier Pir's shrine in Sassarâm, District Shahabad. It was evidently on the basis of a rubbing supplied by him that a bare text and English translation thereof were published by Mr. H. Blochmann without any comment. The tablet has now weathered and some of the words have become indistinct; in particular, the figures indicating the date, quoted by Blochmann at the foot of the text, are too indistinct to admit of clear decipherment.

The text comprises three Persian verses and records the construction of a mosque and a well by 'Ali Akbar in the reign of Jahângîr in 1613-14, during the governorship of Safdar Khân. It is now difficult to locate the mosque and the well.

1 For his career in Gujarat (1606-09) and the buildings constructed by him in that province, see Professor M. S. Commissariat, History of Gujarat, vol. II (Bombay, 1957), pp. 46, 47. For details of his full career, see ibid.; Shâh Nawáz Khân, Ma'tâhirî-Umarî, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 633-41; H. Blochmann, Eng. tr. A'ish-î-Akbarî (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 454-68; List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments (LMH), vol. II (Calcutta, 1919), p. 60, etc.


3 Published, along with the other inscriptions of Akbar in Bihar, in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Special Issue, 1968, Professor S. H. Askari Felicitation Volume, pp. 119-33. (This has been listed in ARB, 1965-66, No. D, 24.—Ed.)

4 PASB, 1876, pp. 10-11. It is being edited here from an old rubbing preserved in the office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Nagpur.

5 In Dr. D. B. Patil, The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar (Patna, 1963), p. 517, the inscription is stated to have belonged to a small ruined mosque situated at the foot of the Chandan Shahid Hill.
The style of writing is Nasta'liq of a fairly good type. The text has been read as under:

**TEXT**

**Plate II (c)**

(1) بدور شاه نور الدين جهانگر
     زمان خان سروب صدر القاب
     كه تالب تشگان گردند سراب
     ز تهم طاعت زراق و وهاب
     سنة 1022

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the reign of the king Nūru’d-Dīn Jahāngīr, during the time of the victorious Khān, entitled Șafdar,

(2) ‘Ali Akbar constructed a well and a mosque, so that the thirsty (both literally and figuratively) may quench their thirst.

(3) As I sought its date (i.e. of construction), Wisdom said, “(It is meant) for the devotion of the Nourisher and the Giver.” Year (A.H.) 1022 (1613-14 A.D.).

The epigraph is historically important in that it forms the memento of one of the high Mughal officials of Bihār. According to the Ma’āthīr’ul-Umārū, Șafdar Khān was the title conferred along with the tuyūl in Bihār upon Mirzā Lashkari, son of Sayyid Yusuf Khān Rīḍawī, by Jahāngīr in the early part of his reign. He is stated to have received an increase in mangāb in the 5th regnal year, and was transferred to Kashmir in the 8th regnal year to replace its viceroy Ḥāshim Khān.

The precise official post of Șafdar Khān in Bihār is not mentioned anywhere, but his high mangāb and the way in which at least thrice he presented himself before Jahāngīr having come from Bihār, with costly presents, between February 1610 and June 1613, proclaim him to be a high imperial officer in the province. But he does not appear to have governed Bihār, as from Jahāngīr’s own account, the governorship of that province was transferred from Islām Khān to Aṭāl Khān (son of Abu’l-Faḍl) in the 3rd regnal year and the latter held the said, charge up to the two-thirds of the 7th regnal year (about the 1st December 1612), when he was succeeded by Zafar Khān. The latter governed Bihār until the beginning of the 8th regnal year or to be exact, until about the 15th April 1615, when he was replaced by Ibrāhīm Khān.

Now since according to Jahāngīr himself, Șafdar Khān was transferred as (or rather promoted to be) the governor of Kashmir towards the close of the 8th regnal year, when Ibrāhīm Khān was

---

1. Blochmann, in *FASB*, 1876, p. 11, takes ‘Khān-i-Sarwar’ as the name proper of Sanfadar Khān, which is incorrect.
2. In the first year of Shāh Jahān’s reign, he received the title of Safāshikān Khān. For this and his subsequent career under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 736-38; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-72; etc.
3. The exact date of this was 7th Muḥarram 1019 or 22nd March 1610. See Jahāngīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.
4. Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 736, puts this in the 6th regnal year, but according to Jahāngīr himself (*op. cit.*, p. 125), this was on the 6th Day of the 8th regnal year or 14th Dhul-Qa’dā 1022 (16th December 1613).
5. Jahāngīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80-81, 97, 98, 118.
6. Ibid., p. 113.
7. Ibid., p. 139.
8. Ibid., p. 155.
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1022, from Kahalgaon (p. 7)

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1035, from Bārh (p. 13)

(c) Inscription, dated A.H. 1022, from Sasārām (p. 6)
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
still the governor, there should be no doubt that he never governed Bihār in a substantive capacity. It thus follows that Šafdar Khān must have been one of the principal Jāgirdārs in the province.

As regards Āli Akbar, we have no precise information. He may have been, if not a brother of Šafdar Khān, at least his trusted officer. According to a new contemporary inscription which I have discovered recently at Khurramābād near Sasārām—it was too late to include it in this article—one Sayyid Āli Akbar constructed a mosque, palace, caravansara and a bridge during A.H. 1021-23. In all probability, he and Āli Akbar of the epigraph under study are one and the same person. The inscription under reference, found not far from Sasārām, the finds spot of the inscription under study, would also suggest that Āli Akbar was posted in some official capacity or held a jāgir in the neighbourhood.

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1022(7), FROM KAHALGAON

This epigraph was discovered by me in 1959 during an exploration tour of Bhagalpur district. It is inscribed on a detached tablet of black basalt stone measuring 50 by 22 cms., which is now kept in the mosque of Maḥalla Paithanpura in Kahalgaon. The slab being of irregular shape and uneven surface, the text is written on a portion flattened out, but not quite smoothened, and hence the letters are not as neatly carved as generally they are. It is moreover carelessly engraved, the style of writing being somewhat cursive Nastaʿlīq. Originally, the slab seems to have been a part of some ornamented pillar of door-frame, as carvings in some flowered and geometrical designs may still be seen on its reverse.

The text runs into four lines of Persian and records the construction of a fort built in the name of prophet Muhammād during the governorship of Nawwāb Zafar Khān and under the supervision of Nūr Muḥammas Gilānī in 1613. It has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate II (a)

(1) الله أكبر
(2) این قلع باسم حضرت محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
(3) در عمل نواب نفس خان باهترام بناء نور محمد جيلان بن بادخند
(4) تحرير في التاريخ شهر صفر 1022

1 He was transferred from Bihār in about April 1617 (ibid., p. 185).
2 Jahāngir mentions an official 'Mir Āli Akbar' twice in his account of his 4th and 5th regnal years—one Āli Akbar, (ibid., pp. 78, 88) and one Āli Akbar, a surgeon attending upon him in the 13th regnal year (ibid., p. 264). The terms Mir and Sayyid, as is well known, being usually synonymous, it may not be unlikely that Mir 'Ālī Akbar is identical with the person mentioned in the Khurramābād, if not also the Sasārām inscription. Again, the surgeon's name is mentioned exactly in the same way as in the Sasārām inscription, and may be identical with him. Unfortunately, Jahāngir does not give any details and therefore, it is difficult to make any positive identification.—Ed.
3 This inscription was listed in ARIE, 1962-63, No. D, 23, from a rubbing received from Shri P. C. Singh, Senior Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur District, on 10 January 1963. Its date was doubtfully read and communicated to Shri Singh, as A.H. 1199, Safar 4, though in a subsequent communication sent to him in March 1963, he was informed that Zafar Khān of the inscription could be identical with Šafdar Khān, governor of Bihār under Jahāngir between A.H. 1021 and 1024, but the correct reading of the year (read doubtfully in the report as A.H. 1012) be ascertained either by examining the tablet or getting a clear rubbing. Unfortunately, the rubbing sent by Dr. Ahmad is also not very distinct.—Ed.
TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Great.

(2) This fort, in the name of Muḥammad the revered Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh’s peace and salutations be on him,

(3) was constructed during the governorship of Nawwāb Zafar Khān (and) under the superintendence of the humble creature, Nūr Muḥammad Gilānī.

(4) Written on the date, month of Śaʿfar 1022 (March-April 1613).

Zafar Khān, the governor, during whose tenure the inscription was set up, is a renowned Muḥāṣṣal official; his father Zain Khān Koka was a foster-brother of Akbar. He was appointed as the viceroy of Bihār in the 7th year of Jahāngīr’s reign, or to be exact on or about the 17th Shawwal 1021 (1st December 1612). In this first appointment of his as a viceroy, Zafar Khān came up to Jahāngīr’s expectations which the latter had given expression to while making the appointment in response to the former’s wishes. He showed great initiative and ability, for he was the first Muḥāṣṣal viceroy of Bihār—leaving aside the brief military campaign of Shāh-Bāz Khān—to invest Kokrādesh (the present Chotā Nāgpur area) which was yet unreduced. Ibrāhīm Khān (later on Fath Jang), the succeeding Muḥāṣṣal governor, had only completed what had been begun by Zafar Khān.

The account of Zafar Khān’s expedition against Kokrādesh, which is an important event in the provincial history of Bihār under Jahāngīr, is not mentioned by contemporary or later Muḥāṣṣal historians, some of whom like the authors of the Pādshāḥ Nāma and the ‘Alamgīr Nāma give a full account of the subsequent expeditions, in the region, of Ibrāhīm Khān, Shā‘ista Khān and Dā‘ūd Khān. But Mirzā Nathān, in his valuable memoir, viz. the Bahāristān-i-Qa‘aibī, gives an interesting account of the event. The fort was constructed by Zafar Khān, most probably, as part of the preparation for the conquest of Kokrādesh. It seems that in attacking Kokrādesh, the Khān also made use of the less-frequented and difficult route through the Kharagpur hills.

The Bahāristān, in describing Zafar Khān’s rather hasty attempt to get the viceroyalty of Bengāl, also provides a piece of information of some administrative significance, about the order of precedence in matters of superior appointments in Bengāl and Bihār. As such, and being the only source of information on this phase of Zafar Khān’s career, some extracts from it will not be out of place here: “It was laid down in the imperial regulations that when the Subahdār of Bengal died, the highest imperial officer who stayed at Mungyr was to take charge of that office; if there be no man of this position at Mungyr, then the Subahdār of Bihar should go to Bengal.” Accordingly, in 1613, on the death of Islām Khān, the famous governor of Bengāl and the founder of the capital at Dacca (Jahāngīrnagar), Zafar Khān who was then engaged in the expedition against Kokrādesh, hastened to Jahāngīrnagar and reported the matter to the emperor. But the emperor who had, in the meantime, received reports from the Diwān,

---

1 The dedication of a fort to the Prophet, though not quite unknown, is rather uncommon.
2 Jahāngīr, op. cit., p. 113.
3 Jahāngīr, while referring to the conquest of the region—ʻKokhra’—by Zafar Khān’s successor Ibrāhīm Khān does refer to the expeditions of the earlier governors. He says ‘... this province and river were in possession of....... Durjan Sāl and although the governors of the Sūba frequently sent armies against him and went there themselves, on account of difficult roads and thick jungles, they contented themselves with taking two or three diamonds and left him undisturbed (Jahāngīr, op. cit., p. 154). Jahāngīr also gives a brief description of the region.—Ed.
Bakhshāi and news-writers of Bihār that Zafar Khān was on the verge of defeating the Rājā of Kokrādeh and could have secured from him diamonds weighing 32 mithqāls as tribute if he had continued the siege for two weeks more, was much displeased and sent peremptory orders directing him to return to his charge.1 Zafar Khān returned to Bihār and started preparations for re-investing the fort of the Rājā, but he was struck by a serious illness which paralysed half of his body. The Dīmān and the Bakhshāi again reported the matter to the emperor who out of compassion sent two of his personal physicians to Patna to attend to his ailment.2 Jahāngīr, who ordered his recall from Bihār in his 10th regnal year—or on or about the 12th Rabi‘ I (1st April 1615) to be exact—does not assign any reason for it, but from the above account of Mirzā Nathan the real reason can be easily guessed.3

As regards Nur Muḥammad Gilānī under whose supervision the fort was built, no information is available. The date-figure is partly mutilated, but it is probably 1021 or 1022 (February 1612-February 1614); Zafar Khān, it may be noted, was appointed early in 1612 and recalled early in 1615.

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED .AH. 1026, FROM GAYĀ

The slab bearing this inscription is fixed in the facade of the Shāhī mosque in Mahallā Nādirganj in Gayā town.4 Measuring 75 by 50 cms., it is inscribed in beautiful Nastaʿlīq characters, with a five-line text in Persian prose, recording the construction of a mosque through the blessings of the saint Shaikh Barmāzū and by the efforts of Mīrak Ḥusain al-Bakhshāi al-Khwāfī in the reign of Jahāngīr, in the 12th regnal year corresponding to A.H. 1026 (1617 A.D.).

The text has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate III (a)

(1) Dr. Āyān Sālūtī Shēhshāh Aʿūzm Mālkī Rāgī Imām Sahāb-i Jāmāj 
(2) wālī Mūsawwī Bahadūr wālī Imām Sahāb-i Bahāsh 
(3) ʿA رمضān Bārumāzū Bahāsh Mālkī Rāgī Imām Sahāb-i Bahāsh 
(4) ʿA رمضān Bārumāzū Bahāsh Mālkī Rāgī Imām Sahāb-i Bahāsh 
(5) Dr. Āyān Sālūtī Shēhshāh Aʿūzm Mālkī Rāgī Imām Sahāb-i Bahāsh

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of the exalted emperor, the lord of the necks of the people, the master of generosity,

---

1 Borah, op. cit., p. 238.
2 Ibid., p. 262.
(2) and kindness, one who is renowned for justice and benevolence, Abū’l-Muzaffar-Nūrū’d-Dīn Jahāngīr Bāḏghāh, 

(3) son of Akbar Bāḏghāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, the construction of this mosque, by the grace of the attention of the asylum of sanctity, Shaikh Barmazid, 

(4) (and) by the efforts of the pride of the Vazirs, the essence of Tāhā and Yāsīn, the compendium of perfection, Mīrāk Hūsain al-Khwāfī, the Bākhshī, 

(5) was completed in the 12th year of Jahāngīr’s accession, corresponding to A. H. 1036 (1617 A. D.).

This is quite an important inscription. It is one of the very few Muslim records to be found in the district. It is the second epigraph bearing the name of a Muslim king to be found at Gayā, the first being an inscription in Sanskrit set up in V. S. 1429 in the time of Firūz Tughlūg. It is, as in the case of the epigraph of Šafdar Khān (No. IV, supra), the only memento on stone of Mīrāk Hūsain who was the Bākhshī of Bihār. It is difficult to say what connection with Gayā — a mahlī of the province under Akbar — he had; Gayā does not appear to have enjoyed at any time the status of a capital-place. Likewise, it is rather surprising that though Mīrāk Hūsain was an officer of importance under Jahāngīr, having been appointed Bākhshī and Wūqī’ā-nawīs of the province in 1615, as will be seen presently and for more than a century to come his descendants are stated to have held the post of Bākhshī under the Mughals, only very prominent events of his career are known. Of these, those relating to his appointment to and transfer from Bihār, which took place respectively in the middle of April 1615 and in about October 1617 have been referred to only by Jahāngīr in his Memoirs, and it was during this period that the construction of the mosque took place.

Another important personage mentioned in the epigraph is Shaikh Barmazid, who is referred to as a saintly person. He seems to have been held in great reverence by Mīrāk Hūsain as is implied by the epigraph. While unfortunately nothing much is known about him, there is an interesting reference to him in a near contemporary Malīfūṣ of a 17th century saint of Bihār, namely Shāh Ruknu’d-Dīn Shaṭṭārī. According to this, Shaikh Barmazid was a disciple of Shāh Tāju’d-Dīn Ḥaṭṭārī, and Rāja Mān Singh was very much devoted to him. When the Rājā defeated ‘Abdu’r-Raḥīm Sūr, a Paṭhān chief of Bihār, he took over all his personal possessions, including a copy of the Ma’danu’l-Aṣvār, a standard work on the principles and practices of the Shāhī order. The manuscript was presented by the Rājā to Shaikh Barmazid. Later, when ‘Abdu’r-Raḥīm recovered his area, he demanded back the manuscript, but the saint was not inclined to return it, out of reverence for the work. The matter was then referred to Shāh ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn Shaṭṭārī, an ancestor of Shāh Ruknu’d-Dīn, who advised Shaikh Barmazid to get a copy made for his use and return the manuscript to its owner.

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1032, FROM CHAMPANAGAR (BHAGALPUR)

This inscription is fixed over the central miḥrāb in the facade of the domed mausoleum of an unknown saint, situated in Champānagar, a suburb of Bhagālpur town. The mausoleum, locally

1 The epithet is used in regard to Sayyids who claim descent from the Prophet.
2 Indian Antiquary, vol. XXII, p. 314. At Kāko in Jahānbād sub-division of Gayā district also, there are a couple of inscriptions (ARIE, 1980-61, Nos. D, 5-6).
3 For details of these, see Shah Nawās Khān, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 230-60.
(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 1026, from Gayā (p. 9)

Scale: 16

(b) Epigraph, dated A. H. 1032, from Champānagar (p. 11)

Scale: 21
called the Tomb of Makhdom Šālib, is built on a squarish brick platform on an elevated mound, and comprises a single chamber, containing one stone, and two brick, tombs, covered by a big dome with three elliptical bands over it. The walls under the dome, are, comparatively, low and quite plain. The western part of the building, including a portion of the dome, the platform and the walls, has fallen partly due to the erosion of the Champānāla which flows beneath it. Tradition has it that this nālā forms the old discarded bed of the main river, Ganges, and in olden days, big mercantile boats, which sailed down it, often got drowned at this spot. By way of propitiation, a wealthy merchant built the mausoleum after which the accidents stopped. But according to the epigraph, the mausoleum was built, as will be seen presently, by a Mughal official.

The inscriptive slab measures 67 by 36 cms., and contains a four-line text, which except for the First Creed, is in Persian. The First Creed, inscribed at the top, is followed by the names of the first four Caliphs, written inside a lined panel, while the main historical portion occupying the last two lines records the construction of the mausoleum by Khwaja Ahmad Samarqandi during his tenure as the Faujdar of the sarkar of Monghyr in 1622-23. It also states that the Khwaja had been posted at Monghyr by the orders of Prince Parviz, son of emperor Jahangir.

The text is executed partly in Naskh and partly in Nasta’liq characters of a tolerably good type:—

**TEXT**

*Plate III (b)*

(1) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(2) أبو بكر صديق رضي الله عنه عمر فاروق رضي الله عنه عثمان رضي الله عنه

(3) على كرم الله وجهه

(4) جوهر اضف اعباد الله خواجة أحمد سمرقندي حسب الحكم نواب قدس الكاش شاهزده

(5) عالميان شاه برويز جهانگیر

(6) بهخدت فيجداری سردار منگیز آمده بود به بنای عماوت این روسته منثور، توحیق یافت

**سنة 62 هـ** هزار سی و دو

**TRANSLATION**

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

---

1. *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 60. Its text was first published by Blochmann in *P.A.R.E.,* 1873, p. 200, where it is reported to have been “found by General Cunningham at the Dargah called the Makan-i-Barari or domicile of virtues” where some Sufi ‘Makhduum’ or saint is buried. Its text was also published in *Epigraphia Indica,* vol. II (Calcutta, 1894), p. 28.
(2) Abū Bakr Siddīq, may Allāh be pleased with him; 'Umar Fārūq, may Allāh be pleased with him; 'Uthmān, may Allāh be pleased with him; 'Ali, may Allāh illumine his face (with mark of approbation).

(3) When (this) weakest of Allāh’s creatures, Khwāja Ahmad Samarqandī, had, under orders of the Nawwāb of holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, namely Shāh Parviz (son of) Jahāngīr,

(4) came to (render) the service of the faujdār of Munger (Monghyr), he had the good fortune to build this structure of the illumined mausoleum. Year (A. H.) 1032, one thousand (and) thirty-two (1622–23 A. D.).

The epigraph thus belongs to the time of Prince Parviz’s vicereignty of Bihār. He was appointed governor of the province in the 16th year of Jahāngīr’s reign (1621), but most probably, he did not come to Bihār or if at all he came, he stayed there for a very short period.¹

No information is available about Khwāja Ahmad Samarqandī, beyond that stated in the epigraph, which is thus historically important. The epigraph provides the new information that at the time of the date of the record, the Khwāja was the Faujdar of the the Monghyr sārkār.

Monghyr town, which gives the name to the sārkār, was a place of strategic importance in early days. Being situated on the bank of the Ganges at a point where the Kharagpur hill-range closes in from the south, it commands both the land and the river routes to the east and the west. Its strategic situation made it an important military outpost of the Bengāl Sultāns whose western boundary it marked as late as the first quarter of the 16th century. Under the Mughals too, it continued to be an important fortress, and served for long as the point d’appui of their forces in their struggle against the Afghāns and also formed the headquarters of the sārkār. It was the headquarters of Prince Shujā during his governorship of Bihār, and figured prominently in the War of Succession. Probably, in the reign of Farrukh Siyar, the sārkār was renamed as Sarkār-i-Farrukhnagar, as evidenced by several farmāns in the Monghyr Collectorate Records, which mention this name along with the old one.

No information is available about the saint for whom the mausoleum was built. Unfortunately the epigraph also does not shed any light on the identity of the saint. A local gentleman, Muḥammad Jdrīs,² informed me that considerable jāgīr lands were attached to the shrine for its upkeep, and that several samāds relating to these grants were in the custody of a local Homeopath physician. Unfortunately I could not contact him. But if this be true, these documents may throw some light on the identity of the saint.

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1035, FROM BĀRḤ

The tablet bearing this inscription which measures 55 by 20 cms. is fixed over the central doorway in the façade of the mosque in Bārḥ, a sub-divisional headquarters in Patnā district.³ On

¹ For the inscription, dated A. H. 1036 (1626 A. D.), mentioning Parviz’s name and recording the construction of a mosque in Patnā by his subordinate Naqar Khwāshghī, see BIAPS 1966, p. 39.
² He was also very helpful to me in the procurement of the rubbing, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging my thanks to him.
either side, over the right and left doorways, are two other slabs containing only religious texts.\(^1\) The text of the epigraph under study consists of three lines, of which the first is taken up by the First Creed while the remaining two have a Fragment of two Persian verses, recording the construction of a mosque by two brothers Shaikh Mahmud and Mas'ud, during the reign of Jahangir, in 1625-26.

The style of writing of the First Creed is Naskh, while that of the Persian Fragment is Nasta'liq, of a fairly good type in both the cases. The text has been read as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate II (b)*

لا الم [لا الله محمد رسول الله]

بمحمش شاه نور الدين جهانگیر

پنا شد مسجد محمود و مسعود

(2) جو حبیم سال تاریخ پایان

ترنیم گفتا گوکر شیخ محمود

**TRANSLATION**

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

(2) In the reign of the king, Nūrū’d-Din Jahāngīr, this mosque of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd (or fine and auspicious mosque)\(^2\) was built.

(3) As I sought the year of its construction, Wisdom said, "Say, it is (built) by Shaikh Maḥmūd.

The second part of the last hemistich forming the chronogram yields A. H. 1035 (1625-26 A. D.) as the date of construction.

It will be seen that the chronogram mentions only the name of Shaikh Maḥmūd as the builder, but in the corresponding hemistich of the first verse the name of (Shaikh) Mas'ūd, his brother, is also mentioned. It appears from an old family genealogy that Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd were brothers and that the family claimed descent from Imām Tāj Muḥammad Faqīh, the progenitor of the celebrated Maneri saints. It also appears from an Old Court Proceedings\(^3\) dated 1839, that Shaikh Mas'ūd was granted 728 bighas of rent-free land in mauzas Syedpur Chunnaria and Syedpur Barsāwān in pargana Ghiyāspur (comprising parts of the present Bārāb sub-division) in the reign of Jahāngīr. When resumption proceedings were started regarding these lands, the successors of Shaikh Mas'ūd stated that since the original grant, several other confirmatory farmāns and sanads, including a farmān of Shāh Jahān dated the 7th Khurḍād of the 3rd regnal year and a sanad of the famous Vazir Sa’du’llāh Khān, had been issued to them and they had been in continuous possession of the lands. The original farmān, it was stated, had been burnt in a fire; but the others were in their possession and were produced in the Court as exhibits.

---

\(^1\) ARIE, 1956-57, Nos. D, 69-70.

\(^2\) There is a pun on these two words which may be taken to indicate the names of the brothers and also to qualify the building.

\(^3\) I am obliged to the late Qāzi Sayeed Sāhib of Paṭnā for making available to me the Court Proceedings and a copy of the genealogy.
Shaikh Mahmūd died childless. He was buried somewhere near the mosque and the detached epitaph of his tomb is now let in the outer side of the compound wall of his mosque. According to it, he died in A. H. 1038 (1628-29 A.D.) or three years after he built the mosque. It also appears from its text that he had performed pilgrimage of the Holy Cities.

\[1\] ARIE, 1956-68, No. D, 72.
INSCRIPTIONS OF SHAH JAHAN FROM MADHYA PRADESH

BY M. F. KHAN

Epigraphical Assistant

A few Mughal inscriptions of the time of emperors Akbar and Jahangir from Madhya Pradesh were studied by my colleague Shri S. A. Rahim, formerly Epigraphical Assistant and now Lecturer, Arts, and Science College, Aurangabad in the last issue of this Journal. In this article, I propose to study nine inscriptions of Shah Jahan copied in the past few years from various places of the Malwa region which has now been merged in the present state of Madhya Pradesh. These range in their dates from 1631 to 1657.

Malwa is the name generally given to the territory lying between the great Vindhyas on the south, which forms a point just south of Gwalior on the north, the ridge running from south to north and starting from Bhilsa, on the east, and Rajpura on the west. The region rose to considerable prominence in the beginning of the eleventh century under the illustrious Paramara rulers. The first Muslim inroad into the region seems to have been made in 1233 under Ilutmish. But it was effectively occupied, under Alau'd-Din Khalji, whose commander A'inu'l-Mulk annexed it to the Delhi Sultanate. The last of the imperial governors under the succeeding Tughluq dynasty was Dilawar Khan Gori who later became independent and founded the kingdom of Malwa, which was, according to emperor Babur, the fourth most important kingdom of Hindustan. Babur occupied part of Malwa in 1526, and about a decade later, his son and successor Humayan, attacked Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and drove him out of Malwa, defeating him successively at Mandasor and Mandu. Sher Shah, the founder of the Sur dynasty, obtained possession of various places of the region, namely Gwalior, Mandu, Sagarpur, Bhilsa, and Raisen, and appointed Shuja'al Khan as viceroy. As an independent province under Akbar, its boundaries extended to Bandhaw (Rewa) in the east, Marwar on the north, Baglan on the south and Gujarat and Ajmer on the west. Malwa commanded special importance from its position on the great route along which Mughal armies marched from Delhi to Deccan.

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1040, FROM SARANGPUR

The earliest record of this group is from Sarangpur. Situated on the east bank of the Kali Sind river in 23°34' and 76°29', Sarangpur was under Sarang Singh Khichi in 1528 and it was from him that it received its present name. In 1526 it was wrested from Mahmud Khali of Malwa by Rana Sanghab Chitor, but during the confusion caused by the invasion of Babur, it soon fell to Mallah Khan whose attempts to assume independence were foiled by Sher Shah, and was placed by

---

1 *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1968, pp. 51-68.
3 For the history of the Malwa Sultanate, see Dr. U. N. Day, *Medieval Malwa* (Delhi, 1965).
4 For a description and brief history of Malwa, please see IG, vol. IX, pp. 338-40; vol. XVII, pp. 103-04.
5 For Abu'l-Fadl's description of the Malwa sultanate, see A'sar-'IbAkar, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), pp. 455-73.
the latter under Shujā' al-Khān. On the fall of the Sūr dynasty, it passed on to Bāz Bahādur and with his defeat in 1562 by Akbar, to the Mughals. It was then made the chief town of the Sārangpur sarkār.

The epigraph, engraved on a slab measuring 43 by 43 cms., is fixed on the central mihrāb of the Qal'ā-kt-Masjid. Its twelve-line text is in Arabic with the exception of one Persian couplet containing the chronogram for the date, and is inscribed in fairly good Nasīḥ script. It records the construction of a mosque in 1631 in the reign of Shāh Jahān, by Sayyid Khwāja Sābir, son of Khwāja-i-Hisāri, known as Naṣīr Khān, under the supervision of Khwāja Phūl, and further mentions Ḥānz Shaikh Dā'ūd as the scribe. The text is particularly remarkable for its highly florid language and the high-sounding titles used for both the Mughal emperor and the builder.

The record is historically important on account of its association with one of the most prominent Mughal noblemen, who ultimately came to hold, under Shāh Jahān, the rank of 7000 personal and 7000 horse, the highest a nobleman could aspire in those days. He acquitted himself creditably in Mālāwā and in Deccan and was subsequently awarded the titles of Khān-i-Daurān Nusrat Jang. He was made viceroy of Mālāwā in Dhū'l-Qa'da 1041, while our inscription is dated exactly an year earlier. This would mean that Naṣīr Khān was connected with Sārangpur even before he became viceroy of Mālāwā. It is not unlikely that he had his jāgīr at that place. It may be of interest to know that it was from Sārangpur that Naṣīr Khān proceeded to chastise Bhāgrath Bīhl in the fort of Khāta-Kherī. Though his tenure as viceroy of the province is not exactly specified he seems to have continued in the post, while doing active service in Deccan and elsewhere, until his death.

Another epigraphical record of the time of his viceroyalty is found at Ujjain; it is dated 1639-40 and is studied in following lines (p. 20 infra).

As to Khwāja Phūl, who discharged supervisory duties for the construction, I have not been able to identify him. From the text, it would would appear that he was in the employ of the Khān.

The inscription is being edited here from the estampage prepared in the course of the official tour of Shri W. H. Siddiqī, Senior Epigraphical Assistant.

Its text is as under :

**TEXT**

*Plate IV (a)*

\[
\text{Plate IV (a)}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
1 \quad \text{بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم} \\
2 \quad \text{لا اله الا الله} \\
3 \quad \text{الرسول الله} \\
4 \quad \text{قال الله تعالى عليه السلام من تكـّمـل بـكـلـم}
\end{array}
\]

---

1 IG, vol. XXII, pp. 959-60.
2 Ibid., p. 96; Abu'l-Fazl, op. cit., p. 461.
6 This has been detailed in court chronicles of 'Abdu'l-Hamīd and others, but we have also an epigraphical record of his conquest of Udīr in 1636, for which see Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica, 1929-30, p. 22.
7 This is originally, though wrongly, so inscribed. An effort seems to have been made to correct it by scrapping off the definite article.
PLATE IV  INSCRIPTIONS OF SHĀHJAHĀN FROM MADHYA PRADESH

(PLATES IV--VII)

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 1040, from Sārangpur (p. 16)

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1044, from Maheshwar (p. 19)
(3) the world in the mosque, Allah renders useless all the good deeds he may have done in forty years’. Completed was
(4) this noble and auspicious edifice on the 1st of the month of Shawwal, in
(5) the time of the government of the magnificent king and the respected Khāqān, the establisher of peace
(6) and security, the destroyer of innovation, oppression and tyranny, Abu'l-Mu'azzafar
(7) Sāhibu'l-Qirān a’th-Thānī (lit. the Second Lord of Conjunction) Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī. (And) the builder is
(8) the chief of the chiefs, the pride of the tribes, fathers and forefathers, the mine of generosity,
(9) bravery and benevolence, one who is full of modesty and faith, Khwāja Šābir, son of His Holiness
(10) Khwāja Hisārī, better known as Nasīrī Khān, under the supervision of the best amongst the servants of the progeny of the Prophet (namely)
(11) Khwaja Phul. Chronogram : Verse:
No uninitiated (lit. raw) person can attain the state of a perfectly initiated (lit. ripe) one.
The (word) khatm (meaning completed) forms the date of construction of the mosque. And there be peace.

(12) Inscribed by Hâjîz Shaikh Dâ'ûd.

The year is afforded by the chronogrammatic word khatm contained in line 11 which yields A. H. 1040. The mosque was thus completed on 1st Shawwâl 1040 (23rd April 1631).

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1044, FROM MAHESHWAR

The tablet bearing the second inscription, found by me during my official visit to Maheshwar in West Nimar district, in December 1966, is fixed on the right side of the central mihrab of the mosque locally known Shâhi-Masjid in Mahalla Jalâlpurâ near the Bazâr-Chawk. Maheshwar, an important place of Hindu pilgrimage, is situated in 22° 11' N and 75° 36' E, amidst picturesque surroundings on the north bank of the Narbadâ river. It was regarded an important frontier post during the time of the Sultans of Mâwâ, and under Akbar, it was the headquarters of a mahl. Of the time of the latter, there is an inscription here, in the form of a visitor's record, of the famous Mir Muḥammad Maṣâim Nâmi of Bhakkar.

The tablet measures 60 by 38 cms. and contains five lines of writing in Persian. Unlike in the case of most of the epigraphs, the text is inscribed on the stone. The style of writing, which is somewhat affected by weather, is fine Nasta'ilīq. Incidentally, there is a curious mistake in the spelling of the title of the emperor. The epigraph refers to the reign of Shâh Jahân, and to the governorship of Sharif Khân and records the completion of some edifice—the mosque, if the tablet is in situ, which however, is not certain—through the efforts of Mir Bâqi Hisârî in 1634. The figure giving the year is damaged but it is in all probability A. H. 1044.

This record is important in that it refers to one Sharif Khân, the governor of the region, who is almost if not completely, ignored by contemporary historians. This Sharif Khân is not to be confused with his far more celebrated name-sake Sharif Khân Amîru'l-Umarâ, as the latter had expired a few years before the date of the record under study. It is also difficult to say if he is identical with Sharif Khân who is mentioned in contemporary chronicles in connection with the award of increase in rank on several occasions. In A. H. 1042, i.e. about a year and a half before the date of the present record, he is stated to have received the rank of 1000 personal and 500 horse. It is also not certain if the reference in the epigraph is to Sharif Khân's tenure of governorship of Mâwâ or of the sarkâr of Mânju in which Maheshwar, the findspot of the epigraph, was then situated. Very likely, the reference is to the latter, for, at the time of the record, Khân Daurân had been continuing as viceroy of the region and moreover, if Sharif Khân had held this post, he should have been mentioned in historical works. Anyway, the epigraph provides new information about the local history of Maheshwar. The identity of Mir Bâqi Hisârî, a Sayyid, cannot be satisfactorily established. He must have been associated with Maheshwar in some administrative capacity or the other.

7. The Ujjain inscription set up during his governorship is dated A. H. 1049 (*p. 20, infra*).
The text of the record is deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

Plate IV(b)

(1) Allah Akbar

(2) بناياه في شهر ذي الحجة سنة 301 هـ، دع عصر يقيرت

(3) خلافته بناء放手 قرآن

(4) دان شاه جهان باهناء غازی در عمل كمترین بناء اين درکه

(5) شريف خان و باههم سیادت بناء میر پاتی حصایری باتنام رسید

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Allāh is Great.

(2) On the 17th of the month of Rabi‘u’l-Awwal, year (A.H.) 1044 (?) (31st August 1634) in the reign of His Excellency

(3) the refuge of the Caliphate, the shadow of God, Abu’l-Mu‘azzar Shihābu’d-Dīn Mu‘ammad Šāhīb Qirān-i-

(4) Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzi, during (the time of) the governorship of the humblest servant of this court,

(5) Sharīf Khān and under the supervision of the asylum of chiefship (i.e. Sayyid) Mīr Bāqī Ḩiṣārī, (this edifice—mosque ?) was completed.

**III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1049, FROM UJJAIN**

The third inscription, which was copied from Ujjain by Shri W. H. Siddiqui, is fixed over the gate called Nadi-Darwaza, leading to the river Sipri. Ujjain, regarded as one of the seven cities of India sacred to the Hindus, was taken by Itutmish in 1235 and since then it continued under Muslim rule till the eighteenth century. Under Akbar it was made the chief town of the Málwā province.

The inscriptive tablet measures 65 by 30 cms. and contains four lines of Persian verse and prose which is carved in relief in Nast‘i‘iq. The calligraphy is of no particular merit, but the quality of verse is quite good. The record states that the gate — evidently the same as the one now called Nadi-Darwaza on which it appears — was constructed under the supervision of Sidi ‘Aziz during the governorship of Khān-i-Daurān Bahādur and reign of emperor Shāh Jahān in 1639-40.

The present record shows that Khān-i-Daurān continued to be the governor of Málwā, though at the time of the record he was on active service in Deccan and elsewhere. Sidi ‘Aziz, who was

---

2 *IG*, vol. XXIV, pp. 114.
in charge of the construction, is not known to us. He was apparently an official. This mention of an Abyssinian official of the Mughals is not without interest.

The text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

**Plate V(a)**

\[ (1) \text{بعهد دولت شاه جهان آن خسرود اسلام} \]
\[ (2) \text{که شد چون ماهر عالم فقیه یاب از نور اسلام} \]
\[ (3) \text{مرتبت گشت در ایامی این دروازه پرستی} \]
\[ (3) \text{البیت تا جهان باشد بود اندر جهان نامش} \]
\[ (3) \text{چو از سرتا قدست پرستی آمد این در رحمت} \]
\[ (3) \text{علی فقیه ناکد از پرستش ند سال اتمامش} \]
\[ (3) \text{در عمل خانداران بهادر و باهمت اسدی عزیز مرتب شد سال 949} \]

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the reign of Shāh Jahān, that king of Islām, from the light of whose Faith, the world was benefitted as it does from (that of the) sun;

(2) in his time, this bountiful gate was constructed. O God! May his name remain in this world as long as it lasts.

(3) As this gate of mercy is full of blessings from top to bottom, for that reason the date of its completion was found (in the phrase:) bountiful place.

(4) In the time of the governorship of Khān-i-Daurān Bahādur and under the supervision of Sīdī 'Azīz it was completed. Year (A.H.) 1049 (1639-40 A.D.).

**IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1049, FROM KANJIA**

This inscription was found by Shri S. A. Rahim in Kanjia, now a small village in Khurasi Tahsil of Sangar district, situated at a distance of about 110 kilometres north-west of the district headquarters. The present name of the town appears to be a corrupt form of ‘Karanjia’ which is the way it is recorded in the epigraph. In Akbar’s time also, it went under the latter name; it was the headquarters of a pargana in Chanderi sarāk, and had a stone fort.\(^1\)

The inscriptiveal tablet which measures 82 by 45 cms. is fixed over the central mīhrāb of the ‘Idgāh\(^2\) and is inscribed with a four-line text in Persian, executed in ordinary Nasta’līq script. The record states that in the time of emperor Shāh Jahān, when the pargana Karanjia was included in the jāgīr of Nawūb Sayyid Ṣafdar Khān, the ‘Idgāh was constructed in 1640 by ‘Abdu’l-Wāsi’ Badakhshi, who is described in the text as ‘the servant of the saintly persons’.

---

\(^1\) Abū l-Faḍl, op.cit., p. 461.

The text of the inscription is quoted below:—

**TEXT**

*Plate V(b)*

(1) در زمان دولت حاکم قراون ثاني شاه جهان

(2) بادشاه غازی که پرکرده کرشه بنگرد نواب سیادت

(3) و نقطه بناء صدر خان مقرر و مسلم بود مسجد عیدین

(4) با هامام خادم القراء عبد الوالع بدکشی باتمام رسید بتاریخ ۲ ذی الحج سنة ۱۰۴۹

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the reign of Sāhib Qirān-i-Thāni Shāh Jahān

(2-3) Bādshāh Ghāzi, when the *pargana* of Kāranjia was included in the *jāgir* of Nawwāb, (who is) the asylum of chiefship (*i.e.* a Sayyid) and refuge of leadership, Safdar Khān, the mosque for the prayers of the two ‘Ids (*i.e.* the ‘Idgāh)

(4) was completed under the supervision of the servant of the saintly persons ‘Abdul-l-Wāsi’ Badakhshi on the 27th of Dhu’l-Hijja, year 1049 (19th April 1640).

The record is important in more than one aspect. As stated above, it records the old name of the town, Kāranjia, and also indicates that it continued to be the headquarters of a *pargana* in the time of Shāh Jahān as well. The epigraph further provides the important information that this *pargana* formed part of the *jāgir* of Nawwāb Safdar Khān, who was one of the prominent officials of Shāh Jahān. His name was Khwāja Qāsim, and the title of Safdar Khān was conferred upon him by Shāh Jahān in his first regnal year. *i.e.* in May 1628. It was then that he was given the *tuyāl* of Sironj (now in the adjoining Vidisha district), which, looking from the geographical position, seems to have included Kāranjia also. In about May 1631, he was appointed governor of Delhi which post he seems to have held for about ten years with an interregnum of about six years during which he was in Iran as the royal ambassador.

The present inscription supplies the interesting information that though Safdar Khān like Khān-i-Daurān, served elsewhere, he continued to enjoy his *jāgir* in central India. This is an interesting piece of information regarding the Mughal administration of *jāgirs*.

The other person ‘Abdul-l-Wāsi’ under whose supervision the ‘Idgāh was completed is nowhere mentioned in the historical records available to me. His *nīshā* Badakhshi indicates foreign lineage. He also seems to have been an official attached to or serving under Safdar Khān.

**V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1051, FROM THE SAME PLACE**

The tablet bearing the second inscription from Kāranjia is set up over the central *mihrāb* of a mosque called Qal’a-ki-Masjid. *It measures 1.28 m. by 35 cms. and contains four lines of Persian script.*

---

*1 For details of his career, see Shāh Nawwā Khān, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 733–36. References to the exact dates in his career will be found under his name and title in the respective Indices in ‘Abdul-l-Hamīd, op. cit. and Muḥammad Sālib, op. cit.*

*2 ARIE, 1900-01, No. D, 83.*
verse and prose inscribed in ordinary Nastā‘īq which purport that the mosque was constructed by Chaudhari Ṣafdar in 1642. It also records the fact that Nawwāb Ṣafdar was the fīf-holder of the place.

The builder of the mosque, Chaudhari Ṣafdar could not be traced in any historical work. He may have been an official or an agent of the Nawwāb.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate 5(c)

(1) بدور شهنشاه شاه جهان بين
که از عدل او هست گیتی پر گلشن
بت دیر خانه قناده جو گلیتن
(2) مسجد چنان کشته جون باغ جنت
که اثر دین گشته مثل جو روشن
(3) زمانی بجاگیر نواب صفر
سنی یکهزار و پنجم یک بود
(م) که در ماه ذو الحج تاریخ به شد
پنا کنمند مسجد جوشهری صفر
ختم الله با الخیر (sic.) و الظفر

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the world-seeing emperor Shāh,1 through whose justice, the world has become like a beautiful garden,

(2) the prayer-houses (mosques) have become like the garden of Paradise and the idols of the temple are down-trodden like the dust-bin.

(3) (This mosque was built) at the time when the fīf was held by Nawwāb Ṣafdar, during which the religious edifices have come to light like sky (?);

the year was one thousand and fiftyone when the day was ninth of the month of Dhu‘l-Hijja

(9 Dhu‘l-Hijja 1051=1st March 1642).

May Allāh end it with grace and success. The builder of the mosque is Chaudhari Ṣafdar.

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1053, FROM BHIKANGĀN

The sixth epigraph was copied by me from Bhikangān, a Tahsil headquarters in the West Nimār district. In Akbar’s period, Bhikangān was included in the Bijāgarh sarkār and had a stone fort and a big market for horses.2

The arch-shaped epigraphical tablet measuring 55 cms. from apex to bottom and 68 cms. in width, is fixed on the right side of the central mihrāb of the Ḥdāgāh situated on the bank of the river.3 It is inscribed in relief with seven lines of writing comprising in the main a Persian Fragment of five verses. The style of writing is beautiful Nastā‘īq. The quality of verse is also fairly good. The text records that in the reign of Shāh Jahān, the mosque was built in 1643-44 by the

1 There is a pun on the king's name in the phrase Shāh-i-Jahānsī in the original.
2 Abūl-Faqīl, op. cit., p. 463.
(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1049, from Ujjain (p. 20)

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1049, from Kanjia (p. 21)

(c) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1051, same place (p. 22)
(a) Record, dated A. H. 1053, from Bhikangāon (p. 23)

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 1065, from Khargone (p. 25)
emperor's son Shāh Aurangzeb, with a view to provide the facility of prayers to the Muslims. The text is designed by Husain Shirāzi.¹

The epigraph is thus quite important in indicating that the place was an important halting point on the Trunk road to Deccan and also that Prince Aurangzeb considered it a fit place to be developed. It must have had a sizable Muslim population, necessitating a prayer-house.

The text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

**Plate VI(a)**

(a) Main text.

(1) Ya Rab

(2) Sehan Zarai Allah

(3) Dar zaman shahb malay din

(4) Shīhāb, zib din pror

(5) Aziy Rooman

(6) Zayn alayn baytu Allah alayn

(7) Hattā biyar tahrīkh

(b) In the centre of the last two lines.

كانت حسن شيرازي

**TRANSLATION**

(a)

(1) O Lord! O Eternal! O Lord!

(2) Glorified be my Lord the most Exalted.

(3) In the reign of Shihāb (lit. bright star) of the community and religion,² the king who bestows crowns (namely), Shāh Jahān,

(4) the current coin of that dignified emperor (i.e. his son), Shāh Aurangzeb, the cherisher of religion,

(5) constructed a mosque at this auspicious place for the progress of the religion.

(6) Since by this edifice, through the kindness of that king of the religion, the difficulty of the men of qibla (i.e. those who offer prayers) was solved,

¹There is another inscription in the same mosque, to be found on the central mihrāb. It merely contains the First Creed followed by the date of the construction and is designed by the same scribe (ABIE, 1966:67, No. D, 108).

²Reference to the emperor's title Shihābu'd-Dīn
(7) the Invisible Angel proclaimed for its date, “(It is) the abode of the kindness of the All-pervading obliging Lord”. (A. H.) 1053 (1643-44 A.D.).

(b) Written by Ḥusain Shīrāzī.

The style of writing is of a fairly high order and the scribe Ḥusain Shīrāzī must have been well-versed in calligraphy. But unfortunately it is difficult to establish his identity.

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1065, FROM KHARGONE

Khargone which was the chief town of a maḥāl in the Bijāgarh sarkār in former times, is now the headquarters of the West Nimār district and is situated in 21° 49' N and 75° 39' E on the left bank of the Kundi river, a tributary of the Narbādā. In the course of my visit to the place in 1966, I was informed by Mr. Hārūn Bhāi, an industrialist and a prominent personality of the town, about an epigraphical tablet that was lying loose in the out-house of the Tomb of Ḥaḍrat Mūsā, and I had its impression prepared. The original findspot of the tablet is not on record.¹

The inscription is historically important as it furnishes a new piece of information which is not to be met with in contemporary or later chronicles. It states that in the time of Shāh Jahān, Ḥusain who received the place in ʿāfān from prince Muḥammad Aurangzeb constructed a well and laid out a garden with a building therein for the comfort of the travellers and wayfarers in 1654-55. The date in Hijra era is given both in figures and a chronogram contained in the last line.

The epigraph thus provides the interesting information that Khargone was included in the ʿāfān—watan—of Ḥusain, who was responsible for the construction of a ‘traveller’s bungalow’ with a well and a garden for the wayfarers. It will be observed that Ḥusain is mentioned in the record as having received the ʿāfān from Prince Aurangzeb. Now we have, at least from available records, only one Ḥusain who enjoyed the confidence of Aurangzeb in his princehood, and that is Mīr Ḥusain Khwāfī, his foster-brother, who received great honours and office during his kingship. But some time before the time of our epigraph, which started after the greater part of Shāh ahān’s regnal year 28 was over, Mīr Ḥusain is reported to have left the Prince’s service temporarily and joined Shāh Jahān in the 27th regnal year, and it was in the 30th regnal year that Prince Aurangzeb got for him the faujdāri of Hoshangābād and Ḥaḍriā.² But it is very likely that in the meantime Prince Aurangzeb might have conferred upon him some land in Khargone in a bid for reconciliation. In any case he appears very likely to be identical with Ḥusain of our record.³

The text of this record consists of six verses in Persian engraved in relief in tolerably good Nastaʿlīq and arranged in twelve well-cut lozenge-shaped panels each containing a hemistich, on an area of 75 by 60 cms. of white marble. The space between the two panels in each line is also inscribed. The slab being exposed to inclemencies of weather, the writing is damaged, and while the main text is more or less in tact, the writing in the above-mentioned spaces in the middle has almost disappeared, except the date-figure and the name Shaikh Ramadān who may have been either the supervisor of the work or the scribe of the epigraph.

The quality of verse is fairly good.

² ARIE, 1966-67, No. D, 111.
⁴ For a full account of his career, see ibid., pp. 798-818.
The text has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

Plate VI(b)

1. O He! In the time of the government of Shāh Jahān, from whom the world has borrowed beauty and decoration;

2. when Ḥusain received fief (wāqf) in this region from Muḥammad, the throne-adorning monarch (i.e. prince Muḥammad Aurangzēb);

3. he constructed out of thoughtfulness this beautiful garden, with a well and a villa befitting his own dignity,

4. (thinking that) may be, some man of heart might reach this place (and) rest here for a moment, relieved of hardship and fatigue—(A.H.) 1065 (1654-55 A.D.)—

5. (and) be kind enough to invoke (this) prayer, “may (the builder) receive reward (lit. bounty) from the Lord of men ad genii”.

6. O He! The old Man of Wisdom, wrote its date (in the words : ) an eternal garden of darwīsh-like Ḥusain.

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields the date which is also inscribed in figures in the middle of line 4.

**VIII-IX. - INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1067 AND 1068 FROM SIRONJ**

Sironj, the place of find of these two epigraphs, is situated between 24°6′N and 77°43′E. It is now reduced to a mere Tahsil headquarters in Vidišā district, but has seen better days. It is stated to have been a corrupt form of Sherganj, so named after the place was made his headquarters by Sher Shāh after its conquest by him. In Akbar’s time, it was one of the mahāls of the Chandari sarkār in the sūba of Mālwa and was granted in ḡārir by the emperor to Gharib Dās Khichī Chauhān of Raghugarh, as a reward for services rendered. In olden times it lay on the direct route between the Deccan and Āgrā.

These epigraphs were copied some time back by Shri A.A. Kādiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant. From the calligraphical point of view, both are extremely pleasing records, designed by the same scribe. They also mention the same person, and as such are taken up here simultaneously.

The tablet of the earlier record is built up into the façade of the mosque, in Maḥalla Rakābganj. Measuring 50 by 25 cms., it is engraved in relief with a text running into four lines. Being exposed to weather, the writing is considerably affected and the letters have lost their prominence of relief at many places, but even then one is struck by the highly artistic calligraphy of the inscription, the style of writing being Nastaʿlīq. As a matter of fact, not only is the calligraphy of the record the finest among all the inscriptions of the present group, but it can also easily rank among the best calligraphical specimens in Nastaʿlīq style, and therefore it is a matter of regret that its scribe, whose name is fortunately mentioned in the record, should have remained unknown. The language is Persian.

The epigraph records the construction of a mosque in 1656-57 by Muḥammad Šāliḥ Siddīqī, who is stated to have held the office of the governorship (niʿāmat) of the province of Mālwā.

Its text has been read as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate VII(b)*

(1) يحكم حديث تبى عليه من الصلوات افضلها من بني الله مسجدنا في الدنيا نفى الله
(2) اثبت في الجنة ذو عهد خلافة شهاب الدين محمد صاحب القتلان فتى شاه جهان بادشا شاه غازى
(3) محمد صالح صديق له خدمت [نظام] مالو داشت في شهر سنه يكمزار و
(4) عصت و هفت هجري اين
(5) بقت فين بنياد شد و بحاس جمل ا인 دو تاریخ گفتا شد

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In compliance with the injunction contained in the tradition of the Prophet, upon him be (Allāh's) choicest blessings, to wit, Whosoever builds for Allāh a mosque in this world, Allāh builds for him

(2) a house in Paradise', during the period of the caliphate of Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Šāhīb Qirān-i-Ṭānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzi, (by) the humble servant,

(3) Muḥammad Šāliḥ Siddīqī who was holding the post of the viceroy (niżāmat) of the ġūba (province) of Mālwā, in the year,

(4) one thousand and sixty and seven from the Migration (A.H. 1067=1656-57 A.D.), this

(5) edifice of bounty was founded and according to the Abjad reckoning, these two chronograms were composed: (1) the edifice of bounty and (2) a mosque of holy persons. Written by Niżāmī.

The two chronograms when worked out yield the above date which is also stated in words.

---

(a) Epitaph, dated A. H. 1068, from Sironj (p. 27)

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 1067, same place (p. 26)
The other inscription from Sironj and the last one of the present group is from what is locally known as the Dargāh of Shaikh Šāliḥ. The tablet, measuring 120 by 50 cms, on which it is inscribed, is built up above the entrance, in the southern side of the mausoleum. The record comprises four Persian couplets purporting that Shaikh Šāliḥ died while performing his ‘Iṣaḥ (night) prayers on the 28th November 1657. The deceased who is further described in the text as an efficient minister enjoying the full confidence of the emperor and wielding great power, is evidently identical with Muḥammad Šāliḥ of the previous epigraph. The text was both composed and inscribed by Niẓāmī, who is also same as the one who wrote the last mentioned epigraph. From this epigraph, it would appear that Niẓāmī was the nom-de-plume and he was both a poet and a calligrapher. The quality of verse is tolerably good.

The style of writing of this epigraph is also Nastaʿlīq of a fairly high order, but it does not come up to the standard of the calligraphy of the earlier specimen.

The text has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(a) In the vertical panel in the middle.

(i) Upper portion:

هو الرحيم

(ii) Lower portion:

قائمه و رافقه نظامی

(b) Main text.

(1) همان شیخ صالح که پیشش فلک فرو داشته گردن از انتقاد وزیر خردمند و کامل که داشت برو پادشاه جهان اعتقاد از اندر نماز عشا چنان بداد (م) پرووش نمودم بتاريخ آن پهنا خرد منزل شلیاد

سن ۱۰۶۸

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) He is merciful.

(2) The composer and writer of this is Niẓāmī.

(b) (1) Verily, Shaikh Šāliḥ, before whom the sky would bend its neck in submissiveness

1 ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 137.
(2) a wise and efficient minister, in whom the king of the world had full confidence—

(3) when he died while performing the 'Ishā' (night) prayers, on the second day in (the month of) the death of the Prophet (i.e. Rabī' I),

(4) I enquired about the date for that. Wisdom declared, "May his abode be Paradise."

The chronogram yields the year A.H. 1068. Thus Shāikh Sālih died in the night of 2nd Rabī' I 1068 (28th November 1657).

It will be agreed that these epigraphs are quite important in that they add to our knowledge of history. They mention two persons, one of whom was a high Mughal official; he was the viceroy—nāṣim of the Mālwa province at the time of the construction of the mosque, i.e. in 1656-57. The other, Niẓāmī, who composed the metrical epigraph and wrote both, appears to have been skilled in penmanship and an expert Nasta'liq writer. As stated above, of the two epigraphs, the calligraphy of the mosque inscription can rank in excellence and artistic beauty among the best specimens of Nasta'liq script, but we know nothing about this calligrapher, whose name even would have remained unknown but for these epigraphs.

Likewise, it is only from these epigraphs that we know that Shāikh Muḥammad Sālih Siddiqi, the builder of the mosque, held the viceroyalty of Mālwa and was a 'perfect and wise minister enjoying the confidence of the emperor', and that he died in 1657 while offering his night prayers. It is a matter of regret that a man of his position cannot be satisfactorily identified. There are quite a few persons bearing this name who flourished in Shāh Jahān's reign, of whom the more prominent are Muḥammad Sālih entitled Sipahdār Khān, Muḥammad Sālih Tarkhān and Muḥammad Sālih Khwāfī entitled Mu'tamad Khān. The identification of the first two with Muḥammad Sālih of our records is out of question as they died either earlier or later than the latter. And though the third, Mu'tamad Khān is reported to have died in the same year, i.e. A.H. 1068, he also cannot be intended, as he was killed in the battle of Samugarh, fighting on Dārā Shikoh's side, while our man expired while offering his prayers. In any case, the epigraphs are of considerable value as they add to our knowledge of the history of Mālwa under the Mughals.

---

1. Reference to the emperor's name Shāh Jahān.

MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHARASHTRA

By A. A. Kadiri

Senior Epigraphical Assistant

It is proposed to study in this article fourteen inscriptions from various places in West-Khândesh and Marâthwâdã regions of Mahârâsthra. These range in their dates from 1597-98 to 1704-05, covering the reigns of Akbar, Jahângîr, Shâh Jahân and Aurangzeb who respectively claim 1, 2, 3 and 8 of these records.

The estampages of all but two of these records were obtained by me during the years 1961-67.

Akbar

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1006, FROM SHÂHGÂDh

The tablet bearing the earliest of these records which is unfortunately fragmentary, is fixed on the east wall of the Kâlî-Masjid at Shâhgâd, in Aurangâbâd district.1 From the surviving text, it would appear that the text was inscribed on two rectangular slabs of equal size, of which one cannot be traced now. Thus half of the text is lost to us.

The present slab measures 68 by 58 cms. and contains five lines of writing, carved in relief in excellent Nasta’lîq characters, of which the first and the last respectively contain part of the formula Allâhu Akbar and part of the date i.e. Ilâhî year 42. The remaining three lines contain the text proper, which originally consisted of six Persian couplets, but of these only three couplets have now survived. From the last hemistich, which seeks to give the chronogram for the year of construction, it appears that some edifice was constructed by Wsâdâr Khân in 1597-98 or A.H. 1006. The date seems to have been inscribed in figure on the right-side slab which is missing as is clear from the corresponding date in Ilâhî Era — year 42 — which is inscribed in figure on the surviving tablet. The text also provides this important information that Sultan Murâd after having conquered Deccan, had planned to make the findspot of the epigraph, i.e. Shâhgâd, the capital of Deccan to ensure the complete subjugation and proper administration of the region, and it was in this connection that the edifice was constructed. It may not be unreasonable to hold that the object constructed was a fort, in which case, the tablet may not be in situ.

It is a pity that the record which refers to the Mughal expedition of Deccan under prince Murâd, is fragmentary, since the possibility of its having contained some additional information cannot be ruled out. The historians of history know, incidentally, that when Abu’l-Faḍl came to Shâhgâd, he had camped at the fort there.2 Subsequent to the peace treaty concluded with Ahmadnagar on the 13th Insfandâr-muz Ilâhî 40 (21st February 1596), the region of Berâr was annexed to the Mughal empire, and it was there, at Mehar, that the Prince had camped after raising the siege of the Nizâm Shâhî capital. But the Deccanis were certainly not reconciled with the loss of the region, as is apparent from the struggle for supremacy over the region.

---

between the imperial forces and the Deccani army, which has been described at some length in contemporary works.¹

A perusal of Abu’l-Faḍl’s account presents a clear picture of the political situation prevailing in the vicinity of the findspot of our record. Viewed in this perspective, the desire of the Mughal prince to have a permanent headquarters there can be properly understood.

The record, it may be pointed out, is the only source of information which refers to the prince’s design of establishing a capital at Shāhgaḍh. It is very likely, as suggested above, that the object of construction referred to in the epigraph was a fort, which may have been designated Shāhgaḍh—Shāh means a king and gaḍh a fort—after the prince himself in the same way as another town in Berār, viz. Shāhpur situated in the neighbourhood of Bālapur was named after him.²

As to Wafādār Khān, the builder, he seems to have been an official of quite some importance. According to Abu’l-Faḍl’s account, he was present in most of the battles or skirmishes that took place in Berār between the Mughals and the Deccanis.³

The text has been deciphered as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plate VIII (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) [اِللهُ أَكْبَرِ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>................................................. (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[حَرَقَتُ دَكْنَ كَرَدْ سَلَطَانَ مَرَاذاَدَ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>باِتِبَالٍ آن شاه كُشور سَان</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>................................................. (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.................................................</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>كُهْ تَا أَزْبَيْ شُبَطَ وَتُسْخِير مَلْكَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شُودْ يَأْي تَخَتُ دَكْنَ اِنْ مَٰكَانَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>................................................. (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.................................................</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ For details, please refer to Abu’l-Faḍl, op. cit., pp. 701-03, 711-15, 717-19, etc. Dr. Rādhey Shyām, in The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar (Delhi, 1966), pp. 225, 404, etc., also describes these engagements, but his account suffers from a few mistakes. For example, he gives 14th March 1596, as the date of the conclusion of the treaty, while the date quoted by Abu’l-Faḍl corresponds to 21st February of the same year. Similarly, the skirmish between ‘Ain Khān and the Mughal forces (Abu’l-Faḍl, op. cit., p. 711) is not mentioned by him.

² Abu’l-Faḍl, op. cit., p. 703. For an inscription of the Prince at Shāhpur, see Epigraphia Indica Arabia and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1963, p. 52 (pl. XV c).

³ Abu’l-Faḍl, op. cit., pp. 715, 718.
MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHARASHTRA

(1) [Allāh is] great.

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

When Sulṭān Murād conquered the Deccan, through the good fortune of that kingdom-conquering king (i.e. Akbar),

(3) .................................................................

so that for the sake of administration and subjugation of the region (lit. country), this place may become the capital of Deccan.

(4) .................................................................

When I sought its date from the Old Man of Wisdom, he said, "It is the edifice (built) by Wafādār Khān."

(5) .................................................................

corresponding to Ilāhī year 42.

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields the year A.H. 1006. Since the corresponding Ilāhī year 42, as quoted in the text, lasted from 2nd Sha‘bān 1005 to 12th Sha‘bān 1006, the construction must have taken place between 1st Muḥarram and 12th Sha‘bān 1006, i.e. some time during 4th August 1597-10th March 1598.

Jahāngīr

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1032, FROM NANDURBĀR

The slab bearing the second inscription, which pertains to Jahāngīr’s reign, is fixed on the wall of the verandah of the Rang-Maḥal situated in the enclosure of the Dargāh of Sayyid ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn at Nandurbar, in West Khāndesh district. It measures 60 by 30 cms. and contains four lines of writing in Persian. The epigraph purports to record the construction of a building by an official, namely Luṭfū’llāh, son of Khusraw Khān of Thāṭṭā, with the alias Bahā’ī Khān, by which most probably the title is meant. The building is stated to have been completed on the 16th September 1623. However, exactly which building is referred to here is not clear. If the epigraph is in situ, it might mean that it was the Dargāh of the saint, of which the Rang-Maḥal forms an integral part.

1 ARIE, 1963-64 No. D 176 This epigraph was copied by Shri S.A. Rahim, then Epigraphical Assistant.

2 For an account of Nandurbar and its history, etc., please see Bombay Gazeteer, vol. XII (Bombay, 1880), pp. 457-59.
The builder, Luṭfū’l-lāh Bahā’ī Khān, was a notable grandee of Jahāngīr’s reign. His father Khusraw Khān better known as Khusraw Khān Chirgi was the hereditary prime-minister of the Sind ruler Mirzā Jānī Baig, and enjoyed the reputation of being a great statesman of his time. He was mainly responsible for the stout resistance offered by the Sind ruler to Akbar’s general Khān-i-Khānān. He continued to play a prominent part, at times of ‘king-maker’ in Sind affairs even after its subjugation by the Mughals. He lies buried at Ajmer, where he had died as recorded in his epitaph in A.H. 1023 (1614-15 A.D.) about a year after he was brought there to the court by ‘Abdūr-Razzāq Ma’mūrī, under Jahāngīr’s orders.

As regards the son Luṭfū’l-lāh, unfortunately no definite information is available, except that in some circles the death of Mirzā Ghāzi was attributed to his machinations. Jahāngīr mentions one Luṭfū’l-lāh as having been granted a nāṅgāb in April 1620 and an increase two years later. He is also stated to have been among the noblemen and officials who accompanied Prince Parviz to chastise the rebellious Shāh Jahān in Deccan. Unfortunately, the emperor gives no details beyond mentioning his name, and therefore it is difficult to say for certain if he is identical with Bahā’ī Khān though the chances that they are identical are quite high. Luṭfū’l-lāh may have continued to serve in Deccan till or even after the date of this record. It appears from a statement of Abu’l-Faḍl that the title Bahā’ī Khān was also enjoyed by Khusraw Khān. If so, on his death, it must have been conferred upon the son.

The text of the epigraph is executed in Nasta’liq characters of no particular merit, and has been read as under:

**TEXT**

Plate VIII (b)

(1) در زمان خلالت جهانگیر پادشاه غازی
(2) بنده درگاه لطف الله عرف بهلالیخان این
(3) خسرو خان تنی این عمارت را با نیامد
(4) در تاریخ غره ماه دالجه سنه 350، ی پاتام و سرانید

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the reign of the caliphate of the victorious king Jahāngīr,
(2) the slave of the court, Luṭfū’l-lāh aḥūs Bahā’ī Khān, son of

---

5. Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., p. 347, who is the only authority to mention this, places the Mirzā’s death in A.H. 1018, but the latter is stated to have died in A.H. 1021 (Jahāngīr, op. cit., p. 109; Blochmann, op. cit., p. 392).
MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHARASHTRA

(Plates VIII—XII)

(a) Inscription of Akbar, dated A. H. 1006, from Shāhgaḍh (p. 30)

Scale: 15

(b) Record of Jahāngīr, dated A. H. 1032, from Nandurbār (p. 32)

Scale: 23
MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHARASHTRA

(3) Khursaw Khan Tatthi (i.e. of Thaṭṭā), having laid the foundation of this building,
(4) brought (it) to completion on the date, the 1st of Dhu'-l-Hijja, year 1032 (16th September 1623).

III. - INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 1032, FROM JAFARĀBĀD

The second inscription of Jahāngir, noticed here for the first time, was found by me. It is engraved on a loose slab kept near the Bich-ki-Masjid situated inside the fort at Jafarābād, a Tahuk-headquarters in Aurangābād district. This town situated in 20° 14' E, 76° 5' N, on the bank of Khaḍak-Purnā river, enjoyed considerable importance in the Mughal period on account of its strategic position. Originally named Zafarnagar when newly founded in Jahāngir's time, it had the distinction of being a mint-town in his reign as well as in that of Shāh Jahān.²

The epigraphical tablet measuring 114 by 76 cms. is reported to have originally belonged to the Delhi gate of the said fort; the latter is now in a dilapidated condition, but the gate is still standing, and the place where the tablet was originally fixed can be easily made out. The text comprises five lines of writing in Persian inscribed in relief in beautiful Nasta'liq characters. The letters are slightly damaged, but the text is almost completely intact.

The text does not contain the usual phrase denoting the word 'constructed' nor the object of construction, but it is obvious that the construction of the gate on which it originally appeared, if not of the fort itself, is intended. This construction is stated to have been carried out during the reign of Jahāngir Bādshāh Ghāzī at the instance of His Excellency the world-conquering (prince) Shāh Jahān under the overall supervision of an official Ibrāhīm Husain, entitled 'Aqīdot Khān who held the post of Bakhshi, in 1622-23. The work is further reported to have been executed by the mason Yāsīn Jaunpūrī, while Khālf a'-t-Tabrīzī is mentioned at the end of the text as the calligrapher. A word or two in the beginning of the last line are too indistinct to be perfectly legible.

The epigraph thus provides an important piece of information about the history of the town. Evidently 'Aqīdat Khān was associated with the administration of the town and perhaps of its neighbouring parts also. As Zafarnagar is stated to have been founded in about the middle of 1621,³ it is not unlikely that he was also connected with the foundation of the town. Anyway, it is rather surprising that we get only passing references to him in historical works. He was sent from Ajmer by emperor Jahāngir in the beginning of 1614 to Deccan, to reconcile the differences which had arisen between Khān-i-A'zīm 'Aziz Koka and his ward Prince Parviz. He was appointed Bakhschī of Deccan in October 1617 and almost a year later, on the recommendations of Khān-i-Khānān, he was granted the mīnak of 1000 personal and 200 horse. A couple of months later he received the title 'Aqīdat Khān. In June 1622, his rank was increased to that of 1200 personal and 300 horse. He fought, along with the 'Ādil Shāhī general against Malik 'Ambar under royal orders, but was taken captive and sent to Daulatabad in June 1625.⁴

Thus it was during his tenure as Bakhshī of Deccan that the construction, very probably of the fort of Zafarnagar as stated above, was completed under his supervision in 1622-23. But

¹ ARIE, 1906-07, No, D, 152.
² For a scholarly note by Professor S.H. Hodjwala about the identification of Zafarnagar with Jafarabad, see Numismatic Supplement, No. XXXIV (1920), p. 348.
³ C.R. Singhal, Mini Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India, (Bombay, 1953), pp. 35-36.
⁵ For these and other details including a few despatches sent by him from Deccan to the royal court, please see Jahāngirī, op. cit., pp. 126, 192, 246, 258, 344, 374, 390, 391, 392; Abu'l-Hasan, Jahāngir Nāma (Lahore, 1898), pp. 70, 216, 218.
since Shāh Jahān who led the Mughal offensive against Malik 'Ambar in Deccan and at whose instance the construction took place, rebelled against his father in the beginning of 1623, the construction must have taken place before that date, i.e. in 1622. Also, if 'Aqīdat Khān as Bakhshī was connected with the foundation of Zafarnagar, as is very likely, the entire project might have been completed during 1621-22.

Another point of equal interest about the epigraph is its penmanship and the artist, namely Khalf a’t-Tabrizī. As the readers of this journal will be aware, he has designed quite a few records of the time of Jahāngīr. But very few people, however, know that he was the father of Muḥammad Ḥusain Tabrizī, the author of the famous lexicon, the Burhān-i-Qāṭī.

The epigraph has been read as under: —

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

(a) Four corners.

Allah

(b) Main text.

(1) [نورالدین محمد] جهانگیر بادشاه غازی خلّد الله ملكه و عدلیه و حسن حکم

(2) [نورالدین محمد] خسرو نائی جهانیان کشیش فرتان نیش جهان خلّد عمره

(3) [کتابی مربوط (؟) خلف التبریزی] معمار پسین (؟) جوئنوری

(5) ۵۲۷ خورشیدی

TRANSLATION

(a) Allāh.

(b) (1) In the time of the government of His Majesty, the shadow of Allāh, the asylum of Caliphate, the possessor of Solomon’s position, Nūru’d-Dīn Muḥammad

(2) Jahāngīr Bakhshī Ghāzi, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, justice and benevolence and by the orders of,

(3) His Excellency, the possessor of celestial titles, the protector of the world, the conqueror of kingdoms, Shāh Jahān, may he live for ever,

(4) (this was constructed) under the supervision of the servant of the court, Ibrāhīm Ḥusain entitled ‘Aqīdat Khān, the Bakhshī (in) the year (A.H.) 1032 (1622-23 A.D.).

(5) [It was written by the humble creature] Khalf a’t-Tabrizī. Mason Yāsīn (? Jaunpūr (executed the work).
(a) Inscription of Jahāngir, dated A.H. 1032, from Jafarābād (p. 34)

(b) Record of Shāh Jahān, dated A.H. 1040, same place (p. 35)

(c) Inscription of Shāh Jahān, dated A.H. 1056, from Ausā (p. 33)
**Shāh Jahān**

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1040, FROM THE SAME PLACE

The first inscription of Shāh Jahān and the fourth of the group is carved on a slab measuring 50 by 39 cms., which is fixed above the arch over the steps of a well called Lambi-Bāro, situated near the above-mentioned Bich-ki-Masjid in the Jafarābād fort.  It seems to have been first mentioned in the gazetteer of the Aurangābād district, and its brief notice given there was the subject of comments by Professor S. H. Hojiwālā. But the comments of the learned Professor do not appear to be well founded, as will be presently seen.

This brief epigraph consists of seven short lines of writing in ordinary Nasta’īq characters and records the completion of a step-well constructed by the orders of Shāh Jahān, the Shāhib-i-Qirān (lit. Lord of Conjunction), and under the supervision of Mustafā Khan Turkmān in 1630.

This Mustafā Khan Turkmān was originally a grandee of Jahāngīr’s court. He seems to have served at Paithān from which he was transferred in 1623, and was later on sent along with other nobles to join the ‘Ādil Shāhī general against Malik ‘Ambar. Under Jahāngīr he rose to hold the rank of 2000 personal with 1400 horse. On Shāh Jahān’s accession, his rank was increased to 3000 personal and 2000 horse, and he was also awarded the title of Turkmān Khan. In April-May 1630, he was honoured with the privilege of drum and was sent to Deccan. He is stated to have died in A. H. 1043 (1633-34 A.D.), in harness, as Thānādār of Zafarnāgar. The date of his appointment to this post is not recorded, except that he is mentioned to have held this appointment in the 6th regnal year of Shāh Jahān (4th December 1632-22nd November 1633). Now the present record, which indirectly proves his association in official capacity in the third regnal year (6th January 1630-25th December 1630), tends to suggest that when he was sent to Deccan in April-May 1630, he was sent to Zafarnāgar only, which must have been as its Thānādār. Incidentally, in 1633-34 he was directed to escort a convoy of provisions from Zafarnāgar to Daulatābād which was then being besieged by Mahābat Khan.

The text of the epigraph reads as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate IX (b)

(1) اللهم أكبّر
(2) فرسان شاه جهان
(3) صاحقران باهمام
(4) مصطفى خان تركمان
(5) سنة 3 جلوس مطابق

---

TRANSLATION

(1) Allah is Great.
(2) By the order of Shāh Jahān
(3) Sāḥib-i-Qirān (lit. Lord of Conjunction), under the supervision of
(4) Muṣṭafā Khān Turkmān.
(5) in the 3rd regnal year corresponding to
(6-7) the year (A.H.) one thousand and forty (A.H. 1040-1630 A.D.), this step-well
was completed.

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1049, FROM SHĀHGADH

The loose rectangular tablet bearing the second inscription of Shāh Jahān was found lying
in the house of Sāyyid Chānḍ Śāhīb, not far from the ruins of the Shāhgadh fort. Measuring
47 by 34 cms., it contains six lines of writing inscribed in relief in elegant Naskh characters.
Incidentally, the calligraphy of the record presents a contrast, certainly not unpleasing, with
most of the Mughal records in Deccan, which are carved in Nastāliq style, and bears a close
resemblance with the calligraphy of the inscriptions of Ibrāhīm ʿĀdil Shāh II of Bijapur
(1580-1626).3

The record which is noticed here for the first time purports that in the reign of Shāh Jahān
a lofty fort was constructed in 1639, the work having been supervised by Ibrāhīm al-Mūsawi.

I have failed to trace any reference to Ibrāhīm al-Mūsawi in contemporary chronicles. From
the tenor of the text, one can reasonably take him to have been connected with the place in
some administrative capacity, as a Thānādār or in some equally important post. That is why
all the more, our record is important because on one hand, but for it his name would have
remained unknown, and on the other, it supplies information for local history which we do not
generally come across.

The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate X (b)

(1) در ایام دولت و قوام صوت بلندان پادشاه گیتی پناه
(2) سلیمان بارگاه مهر سیمر سلطنت و کامگاری اختر
(3) برج ابنی و جهانداری صاحب قران ثانی شهاب الدهن
(4) محمد شاه جهان پادشاه غازی بسی و اهتمام بندر قدی

2 Dr. M. Ṣaʿūdī, Bijapur Inscriptions, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49 (Delhi, 1936),
pl. I (No. 3251), VI (No. 3248), X (No. 483), etc.
VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1056, FROM AUSĀ

The third inscription belonging to Shāh Jahān’s reign is fixed on the west wall of a rectangular well called Madār-Bāolī at Ausā in Osmaniažād district. The inscriptive slab measuring 43 by 34 cms. contains a short text, inscribed in four lines in ordinary Nastaliq characters, which records the construction of a step-well, evidently the one on which it appears, by Uzbek Khān in 1646-47 in the reign of the emperor.

This epigraph is also a memento of a Mughal official who had seen a long period of service in the Deccan. Uzbek Khān, whose name was Nadār Baig, was initially in the service of ‘Abdullāh Khān Frūz Jang and had joined Shāh Jahān when the latter had encamped at Junnar in 1623. After Shāh Jahān’s accession to the throne, he was included among the manzablārs detailed for service in the Deccan under Mahābat Khān, and was personally recommended by the king. It is only in the account of his being sent, in about January 1636, with the contingent under the command of Khān-i-Zamān to subjugate Udgir and Ausā that we find the title Uzbek Khān used for him. This would mean that the title was conferred upon him some time before this date.

After rendering service in some expedition or the other, he attained, in the beginning of 1641, the rank of 2000 personal and 2000 horse and was put in charge of the fort of Ausā. He was invested with the honour of carrying a banner on the 16th November 1642. Likewise, on the 30th March 1645, five hundred horse out of his two thousand was raised to two-to-three-horse status. This he continued to hold with occasional increase in rank as well as recognition until the 3rd October 1654, when on account of old age, he was replaced by Khwāja Barkkhādār. He was
summoned to the royal court and was sent to Ahmadābād in Gujarāt, where he died in 1656.¹

There are some interesting references to his old age, failing eye-sight as well as lack of proper administration in the letters of Prince Aurangzeb sent to Shāh Jahān as viceroy to Deccan.²

In one of the letters, the *pargana* of Bālkonda is stated to have been included in his *tuyūl.*³

The text reads as under:

**TEXT**

Plate IX(c)

(1) سال 1056
(2) دو عهد صاحب قرآن
(3) غاز
(4) ساخت این بادل را آوزیک خان

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Year (A.H.) 1056 (1646-47 A.D.).

(2) In the reign of Ṣāḥib-i-Qirān-i Thānī (lit. the second Lord of Conjunction, i.e. Shāh Jahān)

(3-4) Ghāzi, this step-well was constructed by Uzbek Khān.

**Aurangzeb**

**VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1074, FROM THE SAME PLACE**

The first inscription in this set of the records belonging to the reign of Aurangzeb is fragmentary. The rectangular tablet measuring 50 by 36 cms. which is built up into the west wall of the Reservoir (baug)—what seems to have been originally a step-well—situated near the house of Shri 'Abdūr-Razzaq Patel at Ausā,⁴ has lost some portion in the upper half. As a result, the last few words in the first and second lines and a word in the last line are lost, but fortunately, the purport is not affected. The six-line text consisting of an equal number of Persian verses is inscribed in Nastaliq characters of excellent quality and records that in the reign of emperor Aurangzeb, one Rindāk, a member of the Naqshbandi Order, constructed the well for public use in 1663-64. It also mentions Khwāja Barkhūrdār in the second line, but the writing in the second part of the line having disappeared as stated above, the context in which he is mentioned is not clear from the surviving text. But since his name occurs after the mention of the emperor in the first line, the missing text must have referred to his having held the charge of Ausā, as is also known from historical works.


⁴ *AJIE* 1966-67, No. D, 177.
(a) Aurangzeb's record, dated A. H. 1091, from Ausā (p. 41)

(b) Shāh Jahān's record, dated A. H. 1049, from Shāhgād (p. 36)

(c) Epigraph of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1074, same place (p. 39)
Of the persons mentioned in the epigraph, Khwaja Barkhurdar, cannot be specifically identified from the scanty references available in historical works. It is difficult to say if he is identical with Khwaja Barkhurdar, a brother of the famous 'Abdu'llah Khan Friz Jang. The latter was awarded in July 1608 the title of Bahadar Khan and increased in rank in February 1610, while the present text does not use any such title; moreover, he would be quite advanced in years by the time our record was set up in 1663-64. We have also Khwaja Barkhurdar, the son-in-law of Khan-i-Khanan Mahabat Khan who was granted a rank of 1500 personal and 800 horse. It is probably the same Khwaja Barkhurdar who was despatched, along with others, to chastise Shabti in January 1636. But whether he lived till the date of our record to be identical with Khwaja Barkhurdar mentioned therein, it is again difficult to say.

But our Barkhurdar Khan may perhaps be identified, with some amount of certainty, with Barkhurdar Baig who is mentioned in Aurangzeb's inscription at Bidar, dated 1679-80. Of course, the latter is mentioned with the honorific name Baig and not Khan, but it has been found that not very strict discrimination is exercised in the use of the words Baig and Khan.

We have, however, definite information about Khwaja Barkhurdar's career as Thana of Ausa. He is stated to have succeeded Uzbek Khan in the thanadari on 3rd October 1654 with the rank of 2000 personal and 2000 horse. Our record which incidentally indicates that the title of Khan was conferred upon Khwaja Barkhurdar, provides a later date in his career. Evidently, he continued to hold the qal' adari of Ausa till 1663-64 in which the well was constructed.

About the other person, the builder, namely Rindak, who is described as the 'slave of Naqshband', I have not been able to find any information.

The epigraph has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate X(c)*

1) بود عبد بادشاہ [دین پناہ اورنگ زیب] [بُود صمد کورنگز بادشاہ دین پناہ اورنگز بیب]
2) خواجه برخوردار خان
3) ساخته رندک غلام تشیبند این چاه خوش
4) شکس از پمیر خداو و فیض عام و خاص را
5) سال تاریخ بکور باش مشورم ز عقل ذوفنون
6) پچھما کورنگز بادشاہ دین پناہ اورنگز بیب

---

1 Jahangir, op. cit., pp. 69, 78.
4 Muhammad Silah, op. cit., vol. III, p. 194. Some more details are contained in the letters of Aurangzeb, dispatched by him when viceroy of Deccan to Shah Jahan. From these it is clear that Aurangzeb had a good opinion of Khwaja Barkhurdar; as a matter of fact, the Ausa assignment was given to him at the suggestion of Aurangzeb who had, subsequently, proposed for the grant of standard and title. See Nadvi, op. cit., pp. 119, 127, 159, 161.
5 The exact significance of this is not clear.
TRANSLATION

(1) It was in the reign of the king [Aurangzeb, the support of the religion]

(2) Khwaja Barkhurdar Khan. ............................

(3) When Kinduk, the slave of the Naqshband (a follower of the Naqshbandi order?) constructed this excellent well,

(4) solely for the sake of God and for the benefit of the high and the low.

(5) I sought its date from Wisdom, the possessor of many skills.

(6) It told me, "Its date is the spring of Kauhtar." ¹ (A.H.) 1074 (1663-64 A.D.).

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1091, ALSO FROM AUSĀ

The next record of Aurangzeb also comes from Ausā. The inscriptive slab measuring 56 by 32 cms., and fixed above the central mihrāb of the Jami' -Masjid, ² contains a three-line text in Persian verse which is carved in relief in fairly good nastaliq letters. It records the construction of a mosque in 1680-81, during the reign of emperor Aurangzeb by an official Suhrab Khan who is described in the text as the emperor's devoted servant. The date of the construction is given both in figure as well as in the chronogram contained in the last line, and therefore, it is rather surprising that it is stated to be A.H. 1071 (1660 A.D.) in the report of the Archaeological department of the Hyderabad State. ³

There are two more short inscriptions on the mosque: one of them, engraved on a pillar of the east wall, mentions Sayyid Bābū as one who was incharge (Dārūgha) of the construction. ⁴

Though details about the builder Suhrab Khan are not forthcoming, he is not entirely unknown to contemporary chroniclers. In December 1658, he was the Faujdār of Balāpur in Berār. Here he continued till May 1665, when he was transferred to Udgir as Qal'adar, vice Bahram Khan. ⁵ It is probable that he replaced Khwaja Barkhurdar the Qal'adar of Ausa (see p. 39, supra) some time after this date. Other references to him indicate that he was an important official in the artillery department. In January 1685, we find him carrying two guns to Bijāpur. ⁶ As a matter of fact, about ten months later, he was appointed Mir Tūzuk vice Salah Khan. ⁷ Thereafter, he was deputy to the Chief of the Artillery Salābat Khan. ⁸ This was probably in August 1686, when he is reported to have received a robe of honour. ⁹ We hear of him last in May 1687 in connection with his recovery from wounds sustained in the battle of Bijāpur. ¹⁰

¹ Name of a spring in Paradise.
² ARIE. 1966-67, No. D. 171. It was first noticed by Bashiru'd-Din Ahmad, who published an eye reading in his Wāqī'at-i-Mandakuti-Bijāpur (Hyderabad; 1913), pt. III, p. 84. Its text was subsequently published (along with a brief description of the mosque) in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Nizam's Dominions (R.I.D.N) for the year 1933-34, at p. 2 and f.n.1. The reading, in both cases, is not free from mistakes.
³ R.A.D.N. 1933-34, p. 2 and f.n.1.
⁵ Muhammad Kāzim, Mu'āmmir Nāsir (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 454, 885
⁶ Sāfī Musta'īd Khan, Mu'āmml-i-Mu'āmmir (Calcutta, 1871), pp. 251-52.
⁷ Ibid., p. 271.
⁹ Musta'īd Khan, op. cit., p. 278.
¹⁰ Ibid., p. 296.
The text of the record has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate X(a)

(1) در زمان شاه دین اورنگزیب کو بیکتی سایه لطف خداست
(2) بنده ام از جان و دل سرراب خان بانی این مسجد ظهیر فرست
(3) شد رقم [١٩٤٠] ز بهر تاریخ بنام مسجدی والا مکنی دکشاست

1941

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the religion-supporting king Aurangzeb, who is the shadow of the kindness of God, in the world,

(2) Suhrab Khan, his servant from soul and heart, is the builder of this pleasant mosque.

(3) For the date of its construction, it was inscribed: The lofty mosque is an exhilarating place. (A.H.) 1091 (1680-81 A.D.).

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1106, FROM SHĀHGĀDĪ

The slab bearing this inscription appears on the Paṭṭan Gate of the city-wall of Shāhgaḍī and measures 62 by 43 cms. It is inscribed with a five-line text in Persian, the style of writing being Nastaʿlīq of a fairly good order. The writing is slightly affected through effects of weather and passage of time, and as a result, a word or two denoting the object of construction in the beginning of line 4 are obliterated. But since there is little doubt that the tablet is in situ, the object of construction must have been the Gate. However, according to the extant text, some place was populated or founded in 1695, during the 39th regnal year of emperor Aurangzeb by Hāshim, when his father Sayyid Khwaja Zafarullāh Nagshbandī was the Faujdār of the place. Very probably what is intended is the re-population of the town or its quarter somewhere in the vicinity of the Gate.

The importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it provides the name of an unknown official of Aurangzeb, which is an important information useful for the local history. No information is traceable in historical works about either the father or the son.

The text has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate XI(c)

(1) در عصر پادشاه دین پنال محمد اورنگزیب
(2) پادشاه عالم کریم غازی در عمل فوجداوار

(1) In the reign of His Majesty Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr,

(2) this spring (i.e. well) was constructed by Murād, son of Muḥammad Kabīr,

---

(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1116, from Bir (p. 47)

Scale: 0.11

(b) Epigraph of the same king, dated A. H. 1109, from Dhārur (p. 42)

Scale: 0.19

(c) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1106, from Shāhgaḍh (p. 41)

Scale: 0.14
(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1115, from Bir (p. 46)

(b) Epigraph of the same king, same date, from Gondegāon (p. 44)

(c) Another record of Aurangzeb, same date, same place (p. 43)
MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHARASHTRA

(3) in the forty-first year after the sublime and exalted accession,

(4) corresponding to the year one thousand one hundred and nine from the Migration (Regnal Year 41, A. H. 1109-1697 A.D.).

XI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1115, FROM GONDÇEGAO

The tablet bearing the fifth epigraph of Aurangzeb is fixed on the south wall of the Jami-Masjid at Gondegaon in Nasik district. Measuring 32 by 46 cms., it contains a Persian record carved in relief in six lines in Nasta'liq characters of a fairly good quality. The epigraph states that in the reign of the emperor, one Sayyid Majhle, son of Sayyid Haidar, the Muqaddim of the village of Shâhpûr alias Gondegaon in the pargana Wan, at the time when he was the Faujdár of pargana Chândor, constructed over a period of twelve years, a Gâdhî, a Havelli, gardens, the mosque (on which the epigraph occurs) and a well. The whole project was completed on the 13th August 1703.

This record is quite interesting. Apart from the fact that it has preserved unto us the name of a local Mughal official, about whom nothing was known from any other source, not without interest is the piece of information that Gondegaon was designated as Shâhpur, though when and by whom it was so called is not known. To what extent did the new designation gain currency can only be judged when official records and archives are gone through. In any case, the epigraph is important for the new light it throws on local history.

The text has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate XII(c)

(1) يا حي يا نور
(2) في عهد خلافة مرتضى محمد أورنگزيب باهادر عالم حكير باشام غازى
(3) احتر الأئمة سيد مجيد ولد سيد بعض موضع شامبور غراف كوندي كاتون
(4) عملة بركة ين دون زمانه نوجاداري بركة جاندور بعرض دوازده سلا
(5) كده و حويل و باغها و هذا مسجد و جام بيرياه اتمام داد
(6) واقعه بتاريخ دهم(?) ماهربع الثاني منه يكهزار و يكسع و يانزده هجري

TRANSLATION

(1) O Living! O Everlasting!

(2) In the reign having the status of Caliphate, of Muhyyi'd-Din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur 'Alamgir Badshah Ghazi,

(3) the humblest of men, Sayyid Majhle, son of Sayyid Ḥanḍar, Muḥaddim of the village (maṣūda') of Shāhpūr al-ʿas Gondgāon,

(4) situated in the pargana Wan, in the time of (his) faujdārī of Ghāndor, in the period of twelve years,

(5) completed a Ḡābi, a Ḥareli, gardens, this mosque and a well.

(6) This took place on the 10th Rabīʿ II of the year one thousand and one hundred and fifteen from the Migration (of the Prophet), may peace of Allāh be on him. (10th Rabīʿ II 1115=13th August 1702).

XII. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION OF THE SAME DATE FROM GONDGAON

One more record of Aurangzeb appears on the Jamiʿ-Ḥamid Ḥamid of Gondgān. Carved on a slab measuring 33 by 48 cms. which is fixed into the north wall, it is a short epigraph comprising six lines of writing of which the first two are in Arabic and the remaining four comprise two Persian couplets composed by one Ambiyā. The style of writing is Naṣīḥ which appears to be in the same hand as the other inscription from the mosque studied above.

The epigraph does not contain any new information, as it also refers to the construction of the mosque as having taken place in 1703 during the reign of ʿĀlamgīr. The date is afforded in figure as well as in a chronogram. The builder's name is given in the phrase containing the chronogram, viz. the construction of the mosque of Majhle. The builder is the same as in the previous record. About Ambiyā, the composer, no information is available.

The text has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

(1) هو الاحد

(2) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(3) يود بناء مبارك بدور عالم‌گیر

(4) شهد سراه تبارک بشامبور تعمیر

(5) ندا ز خاتمة قدسی بابیه آمد

(6) بنای مسجد مجهولی بکو زحم تقدیر

MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHARASHTRA

TRANSLATION

(1) He is the One.

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

(3) Blessed edifices are being constructed in the reign of 'Ālamgīr.

(4) The abode of the Blessed (i.e. the Mosque) was built at Shāhpūr.

(5) (For its date), a voice from the celestial abode came to Ambiyā (saying),

(6) "Say that the construction of the mosque of Majhle (was) destined by God". (A.H.) 1115 (1703 A.D.).

XIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1115, FROM BIR

The seventh inscription of Aurangzeb, also noticed here for the first time, is carved on a slab measuring 70 by 50 cms., which is built up into the inner face of the eastern compound wall to the immediate left of the entrance of the Jāmī' mosque at Bir. Its text consists of five Persian couplets inscribed in as many lines, preceded in one more line by the Bismillāh. The style of writing is Nastāšiq of a fairly good order.

It may be pointed out that this epigraph is not included in the exhaustive study of Bir inscriptions by the late Dr. Ghulām Yāzdānī, which includes two from the Jāmī' mosque itself. Very likely, the epigraph was brought to its present place after Dr. Yāzdānī's study appeared in 1921.

This record like a couple of more records from Bir, records the populating of the suburb, called after the name of Ghāzi'd-Dīn Khān Firūz Jang, the viceroy of Deccan under Aurangzeb, by the Khān's deputy Ḥājī Sadr Shāh. The two records under reference, one each in Marāthī and Persian, refer only to the populating of the suburb called Ghāzi'd-Dīn-nagar; according to the Persian epigraph, the work was accomplished in the regnal year 47 i.e. Ramadān 1113—Shābān 1114 (January 1702—January 1703). The present inscription gives further information, namely that apart from the Ghāzi-Dinpurā, Ḥājī Sadr Shāh was also responsible for the construction of a fort, its moat and an 'Īgāh, which were completed in 1704-05. The metrical text, which also gives the date in a chronogram, was composed by Muḥammad Shāh, who describes himself as one of the humblest servants of the Ḥājī, but who was in reality, as we know from other records composed by him, the Ḥājī's son. There are at Bir two more inscriptions composed by him. But these as well as his other inscriptions betray his incompetence as a poet.

---

1 ARIE, 1964-65, No. D, 186. This epigraph was first found by an officer of the Archaeological Department of the Government of Mahārāṣṭra. For other inscriptions from the Jāmī' mosque as well as its description, see EIM, 1921-22, pp. 15-16.
2 It is in the same hand as another inscription from Bir set up by the same person (EIM, 1921-22, p. 19, pl. III b).
3 Dr. Yāzdānī seems to have made an extensive survey of Bir and its monuments in November-December 1920 and his report thereon is published in RADN, 1920-21, pp. 4-14. This report was more or less reproduced in his article on Bir inscriptions published in EIM, 1921-22.
5 For a few more inscriptions mentioning Ḥājī Sadr Shāh, see ibid., p. 16 (Pl. II), p. 21 (pl. IV b), pp. 23-24 (pl. V).
7 EIM, 1921-22, pp. 23-24 (pl. V); Inscription No. XIV, infra.
Hājī Sadr Shāh is perhaps the only nobleman, of whom we have monumental mementoes at a number of such far off places as Jājmū in Uttar Pradesh, Burhānpur in Central India and Bir in Deccan. These inscriptions show that he was almost an hereditary servant of his chief Ghāzin’-d-Dīn Khān, whose father Qilich Khān he had served according to the Jājmū record quoted above. It is interesting to note that the Hājī seems to have been quite fond of erecting edifices. It is unfortunate that he does not find mention in historical works, nor is anything known about his subsequent career or that of his son.

The text of the record has been read as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XII(a)*

.............................. Ya bism Allāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm

(1) Qit'a (Fragment). O... In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Beneficent.

(2) Khe ummad shehriya aourngazeb zīb. In the reign of the emperor Aurangzeb, when the world was illuminated by the light of Islam and religion,

(3) Khe dar saubīna xan firuz jang. when during the governorship of the sūba(province)of Khān Firūz Jang, some dependable good deeds were performed by Hājī Sadr Shāh. (Of these)

(4) Z kermān gilāman hajji ḥarmīn. (4) one (was) the fort, the moat and the 'Idgāh, (and) the other, populating of the pura-Ghūzī Din.

(5) Muḥammad Shab, by whom this poem has been composed, is one of the humblest slaves of the Hājī (lit. pilgrim) of the two holy places (Mecca and Madina).

(6) The whole of the last hemistich (forms) the date of the construction: *Know that the fort of Bir has become an impregnable fort.*

(A.H.) 1115 (1703-04 A.D.).

---

1 For the Burhānpur and Jājmū inscriptions, see *EIAPS*, 1902, p. 78 and *ARIE*, 1901-02, No. D, 317 respectively. Incidentally, the Burhānpur epigraph gives interesting details about Sadr Shāh’s earlier career and the foundation of two more towns by him in the vicinity of Delhi.
XIV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1116, FROM THE SAME PLACE

Another record of Ḥājī Sadr Shāh at Bir which was put up in the reign of Aurangzeb (whose name is not mentioned) was found by me.¹ The epigraphical tablet measuring 78 by 64 cms. is built up in the central mihrāb of the mosque in Māhalla-Sadr. It contains a text of five lines consisting of four Persian verses, engraved in Nasta’līq script of a fairly good type, which mentions the construction of the mosque by Sadr Shāh in 1704-05.² The poetical fragment, composed by Sadr Shāh’s son Muhammad Shah, contains the chronogram for the date, which is not plain but of a complex type, requiring deduction.

The epigraph, besides indicating the latest date in Sadr Shāh’s career at Bir, supplies the additional information that Muḥammad Shah had other brothers as well among which he, according to his own statement, was ‘the most insignificant’ (youngest ?).

The text has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XI(a)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) صدر شاه فقیه بر اصحاب سرور

(3) بن آگرده مسجد بتوفیق خالق

(4) همه بر اثر این نظم گفته

(5) محمد شه ابیات که این قسمت از اثر

1310

یلا قصد 194

1116

(6) بنابریز شر با قصد بشرید

فانجم الیتا فارسک کثر

193

**TRANSLATION**

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

(2) Sadr Shāh, the humble admirer of the companions of the Chief (of the Creation, i.e. Prophet Muḥammad, (like) Abū Bakr, then ‘Umar, ‘Uṯmān and Ḥāḍir (i.e. ‘Ali),

(3) constructed the mosque through the guidance of the Creator. May he (or it) remain in the protection of Allāh, the Greatest!

(4) His son, Muḥammad Shah, who composed this verse is the humblest among all his sons. 1310 without qasīd (i.e.) 194 = (A.H.) 1116 (1704-05 A.D.).

(5) For the date (of construction) he heard, in secret, spontaneously (lit. without qasīd i.e. intention), “Prostrate before Us and He shall show you ample mercy”.*

---

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 182. It also seems to have escaped Dr. Yazdānī’s notice.
² In this year a bastion was constructed by the Ḥājī. See *ELM*, 1921-22, p. 21.
³ On the stone, the numerical value of this word, to wit 194 is inscribed.
⁴ The total value of this hemistic, to wit 1310, the word qasīd and its value 194, to be deducted, and the balance 1116 being the date, are engraved on the tablet between the last two lines.
The chronogram is contained in the last hemistich, the numerical value of the letters of which when added up comes to 1310, out of which 194, the value of the word qasd, as indicated by the word 'without' in the first hemistich has to be deducted; the balance 1116 is the date. This method of calculation has also been indicated on the tablet where the numerical values including the date are engraved under or above the respective words.

The quarter of the town in which the mosque is situated is called Maḥalla-Ṣadr. It is difficult to say if the name is old or has been given recently but in any case it has perpetuated the name of the builder.
NINE INSCRIPTIONS OF AKBAR FROM RAJASTHAN

By S. A. Rahim

Government Arts and Science College, Aurangabad

Nine inscriptions of Akbar copied in this decade from different places of Rājasthān have been selected for study in this article. Of these, two each are from Nāgaur, a district headquarters, and Tijārā in Alwar district, and one each from Bārī Khāṭū, Kāṭhoṭi and Lohārpurā in Nāgaur district, Bāyānā in Bharatpur district and Āmber in Jaipur district. There are quite a few inscriptions of Mīr Muḥammad Maʿṣūm Nāmī to be found also in Jaisalmer district, which were set up in this period, but these have not been included.¹

These epigraphs, coming as they do from different parts of Rājasthān, the traditional land of the Rajputs, are of sufficient historical importance. They provide interesting information useful for the history of the period in general and local history in particular. The estampages of these inscriptions were obtained as follows:—The rubbings of Nos. II, V, VII and IX by Dr. Z. A. Desāi, of Nos. I and IV by Shri W. H. Siddiqi and VI and VIII by Shri M. F. Khān of the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur.

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 968, FROM BĀRĪ KHĀṬU

The findspot of the first inscription is Bārī Khāṭū, situated in the Jāel Tahsil of the Nāgaur district.² The inscriptive tablet is fixed over the central mihrāb of the Shāhī Jāmī’-Masjid situated on the outskirts of the town, towards west south-west.³

Locally called Masjid-i-Aqṣā, this exquisite but unfortunately little-known mosque is constructed in the same trabeate style of the earliest surviving Indian mosques and is, both in architectural conception as well as decorative and structural details, similar, to a fairly large extent, to the much larger earliest mosques at Delhi and Ajmer.⁴

The squarish tablet measuring 55 by 52 cms. contains a record in Persian executed in somewhat inelegant Naṣḥī characters. The five-line text refers to the complete renovation (tajdid) of the mosque building in 1561, in the reign of emperor Akbar by one of the officials of the court. Due to somewhat indifferent calligraphy, the exact name of the renovator cannot be made out, though the letters are in tact and almost perfectly legible. However his name has been tentatively

² Bārī Khāṭū seems to have been an important place in the early Sultanate period. Dr. M. A. Chaghtā’ī was the first to draw attention of the scholars to the rich epigraphical material of ṑāgaur and Bārī Khāṭū about three decades ago. There is a considerable number of inscriptions of this period to be found there, the earliest of which is a record of Ilutmish dated A. H. 629 (1232 A.D.), for which and for other records, see ARIE, 1958-59, Nos. D, 170-82; ibid., 1962-63, Nos. D, 194-209, 226-35, and ibid., 1966-67, Nos. D, 199-214, 219-33. Some of these inscriptions were published in EIAPS, 1966, pp. 5, 12, 16; ibid., 1967, pp. 3, 8, 11, 20; ibid., 1968, pp. 33-40, where apart from brief notes, references to published material dealing with the history etc., of the region will also to found. Quite a few of these records have been published by Dr. Chaghtā’ī in the journal Urdu, Karachi, January 1968.
⁴ The mosque is described in some details in Ziyâd-d’Dīn Desāi, Mosques of India (Delhi, 1971), p. 28.
read as İslâm Bağ and that of the mason as Rurji. The text is stated to have been written by one Fakhru’d-Din who does not seem to have been a regular calligrapher. As a matter of fact, there is at least one orthographical mistake. The composition of the text is also somewhat faulty.

It will be seen that the inscription mentions a complete renovation of the mosque, but there is no trace visible, of any worthwhile, leave alone, extensive repairs, judging from its present architectural mass which, as stated above, is in the same tradition as the two famous Mamlûk mosques. The repairs, therefore, if at all, must have been routine.

The text of the epigraph has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XIII(b)

(1) تجدید این بناء مستحق ثناء در عهد خلافت حضرت پادشاه
(2) عالی‌جام در صدف عظام(۹) جلال الدين محمد
(3) أكبر بادشاه خلد الله تعال (sic) ملكه و سلطانه باهتمام
(4) کمترین بنده[۹] درکه بیگه اسلام بناء درجی
(5) ق تاریخ شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ثمان و ستم و تسعمیه
(6) دست خط قفر فخر الدين

TRANSLATION

(1) The renovation of this praiseworthy building (took place) during the reign of His Majesty the king

(2) of exalted dignity, the pearl of the shell of eminent men, Jalâlu’d-Din Muḥammad

(3) Akbar Bâdahâh, may the Exalted Allâh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, under the superintendence of

(4) the humble servant of the court Baig İslâm (İslâm Baig ?), the mason (?) being (?) Rurji (?)

(5) in the month of magnificent Sha’bân of the year (A.H.) eight and sixty and nine hundred
(Sha’bân 968=April-May 1561).

(6) (In the) handwriting of the humble Fakhru’d-Din.

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 973, FROM BAYÂNÂ

The second record comes from Bayânâ, which is a sub-divisional headquarters in Bharatpur district. It is inscribed in six panels, arranged in a single line, at a height of about two and a quarter metres from the ground, on the inner face of the eastern wall of the courtyard of the Khânqâh of Shaikh Sa’dullâh.1 It occupies a total space of 9 m. in length and 20 cms. in width.

The text which is in Persian verse, consists of two Fragments, each composed in a different metre,2 containing the same purport, namely, the construction of the Khânqâh of Shaikh Sa’dullâh.

---


2 The metre in the second Fragment is faulty.
in the time of emperor Akbar. Both the Fragments are inscribed by the same calligraphist, whose name is not given, in Nasta'liq characters. Each Fragment concludes with a phrase forming a chronogram; the first yields A. H. 973 (1565-66 A.D.) and the other A.H. 1002 (1593-94 A.D.) These two dates represent a gap of about thirty years, which is difficult to account for. It may be that one is the date of the commencement of the building and the other that of its completion. Or, as is very likely, the chronogram contained in the second Fragment (of which the metre is faulty) is wrongly reported, and the Khānqāh was built in about A.H. 973 (1565-66 A.D.) only. A reference by the famous historian Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī to the Khānqāh also lends support to this view.

The builder Shaikh Sa'du'llāh was an eminent learned man of his age, celebrated for his outstanding knowledge of Grammar, on account of which he was called Naḥwī (Grammarians). He originally belonged to the eastern part of the country and had from his early age been under the spiritual influence of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauṭh of Gwālior. A reference to his having constructed a Khānqāh for the students and Ǧūfūs is made by Badāyūnī who had met him in the company of his maternal grandfather when only a child and had also studied the Kāfiya under him. According to him, Shaikh Sa'du'llāh died in A.H. 989 (1581-82 A.D.) and was buried in the Khānqāh.¹ Badāyūnī also mentions one Shaikh Sa'du'llāh, son of Shaikh Būdh, a powerful nobleman of Bayānā, whose brother was his friend.² But he may be a different person.

The reading of the inscription is as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIII(a)*

**In six panels, from right to left.**

1. بدوان جلال الدين محمد أكبر غازى
2. بناركرد چو کمبی خانقاها شیخ سعد الله
3. چو تاریخ بنای خانقاها از خرد جستم
4. چو ملک شاهنشه آمد
5. در زمان شه أكبر غازى
6. کرد شیخ سعد الله مرکز
7. کرد چون شیرند تاریخ پناه
8. کرد کمبی آمد
9. خانقا چون آمد
10. سعد الله آمد
11. خانقا سعد الله آمد

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the reign of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the Ghāzī, who has become the ruler of the kingdom with justice and benevolence,

(2) Shaikh Sa'du'llāh built a Ka'ba-like Khānqāh (Hospice), whose lofty building is free from blemish.

¹ The second chronogram could also be worked out to yield A. H. 957 (if the value of the last word is not counted), but it would pose the same problem.


⁴ In the plate, these two panels have been inadvertently shown in line 3.
(3) When I sought from Wisdom the date of the construction of his Khānqāh, it replied, "It is like Ka'ba a lofty hospice" (A.H. 973 = 1565-66 A.D.).

(4) In the reign of the king Akbar, the Ghāzi who is the emperor in the country.

(5) Shāikh Sa'dullāh made (his) Khānqāh a centre like Ka'ba.

(6) When he reckoned the date of its construction (he found it in the chronogram): The Khānqāh of Sa'dullāh is ready. (A.H. 1002 = 1593-94 A.D.).

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 968, FROM NĀGAUR

The third of these epigraphs is from Nāgaur. The tablet measuring 60 by 35 cms. on which it is inscribed is lying loose in the compound of the Madrasa situated just within the Nahār Gate of the town. The writing is badly damaged, but the text is more or less legible. Comprising five Persian complete, inscribed in as many lines in Nastaliq characters of no particular merit, it refers to the reign of emperor Akbar and to the governorship of Ḥāji Budāsh Khān, and records the construction of the pulpit of a mosque (miḥrāb) by Shāikh Sulaimān— the object of veneration of the high and the low—on the 4th Ramadān in the year 962 after the death of the Prophet. This works out to 4th Ramadān 972 (5th April 1565).

The text of the epigraph is not perfectly legible at a few places, due to the somewhat indistinct nature of the impression. However, this does not affect the purport of the record in any way, as will be observed from the reading quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(b)

در زمان شه جلال الدين محمد نهم
کر طاقيل او شه کاری همه مردم نظام
ساتغاد میمون گنسته بود شايان شد تمام
پاچیش شیخ سلیمان مقداد خاص و عام
از الف كلم بود لام و بي كه شد ممبر تام

1 See l.n. 2 on p. 49.
3 ARIE, 1961-62, No. D, 253. The impression of this record was received from the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Bada; it was taken by his Technical Assistant, Shri N. G. Ghanam.
4 This is a somewhat unusual method of giving the date which is normally reckoned from the Migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina indicated by the term Hijra.
5 In the course of my visit to Nāgaur, a fresh impression could not be prepared as the tablet was reported to have been buried deep in a heap of stones.—Ed.
(1) This pulpit (minbar) of the exalted mosque was made during the reign of the king, Jalālād-Dīn Muhammad (Akbar) of good name (and)

(2) in the time of the just Khan, Haji Budagh, on account of whom, the affairs of the people have prospered.

(3) It was Friday the fourth day of the month of God (i.e. Ramaḍān) an auspicious hour had passed and appropriate (when)

(4) through the grace of the Nourisher of the worlds (i.e. Allāh) it reached completion. Its builder is Shaikh Sulaimān, who is resorted to by the high as well as the low.

(5) Its date, by way of calculating from the death of the Prophet of Allāh was 1000 minus 38 being the numerical value of the letters lām waw and bā (i.e. 962), when the pulpit was completed.

The date, as stated above, is expressed not in the usual Hijra era reckoned from the Migration of the Prophet, but from his death which took place on the Rabī’ I 11 = (27 May 632). In other words, the year was 962nd from his death i.e. A.H. 972 and the day was Friday 4 Ramaḍān when the pulpit was completed (4 Ramaḍān 972 = 5 April 1565).

The epigraph is of sufficient interest to the students of history, both local as well as of the whole region. Haji Budagh of the epigraph appears to be identical with Shaikh Budagh Khan, an eminent nobleman under Akbar, who is reported to have been alive at least up to A.H. 984. True, the name as quoted in the text does not append the prefix Shaikh to his name, but it may be taken to have been replaced by the honorific Haji, meaning one who has performed Hajj or pilgrimage to the Ka’bah in Mecca.

We know that Shaikh Budagh Khan had performed the Hajj in A.H. 962 (1555 A.D.). But it is perhaps from the present inscription that Budagh Khan’s posting in Rūjputānā, as governor of the Nāgaur region, is known.

Equally interesting is the fact that this epigraph adds one more to the numbers of records mentioning the saint Shaikh Sulaimān, a much respected saint of Nāgaur and a direct descendant of the celebrated thirteenth century saint and scholar Qāḍī Hamīdū’d-Dīn Nāgaurī. The other records mentioning him have been already published earlier in this series, where some details about him are recorded.

It is difficult to locate the mosque where the slab was originally fixed.

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 977, FROM KATHOTI

The fourth epigraph was found in the village Kathoti in Jāel Tahsil of Nāgaur district. The inscriptive slab is fixed over the mihrab of a mosque. Measuring 147 by 58 cms. it contains a five-line text in Persian prose and verse, executed in Naṭa’liq characters of a fairly high order,
except in the latter part of the last line, where a couplet referring to the supervision of the construction seems to have been engraved in a different and also indifferent hand and perhaps at a somewhat later date. The epigraph states that in 1569-70, in the reign of Akbar, a mosque was constructed by the orders of Amir Kishmi, the Yasa'wul to the emperor, the actual work having been supervised by Nikbakht. Attention may be drawn to the titles used for the emperor which are in the fashion of those used in the early records of the Delhi Sultanate.

The inscription is thus quite important. None of the two persons mentioned therein is traceable from historical or other sources, though one of them at least, namely Amir Kishmi, was a man of high status, as is apparent from the high-sounding honorific titles prefixed to his name. The present epigraph is thus the only document to have preserved his name. We also know from this record that Amir Kishmi held the post of Yasa'wul or Master of Ceremonies to the emperor. It may be reasonably surmised that he was closely associated with Kâhoti, the findspot of the record and probably its neighbourhood too, either in administrative or feudatory capacity. It is therefore regretted that no information is available about his career. Very likely, his name Amir Kishmi reflects his connection with Kishm which was once the capital of the Central Asian state of Badakhshan; he may have been connected with its ruling family. As to the other person, we have no information, but in his case too, there is a strong possibility of his being an official under or on behalf of the said Amir.

The text has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XIV(c)

الله ول توئيق

(1) ينای این مسجد عالی در ایام خلافت حضرت پادشاه دین پناه مولی ملکه العرب
و العجم شاهنشاه المعظم العظیر من
(2) عند الله جلال الدين محمد اکبر پادشاه خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و افتخار على العالمین

(3) جناب امارات م metod سعادت اکتساب امیر کنشی یسامل حضرت الخلقین صورت اتمام

(4) یافت در تاريخ سنه سبع و سبعین و تسعماه

(5) من الهجرة النبوية عليه الصلاوة و السلام قبی؟) بیت عمارت یافت این مسجد زمون

لطف الرحمن ضعیف پندا نیک بخت کارفرمان

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh. And (His) guidance is for me.

(2) The construction of this exalted mosque, in the days of the caliphate of His Majesty the king, the shelter of religion, the lord of the Kings of Arabia and Persia, the magnificent emperor, one who is victorious
(a) Record, dated A. H. 977, from Āmber (p. 56)

Scale: \(0.08\)

(b) Epigraph, of the same date, from Nāgaur (p. 52)

Scale: \(0.23\)

(c) Another record of the same date, from Kaṭhoti (p. 54)

Scale: \(1\)
(3) near Allah, Jalal-u-Din Muhammad Akbar Badshah, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and may cause the worlds to benefit from his bounty and beneficence and at the instance and by the efforts of

(4) His Excellency, the asylum of nobility, the fortunate Amir Kishmi, the yasauul (Master of Ceremonies) to His Majesty the emperor, received completion in the year seven and seventy and nine hundred (A. H. 977 = 1569-70 A. D.),

(5) from the Migration of the Prophet, may salutation and blessings be on him!

(Verse:) This mosque was constructed with the help of the favours of the Beneficent (Allah); its supervisor was the humble creature Nikbakht.

Before we pass on to the next inscription, it may be worthwhile to note that Inhoti is mentioned in historical works as one of the halting places of the Mughal forces sent in pursuit of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, a couple of years after the date of this record.1

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 977, FROM AMBER

The fifth epigraph is from Amber, a Tahsil head quarters in Jaipur district and the first capital of the Kachhwaha rulers of Jaipur. The slab on which it is engraved is fixed into a niche in the northern wall of the courtyard of the principal mosque of the town, situated at the foot of the hill on which the famous Amber fort stands.2 It is fragmentary, and also the writing thereon running into four lines is somewhat damaged. The text is in Persian verse, consisting of three couplets. Of these, the major portion of the first hemistich and the last word of the second hemistich of the first verse and a few words in the beginning of the first hemistich of the second verse—this probably contained the name of the builder—are lost. The missing portion of the tablet in the left bottom seems to have contained the name of the supervisor or of the scribe or of both. An effort to reconstruct, conjecturally or otherwise, the whole text by supplying missing parts seems to have been made some time ago, as is shown by a complete copy of the record, engraved on another tablet fixed on one of the front columns of the prayer-hall.3 Whether or not has the text been faithfully reproduced from a possible preservation thereof before the slab was damaged, it is difficult to say, but there is little doubt that the reconstruction is slightly misleading, particularly in the case of the missing text in the second couplet, as will be pointed out below.

The epigraph records the construction of a mosque in Amber by an official whose name or nick-name was very probably Hajji but whose designation Tawachi Bashli (Chief Prefect) is perfectly legible. The mosque is stated to have been completed in 1569-70. According to the reconstructed text referred to above, the construction was ordered by Akbar.

The record thus provides valuable historical information. The mosque was built by the Chief Prefect, Hajji Tawachi-Bashli. Since Amber was at this period the capital of one of the three great Rajput states—the seat of the Kachhwaha chiefs, later on of Jaipur, there is no question of its being under direct Mughal control. The Tawachi-Bashli therefore might not have had any official connection with the place, except of course as a representative of the emperor or he might have had family connections there.

Judging from certain architectural details like the cusped arches and the shape and contour of the domes and the stripes thereon, the minarets, etc., the mosque on which the inscription is

1 Badayuni, op. cit., vol. II, p. 150.
2 ARIE, 1955-56, No. D, 136. It may be of interest to note that Badayuni (op. cit., vol. II, p. 236) had camped here on his way to Fatehpur-Sikri in Rabni's-Awwal 984.
3 Ibid. No. D, 137.
fixed, is evidently a building constructed later, most probably during Shāh Jahān’s reign. This would mean that the original mosque must have been replaced by a new construction and the original inscription fixed on the latter. The damaged tablet should also point to this.¹

The tablet approximately measures 87 by 62 cms. The style of writing of the epigraph is bold Nasta’liq, which though of no particular merit, is not unpleasant either.

The reading of the record with the missing text supplied from the modern epigraph wherever found to be correct, is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(a)

(1) [By the effective order of the emperor] of sky-like majesty, the Ghāzi, Akbar, Jalālu’d-
Dīn Muḥammad

(2) Bādshāh,
a mosque was built by [Ḥājī Tawāshī-Bāshī], for acquisition of merit in the quarter of
(3) Amber, through God’s grace.

This mosque was completed in (the year) nine hundred and seventy and seven (A.H. 977-
1569-70 A.D.),

(4) this mosque has become a place of prostration for the followers of Islām (i.e. Muslims).

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 993, FROM TIJĀRĀ

The sixth record is from Tijārā, a Tahsil headquarters in Alwar district. It is inscribed over the central mihrāb of a mosque near the Tahsil Office.² It states that an exalted mosque was constructed in 1584-85 during the reign of Akbar, by Miyān Mubārak who is spoken of as a nobleman of the court. The language of the record is Persian verse and the style of writing, Nasḵ of no particular merit.

Miyān Mubārak, the builder, was also responsible for the construction of another mosque in the town, according to its inscription, also included in the present article (No. VIII). It is very difficult to identify him, as we have quite a few persons with this name who flourished at about this time. One is, for example, Mubārak Khān, son of Kamāl Khān Gakkhar, who served in the 30th regnal year of Akbar in Kashmir.³ Then we have Mubārak, the Dīwān of Mahdī Qāsim Khān.⁴ Then again, there was Shaikh Mubārak of Alwar, who was greatly respected by the Sūr

¹ This paragraph is by the Editor.
² The modern inscription referred to above has: ‘‘...شدد بہر لما جمعہ از بہر ثواب...”
king Salīm Shāh and the Afghāns. He seems to have been staying at Alwar. According to Badāyūnī, who had the honour of an interview with him more than once, he died at the age of ninety years, in or shortly before A.H. 1004 (1595-96 A.D.). Tijārā, the findspot of this inscription is in Alwar district which would make it very likely that Miyān Mubārak of our inscriptions is identical with Shaikh Mubārak. But in that case it would be difficult to explain the phrase describing him as 'a noble man of the court'.

The inscription consisting of three couplets, runs into as many lines occupying a space of 40 by 30 cms. It has been read as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIII (c)*

(1) بدور آگر غازی شهنشاه نهاده سجد عالی بنالی
(2) جناب اهل دول میان مبارک عجب عالی بنالی بر صقالی
(3) چو تاریخت طلب کردم خرد گفت شدی تاریخ ای خیبر بنعی

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the reign of Akbar, the Ghāzi, the emperor, the foundation of the exalted mosque was laid.

(2) by the noble of the court Miyān Mubārak. What a wonderful exalted building full of purity!

(3) When I sought its date, Wisdom said, "Its date is a bountiful abode".

The phrase 'a bountiful abode', occurring in the last hemistich, when calculated according to the *Abjad* system, yields the date A.H. 993 (1584-85 A.D.).

**VII. INSRIPTION, DATED A.H. 997, FROM NĀGAUR**

The seventh record is from Nāgaur. It is inscribed above the central mīhrāb of a mosque situated near the Tomb of Shaikh Bāyazīd in Mahalla Suhrawardiyah. It assigns the construction of a mosque in the Khānqāh (Hospice) of the saint Shaikh Bāyazīd to Kamāl Khān who is spoken of as 'the Shah (lit. king), faithful and of exalted dignity, the shadow of whose person is the refuge of the men of Allāh'. The mosque was constructed in 1588-89, during the reign of Akbar for the pleasure of Allāh and His Prophet; the date is afforded by a chronogram.

The text which comprises five Persian couplets is executed in *Nasta'īq*, which, though of no particular merit is nevertheless remarkable for neat execution. The writing occupies a space of 73 by 40 cms.

The builder of the mosque, Kamāl Khān, has nothing to do with the famous Kamāl Khān Gakhar who had expired about three decades earlier. He is also unlikely to be identical with Kamāl Khān, 'the descendant of Sultan Alā'ūd-Dīn who was present in Bābur's army pitted against Rānā Sāngā. Among others, Sayyid Kamāl, son of Sayyid Hāmid Bukhārī of Gujarāt continued to be in Akbar's service after his father's death in A.H. 993 and lived to serve under...
Jahāngīr. One Kamāl, a Sayyid of Shīrāz, originally a servant of Shāh Fathu’llāh Shīrāzī, ultimately became a ṣadr which post he held until his death in about A.H. 1004. It is difficult to say for certain, particularly in view of the fact that none of these two names as mentioned with the title Khān, if any of them is intended here. I am, however, inclined to think that Sayyid Kamāl, the ṣadr is perhaps intended here, for by virtue of his post, he was in a position to be of help and assistance to saintly and scholarly persons, as is implied by the description in the text—the shadow of his self being the asylum of the men of Allāh. The word Shāh, of which Shah is a corruption, it may be pointed out, was generally appended to the names of the Sayyids. There is another alternative interpretation of the name: The word Shāh here may be part of the name of Khān Shāh i.e. Khānishāh, in which case the builder would be Kamāl, son of Khānishāh, and he may have been an ardent disciple of saint Bāyazīd in the premises of whose hospice, the mosque was built. He may also have been an official.

The saint Bāyazīd referred to in the text was, according to the Family Trees in possession with the saintly families of Nāgaur, a son of Shaikh Sulaimān, the much respected saint of Nāgaur who has been already mentioned in the previous lines (Inscription No. III).

The text of the inscription is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XV(b)

(1) Kamāl Khān, the Shāh (lit. king) or Kamāl (son of) Khānishāh, the faithful and of exalted dignity, the shadow of whose person is the refuge of the men of Allāh (i.e. saintly people),

(2) constructed in the reign of Akbar Shāh, an edifice of public utility (i.e. a mosque) by way of seeking the pleasure of God and in accordance with the saying of the Prophet (i.e. Muḥammad),

(3) inside the Khānqāh (Hospice) of the saint, the Shaikh, Bāyazīd of the time, who is a great supporter of the house of Islām.

(4) It is a beautiful and agreeable mosque, the blessings of which are universally spread, and which is a place of circumlocution for the pilgrims of the House of Allāh.

(5) The blessings (of Allāh) are always pouring down in the mosque. Hence, the year of its construction is (afforded by the chronogram): It is a source of the blessings of the religion of God.

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields the date A.H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.).

1 Blochmann, op. cit., p. 434.
3 The reference is to the famous Tradition so commonly occurring in mosque inscriptions.
(a) Epigraph, dated A. H. 1000, from Tijārā (p. 59)

Scale: 28

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 997, from Nāgaur (p. 58)

Scale: 16

(c) Record, dated A. H. 1011, from Lohārpurā (p. 60)

Scale: 24
NINE INSCRIPTIONS OF AKBAR FROM RAJASTHAN

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1000, FROM TĪJĀRĀ

The last but one epigraph of this article is again from Tījārā. It appears over the central mihrāb of the mosque of Qāḍī Kārān Ḥūsainī in Maḥālla Qāḍīwādā. It assigns the erection of a mosque to Miyaṅ Mubārak towards the close of the year 1591, in the time of emperor Akbar. The epigraphical tablet measures 32 by 25 cms. and the text comprises the First Creed in Arabic and a fragment of three Persian verses; the date, given in words in the main text, is also inscribed in figures at the end. The style of writing is Nasḵh and Nasta’liq of indifferent type.

The builder Miyaṅ Mubārak has been already mentioned in a previous inscription of this study (No. VI).

The text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(1) بدو ر شه أكبر دين پناخت این مسجدی خویتر

(2) جو میان مبارک تناد این اساس دهد در جهن حق اورا اجر

(3) بکفنا خرد سال تاریخ او که سال الف بود و ماه مریر

(4) سال 1000

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god except Allāh, Muḥammad is His Apostle.

(2) In the reign of Akbar, the defender of the Faith, this beautiful mosque was constructed.

(3) Since Miyaṅ Mubārak laid its foundation, God will give good reward to him in paradise.

(4) Wisdom said about its date of construction, “The year was one thousand and the month Șafar.”

(5) Year (A.H.) 1000 Șafar 1000-(November-December 1591).

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1011, FROM LOHĀRPūRĀ

The last record of this article comes from Lohārpūrā in Tahsil and District Nāgaur. It is inscribed on a tablet measuring 60 by 22 cms. which is fixed on the mihrāb of a mosque locally called Chhoṭī-Masjid. It comprises a three-line text, of which the first contains a Quranic verse, the second comprises the record proper, composed in what is perhaps intended as a Persian couplet, and the third gives the date. According to the epigraph, the mosque was constructed in the name of Hajī Ḥusain Āhangar (lit. blacksmith) in 1602 during the time of emperor Akbar. The style of writing is Nasta’liq of a fairly good order.

2 Ibid., 1961-62, No. D, 244.
Hājī Husain Āhangar in whose name the mosque was built – very likely, it was built by him—seems to be a man, at least, of local importance. I could not trace any reference to him in contemporary sources. But the epigraph is important in establishing quite an interesting piece of information. The name of the locality Löhārpūrā to which the inscription belongs, literally means the 'city or quarter of blacksmiths', and our record also uses the appellation of Āhangar, meaning 'a blacksmith' with the name of Hājī Husain. This should indicate that the name Löhārpūrā was given to the locality on account of its population of the blacksmiths, right from the time of emperor Akbar — and possibly even from earlier times.

The reading of the inscription is quoted below:

**TEXT**

*Plate XV(o)*

(1) كل من عليه فان و بعث وجه ربكم ذوالجلال و الاكرام
(2) بناء كردن اين مسجد باسم حجي حسين آهنگر
(3) بدو خسرو غازى جلاردین حمدی آبگر

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Whatever is thereon will pass away and there shall only survive the Face of Thy Lord, the Lord of Glory and Greatness.¹

(2) This mosque was built in the name of Hājī Husain Āhangar during the reign of the king Jalāl-i-Dīn Muḥammadī-Akbar.

(3) On the twenty-fourth of the venerable month of Rajab, year 1011 (28 December 1602).

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter LX, verse 26.
INScriPtiONS OF EMPEROR AKBAR FROM UTTAR PRADESH

BY W.H. Siddiqi AND Z.A. Desai

This article is in continuation of the previous ones dealing with the lithic records of the earlier Muslim dynasties from Uttar Pradesh, that have appeared in this Series. The findspots of the eighteen inscriptions studied here in chronological order cover a large area of Akbar's territory in the province: Jaunpur in the east, Amroha in the west, Bareilly in the north and Kâlipî in the south. In terms of time, they cover almost the whole reign of the emperor. Most of these epigraphs are published here for the first time, but the few which were noticed and published elsewhere as will be pointed out in the respective places, were not studied in quite a scientific manner, and therefore are included here.

So far, only a limited number of Akbar's inscriptions has been published. Even the modern scholars who have published monographs on the life and times of this great monarch have not even cared to utilize properly the valuable information contained in the epigraphical records of his reign that have been brought to light from time to time. As will be seen, these epigraphs contain valuable data about places and personages of varied status and professions such as ministers, noblemen, jâgîr-holders, provincial governors, high officials, physicians, poets, saints, architects or masons, scribes and calligraphers, etc., who flourished at this period. It is therefore hoped that the present illustrated article will be of use to the students of various aspects of Mughal history. Also, the illustrations will supply adequate material to those interested in the art of calligraphy, the scripts represented therein being Nasîh, Thulth and Nasta'liq. From architectural point of view too, recording as they do the construction of edifices of different types, their evidence on the period of the buildings and the development of the building art is valuable, as it would facilitate proper assessment of the architectural style.

I. INScriPTION, DATED A. H. 963, FROM SHERPUR

The late Maulvi Muḥammad Shu'ail of the Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra, who copied this epigraph in the early years of this century had found the epigraphical tablet at Aẓampur, a place not very far from its present findspot Sherpur, in the Morâdâbâd district. Now a very small and decayed village in the Hasanpur Tahsil, Aẓampur was an important town as is indicated by numerous buildings of appreciable size, some of which are still to be seen there, and had given its name to a pargana, now for the most part included in the Bijnor district. In Akbar's time, Aẓampur was an important pargana in the sarkâr of Sambhal, and it was given in sief, in the early part of his reign, to his relative Mirzâ Sulṭân Muḥammad and his sons.

4 District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (DGUP), volume XVI, Morâdâbâd (Allahabad, 1911), p. 194, where a brief description of the buildings will be found.
6 DGUP, vol. XVI, p. 194. As is well-known, these very Mirzâs had rebelled in 1567 against the young emperor and caused him much trouble.
This is an unpublished and historically important record as it constitutes the earliest known records of emperor Akbar; it was set up in A.H. 963 (1555-56 A.D.) a few months after his accession.

The inscripational tablet of red sandstone is now lying loose in the local Jami' mosque.1 According to Maulana Shuaib, it originally belonged to the ruined Jami' mosque of Azampur, but was lately removed by the local Muslims and fixed on a side wall of a small mosque named Qajion-ki-Masjid. In the district gazetteer compiled at about the same time or slightly earlier, it is spoken of as being in situ on the Jami' mosque.2 Anyway, during Shri Siddiqi's visit to Azampur in November 1934, he could not find it there and was informed on inquiry that it was very recently removed by some resident of Sherpur.

The slab measures 45 by 80 cms. and contains seven lines of writing executed in relief in Naskha characters of a fair type. The first and the sixth lines contain non-historical text, the last gives the name of two persons, one of whom was the supervisor of the construction and the other, probably, the writer, and the remaining comprise the main text of four verses in Persian, which states that a Jami' mosque was constructed in 1555-56 during the reign of emperor Akbar by Kamalullah Alam, son of Sulaiman, under the superintendence of Khwaja Junman. The name Kamalud-Din, son of Adam, occurring at the end of the text, can be reasonably taken to be that of the writer.

The text has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) پنا این مسجد مووزون و راپ مبشر شد بعون الله فائق

(3) زهجرت شش س نهصد باد ارزاس که سه اتمام این جامع بجوشمال

(4) بعید دولت سلطان مظفر جلال الدين محمد شاه اکبر

(5) مباین این بناء قصر سیحان کمال الله عالم بن سلیمان

(6) و صلی الله علی خیر خانه محمد و آله احجیم

(7) کارفرما خواجه جمن کمال الدين بن آدم

TRANSLATION

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

(2) The construction of this symmetrical and wonderful mosque was made possible through the help of Allâh the Most Superior.

2 ARASIUP, 1911-12, p. 68. About sixty years back, the mosque was a fine building quite out of proportion to the present size of the village (DGUP, vol. XVI, p. 194), but now it is almost completely ruined—nothing of the original stone-structure remains except its eastern gateway and part of the rear wall.
INScriptions of Emperor Akbar from Uttar Pradesh

(3) The year was sixtythree and nine hundred from the Migration (A.H. 963=1555-56 A.D.) when this Jāmi' (mosque) was completed in a happy state.

(4) during the reign of the victorious Sultan, Jalālud-Din Muḥammad Akbar, the king.

(5) The builder of this mansion of the Most Glorified (Allah) (is) Kamālu'llāh Ālam, son of Sulaimān.

(6) And may salutation of Allah be upon the best of the creation (i.e. Prophet) Muhammad and his progeny, all of them.

(7) The superintendent (of the construction is) Khwāja Jumman. (Written by ?) Kamālu’d-Din, son of Ādam.

About none of the persons mentioned in the record, we have any information.

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 965, FROM BULANDSHAHR

This inscription, an unpublished record1 from Bulandshahr, a district headquarters, is engraved in relief on a slab measuring 50 by 43 cms. which is fixed in the north wall of the courtyard of the Mughal-Masjid.2 It was copied in 1962 by Shri A. A. Kādiri, Epigraphical Assistant.

The text comprises eight lines of writing in Persian and records the completion of the building of the mosque in 1557 in the time of the administration of Abūl-Fath Muḥammad Mu’min Mīrāzī under the supervision and architect-ship (mi’mārī) of Khwāja Aḥmad Alahdiya Anṣārī. From this as also from some of the inscriptions of Akbar from different parts of the country published in the present issue, it will be seen that the titles used for him in the early part of his reign read more like those used in the early Sultanate period.

The text is inscribed in Nasḵa characters and reads as under:

TEXT

Plate XVII (a)

هو المعبر و

باجام رسید عمارت این مسجد فردوست مثال بعون ایشانملك للمثال

در عهد دولت علیحضرت شهنشاه عالم فرمان فرما روى زمين

حلف اینه علیخدلملك و سلطان قزمان حکومت علیخان رفعت پنام

مربی النقرا ابی الفتح محمد مومن میرزا احسن الله شانه

1 Of course, it was briefly referred to in DGUP, vol. V, Bulandshahr (Lucknow, 1922), p. 207.

(2) He is the Diety.

(2) The building of this Paradise-like mosque was completed through the help of the Almighty and the Sublime Allah,

(3) in the time of the government of His Exalted Majesty, the emperor of the world, the ruler of the surface of the earth,

(4) the Shadow of Allah in the worlds, monarch of the land and the sea, Jalalu’d-Din Muhammed Akbar,

(5) Padsha Chaz, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the time of the governor-ship of the one possessing lofty dignity, the asylum of loftiness,

(6) the patron of the poor, Abu’l-Fath Muhammed Mu’mim Mirza, may Allah add to his dignity,

(7) under the supervision and architect-ship (or masonship) of the servant of the court of the Omnipotent, Khwaja Ahmad, (son of) Alahdiya Ansari,

(8) on the twenty-seventh of the month of Muharram in the year five and sixty and nine hundred (A.H.) 966 (27th Muharram 965-19th November 1557).

The text is not quite clear about the actual builder of the mosque. It could have been built at the instance of the governor, or the person in charge of the construction, namely Khwaja Ahmad might have built it. As to Abu’l-Fath Muhammed Mu’mim Mirza, the governor, who is described as the patron of the poor and needy, it is difficult to establish his identity. He is evidently different from Muhammed Mu’mim, brother of Khwaja Shamsu’d-Din Khwafi, the celebrated official and noble of Akbar.\(^1\) From his kunya and also from the appellation Mirza suffixed to his name, it can be reasonably surmised that he belonged to the royal family. It is therefore surprising that he finds no mention in historical works and hence, our epigraph is quite important as it has preserved the name of an important official. Likewise, Khwaja Ahmad son of Alahdiya Ansari is untraceable.

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 968, FROM AGRĀ

This inscription, a new find from Agrā, was found and copied in 1965 by Shri S. A. Rahim then Epigraphical Assistant. It is inscribed on a slab measuring 1.10 m. by 33 cms. which is fixed over the central mihrāb of the Mughal-Masjid in Seo-kā-Bāzār Mahalla of the city,\(^2\) which, Shri Rahim reports, was recently converted into a hotel.

\(^1\) Nizāmu’d-Din Ahmad, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī (Lucknow, 1875), pp. 509, 772, 782, 787.
The text of the record consists of two lines in Persian which are executed in relief in beautiful Taʿlab script and assigns the construction of the mosque in 1582 to an official Ikhtiyār Khān, son of Shihābu’-d-Dīn, who is described as the Faujdar-i-khāṣa. It reads as under:

(1) بناء درگاه اختیار خان فوجدار خاصه ابن شهاب الدين در سال نهصد و شست و هشت از هجرت

(2) ينآکرد ابن مسجد در ايام دولت جلال الدين محمد أكبر بادشاوح خاى خلدل الله ملكه

**TEXT**

*Plate XVIII(c)*

(1) This mosque was built in the reign of Jalālu’-d-Dīn Muhəmmad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom,

(2) by the servant of the court Ikhtiyār Khān, the Faujdar-i-khāṣa (commander of the royal forces), son of Shihābu’-d-Dīn, in the year nine hundred and sixty and eight from the Migration (A.H. 968-1560-61 A.D.).

The builder of the mosque Ikhtiyār Khān is evidently identical with Ikhtiyār Khān Faujdar, one of the five officials who commanded the royal division (morcha-i-khāṣa) that was pitted against the Lakhota-Gate of the Chitor fort in A.H. 975. His designation may be taken to indicate that he was attached to the royal contingent. It also furnishes the name of his father Shihābu’-d-Dīn. The latter does not seem to have anything to do with Shihābu’-d-Dīn Ahmad Khān, a Sayyid of Nishāpur (d. A.H. 990), who was Mughal viceroy of Gujarat and Mālwā for many years.

**IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 970, FROM KĀLPI**

This is an unpublished record from Kālpi in District Jalāun. The inscribed slab, measuring 41 by 24 cms., is set up over the mihrāb in the western wall, of an unidentified tomb situated near the Chilla of the famous fifteenth century saint Shāh Madār in Madārpura locality of the town. The imposing domed structure is in decaying condition. Its stone-screens and floors are broken, but the dome and the grave are still intact. Shri Śiddiqī who obtained the impression of this inscription reports that the stone sarcophagus inside the dome is richly inscribed with Quranic texts in extremely elegant Thulth.

The text of the epigraph runs into four lines and assigns the construction of the tomb in 1562-63 to Nawwāb Nāṣir ‘Ali Sulṭān. The language of the inscription, except in the first line containing the religious text, is Persian. The style of writing is Naskh of a fairly good type.

---

2. For details of his career, see, Shāh Nawāz Khān, Mu’āṣir ‘l-Umarā, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 567-70.
3. For the history and inscriptions of Kālpi, see DGUP, vol. XXV, Jalaun (Allahabad, 1921), pp. 158-64;
EPGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

Its text is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate XVI(b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بتوفيق الله الملك المختار
(2) أفرع دولت سلطان الأعظم الخاقان محمد أكبر ناصر
(3) فرموده نواب نامدارين ناصر على سلطان در ماه ربيع الآخر سنه
(4) تهمن و هفتاد بود که عمارت این گنبد تمام شد

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Through the guidance of Allâh the Obliging Lord,

(2) in the reign of the greatest king, the Khaqan, Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi,

(3) by the order of the illustrious Nawwab Nasir Alt Sultan, in the month of Rabi’ul-Akhar, (when) the year.

(4) was nine hundred and seventy (Rabi’ II A.H. 970=November-December 1562 A.D.),

the building of this dome was completed.

It is quite unfortunate that the name of the person on whose grave the tomb was built, has not been specified. There is no literary evidence either to identify him. By the grand structure and its proximity with the Ghilla of Shah Madar, one would be tempted to hazard a guess that the occupant of the tomb was either a saint of note or a high official of the period. At any rate, it must belong to some distinguished personality of that place. It is also probable that the tomb is that of the builder, Nawwab Nasir Alt Sultan himself, who erected it in his life time, as the practice of building a tomb in one’s own life time was, and even now, not quite uncommon.

It is difficult to identify the Nawwab. Historical works of the period seem to ignore him altogether, although he seems to have been a person of note, as his name as well as the title Nawwab tend to suggest. Our epigraph is thus the only source to have left his name to posterity and therein lies its importance.

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 970, FROM SAKIT

This inscription comes from the ancient town of Sakit in Etah district, situated sixteen kilometres southeast of the district headquarters.1 It was copied in about 1953 by Shri V.K. Bukhari the then Senior Epigraphical Assistant. It was first published by H. Blochmann whose reading was, however, neither complete nor fully correct.2

---

1 For an account and history of the town, see DGUP, vol. XII, Etah (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 213-14, where reference has been made to the epigraph under study. For other inscriptions from Sakit, see Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica (EIM), 1913-14, p. 32 (Balban’s); EIAPS, 1967, pp. 38-39 (Shah Shaha’s); Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (PASB), 1874 (Cutchha, 1875), p. 105 (Aurangzeb’s); AIRE, 1952-53, Nos. C, 131-33; etc.
The inscriptive tablet, measuring 1.33 m. by 66 cm., is fixed in the western wall of the mosque situated near the Imāmbāra, and contains a three-line text, below which are inscribed a couple of names including that of the scribe. The epigraph records the construction of the mosque in 1563, carried out by the orders of Nizām-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm Khān Badakhshī. The epigraph was inscribed by one Ismā'īl, whom it is difficult to identify. The text inscribed in a later hand, as in the case of the name of the scribe and to the right of it, below the last line, has obliterated and cannot be satisfactorily made out. It is perhaps contained in the name of the person who actually saw through the construction. It will be seen that in this epigraph also, as in the case of the most of the inscriptions of the early reign of Akbar such of the titles as are generally met with in the inscriptions of the early Sultāns of Delhi, are employed.

The record is of sufficient historical significance as it provides an epigraphical memento of one of the distinguished noblemen of the time of Humāyūn and Akbar, namely Khwāja Ibrāhīm Badakhshī, who held the pargana of Sakit in jāgīr. Incidentally, it was at Sakit, in the year previous to the date of our epigraph, that an attempt was made on the life of Akbar. Also we know for the first time from the epigraph that the Khwāja was known by the title Nīzām-ud-Dīn. He was originally a servant of Mīrzā Hindāl, brother of emperor Humāyūn and had joined the latter on his master's death. Under Akbar, he held the rank of 1000 horse and held the pargana of Sakit in jāgīr. The last mention of him occurs in the annals of A.H. 969, while our epigraph shows that he continued to hold the pargana at least until the next year.

The text is inscribed in Thulūth of a fairly good quality and has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIX (b)*

(1) "بَنِي هَذِهِ الْمَسْجِدِ الْمَبَارِکةِ الْشَّرِیۡفَةِ فِی زَمَانِ الدِّیۡوَانِ الْأَعَظِّمِ وَالْخَاقَانِ الْمَکْرَمِ
 مُولِی مَلْوَکَ الْخُرُوجِ وَالْعَمَّ حَفَّظُ بِلَادِ الْإِلَهِ وَنَاصِرِ
(2) عِبَادِ اَللهِ حَمِیۡمِ مَّن أَلِّی الْحُجَازُ لِیۡلَلِّالِمَدْنِ الْمُدَّکَرُ بِذَاتِ الْحَوْذِ الْمُکْرَمِ
 مَلَکِهِ وَسَلِیۡمَانِ وَقَصَصَهُ
(3) عَلِیَ الْعَالِمِينَ بَرِّهِ وَإِحْساَنَهُ اِمْرَأَهُ اِیَلَّاتُ مَالِبِ اِمَّارَتُ پَنَآ صَحِیۡحُ الجَوْدِ وَالْاَخْسَانُ
 نَظَامُ الْدَّنِی اِبْرَاهِیۡمِ خَانِ بِدَخَّیۡشِ شَهۡرِ سَبۡعِینِ وَتَسۡمِیّهِ اِیَلَّاهُ
 غَرۡیۡبُ كَابِّتُ اسۡمَ‌عِیۡل*"

---

2 The incident as related by Akbar himself, is described in Abūl-Faḍl, *A.N.*, vol. II, pp. 163-65.
4 Blochmann, op. cit., p. 106 reads "بَنِى هَذِهِ الْمَسۡجِدِ".
5 *Ibid.*, omits this word.
6 *Ibid.* reads "قَصَصَهُ".
7 The underlined words have not been deciphered in *A.N.*
8 The underlined portion is too obliterated to admit of decipherment. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 106, omits the word "غریب" also, but it is quite legible,
TRANSLATION

(1) This blessed and noble mosque was constructed in the time of the government of the great king and illustrious Shāqān, lord of the kings of Arabia and Persia, protector of the cities of Allāh and helper.

(2) of His creatures, champion of the religion of the Prophet of Hijāz, Jalālū’d-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzi, may the Exalted Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and make his

(3) bounty and gift universal! This (construction) was ordered by the refuge of glory and he asylum of nobility, master of generosity and kindness, (namely) Niẓāmu’d Din Ibrāhīm Khān Badakhshā, (in the) month of Sha’bān (in the) year (A.H.) seventy and nine hundred (Sha’bān 970=March-April 1563).

(4) The poor writer is Ismā’īl.

VI-VIII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 975, FROM JAUNPUR

These three inscriptions are from the mosque at Jaunpur, locally known as the Ḥammām-Darwāza mosque, and were copied by Shri Kādiri in 1963. They are complimentary to one another in that one refers to the reign of the king, the other records the construction of the mosque, the name of its builder and the chronogram for its date, and the third quotes the date of the construction of the mosque in words. Their calligraphy, which is beautiful Nasta’liq, is also in the same hand.

The first of these epigraphs, containing the name of the reigning emperor, appears over the central mihrāb. Inscribed on a slab measuring 86 by 48 cms., its text runs into three lines of Persian and mentions that the completion of the ‘noble edifice’ (i.e., the mosque) took place in the reign of emperor Akbar, for whom apart from most of the titles as were used in the previous epigraph, the title Shāhīb Qirān is also used. There is no date, but as stated above, it was set up along with the other two records dated 1567-68.

The epigraph has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVII(b)

(1) این نامای شریف در ایام دولت صاحبقران اعظم مولا ملکه العرب و العالم
(2) حافظ بلاد الله تابع عماد الله خواشت ام ای آن السلطان بن السلطان بن
(3) السلطان الخاقان بن الخاقان بن الخاقان ابر المظفر جلال الدين محمد أكبر بادشاه

لغز ولائم یافت

1 For the account of the history, buildings and inscriptions of Jaunpur please see Führer, The Shārqi Architecture of Jaunpur (SAJ), ed. James Burgess (Calcutta, 1889), pp. 4-13; Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, vol. II (Bombay, 1942), pp. 43-47; Muhammad Faqih’d-Dīn, The Shārqi Monuments of Jaunpur (Allahabad, 1922); Munshi Nasiru’d-Dīn, Ṭārīkh-i-Jaunpur in Urdu (Jaunpur, 1922), pp. 8-16; Iqbal Ahmad, Ṭārīkh-i-Šahrūz-i-Hind, in Urdu (Jaunpur, 1963); EIAPS, 1964, p. 12 (pl. IV b); etc.

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 965, from Bulandshahr (p. 63)

(b) Epigraph, dated A. H. 975, from Jaunpur (p. 68)
(1) This noble building (mosque) in the days of the government of the great Ṣāḥib Qirān (lit. Lord of Conjunction), lord of the kings of Arabia and Persia,

(2) protector of the cities of Allāh and helper of His creatures, means of peace and security, the sultān, son of the sultān, son of

(3) the sultān, the Khāqān, son of the Khāqān son of the Khāqān, Abūl-Muṣaffar Jalālū’d-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādahāh Ḥāzī, was completed.

This epigraph mentions neither the name of the builder of the mosque nor its date of construction. According to the other two complimentary epigraphs on the mosque, it was built in 1567-68 by Nawwāb Muḥsin Khān.

The large inscriptive tablet measuring 1·52 m. by 60 cms. which bears the second inscription from the mosque and the seventh of the group, is built into the wall above the right mihrāb. It comprises three Persian verses of sufficient literary merit, which are engraved in relief in six beautifully designed panels arranged in two lines. The record, apart from providing the additional information that the mosque was constructed on the site of an idol-house, names Nawwāb Muḥsin Khān as its builder and gives for its date a chronogram which works out to 1567-68. The ingenuity of the chronogram which proclaims the skill of its composer lies in the fact that the phrase comprising it mentions the monument and its builder—'mosque of Nawwāb Muḥsin Khān'. The style of writing is Nasta’liq of the same beautiful type.

The text has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XVIII(a)*

(1) شکرکمر عبادت این کشت در جهل ان خداآند کریم
(2) بانی را ساخت منزل در بخشید
(3) سال تاریخ بانیش کلک عقل

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Thanks that by the guidance of the Everlasting and the Living (Allāh), this house of infidelity became the niche of prayer (i.e., mosque).

As a reward for that, the Generous Lord

(2) constructed an abode for its builder in Paradise.

The Pen of Reason wrote (the words:) the mosque of Nawwāb Muḥsin Khān, for the date of its construction.

The phrase the 'mosque of Nawwāb Muḥsin Khān' yields A. H. 975 (1567-68 A.D.).

---

2. According to Fasḥū’d-Dīn, op. cit., p. 45, the manuscripts of the mosque were taken from those of the temple of Lachman Das, Diwan of Khan-i-Zaman Ali Quli Khan………Akbar made over all the property of the Diwan to Nawwāb Muḥsin Khān………' Also see Ḥājīl Ṣaḥīḥ, op. cit., p. 375. Both the accounts seem to have been taken from M. Khairu’d-Dīn’s *Jaunpur Nāma* (Ms).
Before proceeding to the next epigraph, it may be pointed out that according to Faṣḥu’d-Dīn and Iṣḥāq Ahmad, Mīr Muḥammad Muḥṣin had ‘died before the completion of the mosque which was done by his son’. But, for this statement there is no proof; the epigraph at least does not bear it out. What probably misled them (or very likely their original source) to come to this conclusion, is the reference in the text to the builder’s having been granted abode in paradise. But that, it may be pointed out, is nothing else but a reference to the famous Tradition of the Prophet about the reward of constructing mosques — ‘He who builds for Allāh, a mosque, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise’. Moreover, Muḥammad Muḥṣin finds mention as builder in inscriptions set up later than A. H. 975, the date of completion of this mosque.\(^2\)

The squarish tablet bearing the third inscription of the Ḥammām-Darwāza mosque and the eighth record of Akbar, appears above its left miḥrāb.\(^3\) Measuring 50 by 52 cms., it contains a record of one line in Persian written in beautiful Nasta’liq characters similar to those in the previous epigraphs. Likewise, the text is beautifully arranged and executed in a panel decorated around its border by a pleasing geometrical design.

The epigraph records the date of completion of the building in words.

It reads as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XVIII(b)*

این بناه عالی بنا بنا بناه و هفتاد و پنجم پانزدهم سید

**TRANSLATION**

This lofty edifice was completed in the year nine hundred and seventy and five (A.H. 975-1567-68 A.D.).

It is surprising that practically nothing is known about Nawwāb Muḥṣin Khān, the builder of this mosque and several other edifices, from contemporary or later records. The title Nawwāb prefixed to his name clearly suggests that he was a man of high status in the region, probably holding jāgīr or a high post in the sarkār of Jaunpur, which was included in Akbar’s time in the gūba of Allāhābād. He has also to his credit, three more inscriptions, one at Jaunpur dated A. H. 984 and two at Akbarpur (now in Faizābād district but then in the Jaunpur sarkār), dated A. H. 976 and 977. But this identity is not certain. The compiler of the old district gazetteer speaks of him as having been in charge of the old pargana of Sanjhauli in the time of Akbar, and also as having founded the town of Akbarpur,\(^4\) for which statements no authority is quoted. But this is not to say that these statements are without any truth. The compiler of the gazetteer might have got his information about Muḥṣin Khān’s jāgīr, etc., if not from historical works in manuscripts to which we have no access, from family documents or state records, locally obtainable. It is equally likely that the topographical position of Akbarpur and Sanjhauli may have provided basis for these statements. Sanjhauli is hardly a couple of kilometres away, towards south-east from the centre of the town, and it must be in pargana Sanjhauli only that Akbarpur town of

\(^1\) Faṣḥu’d-Dīn, op. cit., p. 45; Iṣḥāq Ahmad, op. cit., p. 375.

\(^2\) Inscription Nos. IX-X. *infra*. As a matter of fact, both Faṣḥu’d-Dīn, op. cit., p. 118 and Iṣḥāq Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 387-88, quote another inscription recording the construction of an edifice by him in A.H. 984.


\(^4\) *DGUP*, vol. XLIII, Faizābād (Allahabad, 1928), p. 185.
(a) Record, dated A.H. 975, from Jaunpur (p. 69)

(b) Another record of the same date, same place (p. 70)

(c) Inscription, dated A.H. 968, from Agra (p. 65)
to-day, when founded, must have been situated, for in Ābu'l- Faḍl’s account of the Jaunpur sarkār, only pargana Sanjhauli is mentioned.\(^1\) Also, the maps show one Mohsinpur as one of the suburbs or very probably by now a locality—of Akbarpur, which also must owe its origin to Nawwāb Muḥsin Khān.

Other modern works on the history and monuments of Jaunpur speak of Nawwāb Muḥsin Khān as Dhu‘l-Qadar.\(^2\) According to these, he was ‘ then taluqdār of Jaunpur ’ under Mun‘im Khān, he had received from emperor Akbar all the property of Lachman Dās, the Diwān of Khān Zamān, he had constructed the mosque in the house of Lachman Dās, which still exists under the name of Patthar-kī-Ḥaveli and his heirs flourished at Jaunpur until recently (and may be found there even now). He is also stated to have been an Afgān, was living first at Burhānpur then with ‘ Alī Wardi Khān at Ghāzipur-Banāras and was granted the title of Dhu‘l-Qadar by Akbar and he subsequently became a favourite official of Mun‘im Khān.\(^3\) For these statements no early authorities are quoted, but presumably their earliest source must be Jaunpur Nāma of Maulvī Khairu’d-Dīn,\(^4\) which is not available to us. It is therefore, difficult to say how far these statements are correct. It is not unlikely, as in the case of the statement commented upon above—namely that the builder died before the mosque could be constructed—that the text of these epigraphs may have suggested these particulars about the property of a Hindu Diwān containing a temple being made over to Muḥsin Khān. As to the tribe name Dhu‘l-Qadar or his being an Afgān, it may be pointed out that Muḥsin Khān of our epigraph was a Sayyid, as the prefix Mīr used with his name in one of the epigraphs clearly shows.

Now as far as the historical works available in print are concerned, we get mention only of one Muḥsin Khān, who is stated in the annals of the year A.H. 971 to be a brother of the celebrated Shihābū’d-Dīn ʿAlī Khān;\(^5\) the latter, it may be recalled, belonged to a Sayyid family of Nishāpur. He is probably the same Muḥsin Khān who later on, in A.H. 982, participated in the Bengal expedition led by Khān-i-Khānān Mun‘im Khān.\(^6\) These are the only two references we get about Muḥsin Khān, and, coming as they do from contemporary Ābu’l-Faḍl, and also in view of the fact that he was, though a few years after the date of our records, an auxilliary of Mun‘im Khān, it is very likely that he is the Nawwāb of our records. There was also one Mīr Muḥsin Dā’ūr among the nobles of Humāyūn in about A.H. 961\(^7\), but whether he is identical with our Muḥsin Khān, it is difficult to say.

IX-X. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 976 AND 977, FROM AKBARPUR

These two inscriptions recording almost the same purport were copied in 1963 by Shri Kādirī. The earlier of the two appears on the northern parapet wall of the bridge over the Tons at Akbarpur in Faiyabad district. It does not mention the name of Akbar but his governor Mun‘im Khān, the other epigraph mentions both.

The town of Akbarpur is situated on the left bank of the Tons at a distance of about 60 kilometres from the district headquarters, and, as stated above, is believed to have been founded by

---

1 Abu’l-Faḍl, A.A., I, p. 348.
2 Dhu‘l-Qadar was a tribe of Turks.
3 Faṣḥu’d-Dīn, op. cit., p. 45; Ḥūqā’ī Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 270, 375.
4 Ḥūqā’ ī Ahmad, op. cit., p. 270, who gives most of these details quotes a manuscript, Tajallī-i-Nūr Sunnaw, as his source. But he does not give details about this work.
5 Abu’l-Faḍl, N., vol. II, p. 206. Shihābū’d-Dīn ʿAlī Khān was a Sayyid and not a Dhu‘l-Qadar Turk.
7 Ibid., vol. I, 342.
Nawwâb Muhammad Muḥsin, who was in-charge of the old parâgana of Sanjhauli in the time of Akbar. As a mint-town of the Muḥsals, it is familiar to the students of numismatics under the name Akbarpur-Tândâ. It was very probably established by Akbar in whose reign the town is said to have been founded after his name.

The large tablet on which the record is inscribed is squarish, measuring 1·28 by 1·23 m. The text consists of five Persian couplets, arranged in ten panels and executed in relief in Nastaʿlîq characters, similar to those of the Jaunpur epigraphs. The present epigraph refers to the governorship of Nawwâb Mun'im and states that the bridge was constructed in 1568-69 by Mir Muḥsin. The date is given both in figure as well as by a chronogram, which as in the case of its counterpart in the Jaunpur epigraph is ingenious in that it also gives the description of the monument along with the name of the builder.

The inscription reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XX(a)*

(1) بدوران نواب عالم پناه
(2) محبط سخا منعم کامگار
(3) جهان کرم محسن زصدق
(4) بتوافق حق ساخت زانسان یلی
(5) جو پرسند از وصی و سالش بگو

**TRANSLATION**

1. In the time of the Nawwâb, the asylum of the world, except in whom the world has no custodian,

2. (and who is) the ocean of generosity, (namely) the fortunate Mun'im (who is) the pivot of the earth and the trustee of the age,

3. Mir Muḥsin (who is) in fact world of generosity, was guided by the Powerful Lord of bounties (i.e., Allâh),

4. and by the guidance of God, constructed such a bridge that the path of speech (i.e., description or criticism) is closed on Reason.

5. If they inquire about its description and the year (of construction) say, "The bountiful deed of Muḥsin has been done in a beautiful way". (A. H.) 976 (1568-69 A.D.).

---

1 *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 316. The upper part of the tablet has been inscribed in more recent times with an epigraph in Urdu and English recording the remodelling of the bridge in A.H. 1311, 1894 A.D. (*ibid*. No. D, 317). On the lower frieze occurs another inscription (*ibid*. 1969-70 No. D, 239), composed by Naḡr in Persian verse and executed in Nastaʿlîq characters which records that Žuhûr Ahmad repaired the bridge of Muḥsin in 1894 by the order of (name lost). Both these epigraphs may be seen in the plate.

The values of the letters of the last hemistich, according to the Ajība system, when added, give the date which is also inscribed in figures at the end.

The other inscription from Akbarpur is engraved on a tablet measuring 1·60 m, by 55 cms., which is built up above the northern mihrab of the Shāh-Masjid, situated near the said bridge. It comprises eight Persian couplets which are inscribed in Nasta'liq in four lines, each cut up into four panels. The writing is slightly damaged.

This epigraph, as stated above, bears almost the same purport as the other one just described, with the additional information that a mosque was built along with the bridge. It records that the mosque and the bridge were constructed in 1569-70 in the reign of the emperor Akbar and during the governorship of Muhammad Mun'im by Muhammad Muḥsin Khān, the date being afforded by a chronogram as well as figures. This date, it will be observed, is later by one year than the date of the construction of the bridge. This should either mean that the bridge was constructed in the previous year i.e., 1568-69 and the mosque in the following year or that the buildings were commenced in the first and completed in the second year. The first alternative appears to be nearer the truth.

The compiler of the old district gazetteer records A.H. 976 (1568-69) as the date of this epigraph, which is incorrect. Likewise, according to the same authority, 'the buildings are said to have been erected under the direction of the emperor himself, when he passed through the place on his return from Jaunpur to Agra'. That the local belief, on which the statement seems to rest, does not seem to be well-founded is indicated by our epigraphs which do not mention any such thing.

The epigraph has been deciphered as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIX(a)*

(1) شكر كين مستر و پل سؤكته شند
(2) ندارها هم کون و مکان
(3) خان جم قدر محمد ممنم
(4) خان علی نسب علی شان
(5) حسن الوجه محمد محسن
(6) کبود شهره بانف و احسان
(7) مهربان هم خلق خدا
(8) جهدها کرد فلكه در کارس
(9) شاه تاريخ از ان از سر جهاد

مسجد و پل بود از محسن خان

---

1 *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 318. There are two more inscriptions in the same mosque: one (ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 319), records the construction (reparation?) of the mosque in A. H. 1071 (1660-61 A.D.) by Muhammad Ja'far al-Husaini al-Mazandaranī entitled Sa'adat Khān, and the other refers to the repairs carried out in A.H. 1159 (1746 A.D.) by the great Khān, Sayyid Akbar Yār Khān, to the mosque 'originally built in the reign of emperor Akbar'.

2 *DGUP*, vol. XLIII, p. 186. The wrong date as well as the statement are repeated in the revised edition of the gazetteer (Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers, Faizabad (Allahabad, 1960), p. 49).
(1) Thanks (are due to God) that this mosque and bridge were constructed in the reign of the king having the insignia of Jamshid, the king of Faith, Akbar the Ghazi, who happens to be the monarch of the whole of the universe.

(2) The Khan of Jam-like authority Muhammad Mun'im, on account of whom the world enjoys peace and security, through his good fortune, these two edifices (i.e., the bridge and the mosque) were constructed by the Khan of noble lineage and lofty rank,

(3) Muhammad Muhsin, of noble demeanour, who is famous for kindness and generosity, (who is) kind to every creature of God and attends to the work of the people of the world.

(4) The Sky exerted itself in his work so that both these buildings could flourish (i.e., could be completed);

therefore, the date (of construction), from the head of exertion, came (to be contained in the words:) the mosque and the bridge are (built) by Muhsin Khan. (A.H.) 977 (1569-70 A.D.).

The chronogram is contained in the last hemistich. But to obtain the date, 3, being the value of the letter j which is the first letter (head) of the word jahd (effort) has to be added to the numerical value 974 of the main chronogram, as is indicated in the last but one hemistich.

Apart from MirMuhsin, the builder, the epigraphs mention the Jaunpur governor Mun'im Khan, who is too well-known to need any details here.¹

It seems that the bridge was constructed whether under the emperor's order or not—for easy communications in the eastern region, since want of roads and bridges had caused much trouble to the imperial forces during the rebellion of Khan Zamân whom Mun'im Khan had succeeded in A.H. 975.² The other bridge of that period which exists today was constructed by the orders of Mun'im Khan at Jaunpur itself.³ Incidentally both the bridges have been mentioned by the seventeenth-century European travellers Finch and Da-Laet.⁴

XI-XII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 978, FROM JAUNPUR

These two inscriptions from Jaunpur are quite important. They were also copied by Shri Kâdirî in 1963. One of these records is undated but there is little doubt that both belong to the same date. They are not only written in the same calligraphic style, but also convey the same purport. The study of the dated epigraph is taken up first.

¹ For details of his career see Shãh Nawãs Khan, op. cit., vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 635-45; Blochmann, op. cit., pp. 333-34.
³ Führer, SAJ, op. cit., p. 17, where a detailed description of the great bridge and its six inscriptions will be found. Also see Faighu'd-Din, op. cit., pp. 38-41; 110-114; Iqbal Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 365-66.
Plate XIX

(a) Epigraph, dated A. H. 977, from Akbarpur (p. 73)

Scale: .08

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 970, from Sakit (p. 67)

Scale: .09

(c) Record, dated A. H. 978, from Jaunpur (p. 75)

Scale: .104
The epigraphical tablet measuring 1·45 m. by 43 cms. is fixed above the northern miḥrāb of a mosque situated on the northern bank of the Gomti near the great bridge. It is cut into four panels, arranged in two horizontal lines, and each panel contains a Persian verse. These four Persian couplets are inscribed in elegant Nasta’liq style, which is similar to the one employed in the three inscriptions of Jaunpur, studied above.

The metrical text is composed by one Miskīn and states that the mosque was built by Sulṭān Muḥammad, the physician and occultist (hakīm and kahhāl), in 1570-71, at the time when the ‘Khān of Khāqān-like position’ Ma’ṣūm Khān was in authority, the reigning monarch being Akbar.

It has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIX(c)*

(1)  شد بعهد أكبر غازی شه مالک رقاب
این بناء از نفس چه حسن رحم
در زمان خان خاقان منزل مصوص خان
انه هست از پیش حسن هم رحم و هم کریم
(2)  تا بهاند ذکر نام بانی و سال بناء
بر طریقی کان بود مقبول طبع مستیم
گفت مسکین دید جون ایواج جنت در نظر
مسجد سلطان محمد کوست کجمال و حکیم

**TRANSLATION**

(1) By the bounty of the universal favour of the Most Merciful and Beneficent (Allāh), this building was constructed in the reign of Akbar, the Ghāzī, the king who is master of the necks (of people),

and in the time of the Khān of Khāqān-like position (namely), Ma’ṣūm Khān who is, by the grace of the Merciful (Allāh), both merciful and generous.

(2) With a view that the mention of the name of the builder and the year of the construction may remain (in the world) in such a way as may appeal to the mind of the upright people,

Miskīn, when he saw the gates of the Paradise before his eyes, said, " (It is) the mosque of Sulṭān Muḥammad who is the kahhāl (lit. occultist) and hakīm (physician)".

The last hemistich constitutes the chronogram which works out to A.H. 978 (1570-71 A.D.).

Ma’ṣūm Khān, mentioned in the record as the governor of Jaunpur, is none other than Ma’ṣūm Khān Farān Khūdī, a well-known nobleman of Akbar.²

This epigraph is historically quite important as it provides information on the status of Jaunpur in at least about 1570-71, the date of the record. It is to be noted that contemporary historians including Abu’l-Faḍl, not only do not mention the exact date and year of Ma’ṣūm Khān’s appointment as governor of Jaunpur, but their account of the political status of Jaunpur at this period is quite confused. The date of Mun‘īm Khān’s transfer from Jaunpur, for example, is now-

---

¹ ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 355; A short description of the mosque as well as a brief notice or reading of the inscription will be found in DGUP, vol. XXVIII (Allahabad 1908), p. 247; Faqihuddin, op. cit., pp. 42, 109; Iqbal Ahmad, op. cit., p. 378.
² For details of his career, please see Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 246-49; Blochmann, op. cit., p. 492.
here specifically mentioned. Abul-Faḍil's account seems to indicate that Mun'im Khan was in Jaunpur at least until the beginning of A.H. 978, for we hear of his coming to Fatehpur Sikri from Jaunpur, some time towards the end of Muḥarram or beginning of the following month of A.H. 978 to pay respects to Akbar as well as to offer congratulations on the birth of Prince Murad. He was permitted to leave on the 22nd Rabī' II of the same year, to settle the affairs of the eastern region; by which it is evidently meant that he was shifted from Jaunpur to further east to facilitate prompt and concerted action against Sulaimān Karrānī who was then master of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It must be at this time that Maṣūm Khan Faranghūdī must have been appointed in his place at Jaunpur.

Maṣūm Khan seems to have continued, with or without interruption, at Jaunpur until about 12th Dhu'l-Qa'da 987, on which day he was replaced by Tarsūn Muḥammad Khan. In the midst of the commotion created by the rebellion of Maṣūm Khan Kābulī, he deserted the royal army and forcibly took Jaunpur from the men of his successor. He was ultimately pardoned and given Audh in tuyūl. After continued insurgencies during which he once more tried, without success, to surprise Jaunpur, he died in the 27th regnal year.

As regards Sulṭān Muḥammad, builder of the mosque and Miskin, the composer of the poetic Fragment, we have no information. Abul-Faḍil mentions quite a few persons of the time of Humāyūn and Akbar who bore the name Sulṭān Muḥammad, but none of them as physician or occultist, and moreover, their designations and other particulars proclaim them to be different from our man. Sulṭān Muḥammad seems to have specialised in the eye-diseases, but he does not find mention in the list of physicians of Akbar's period, given by Abul-Faḍil, Badāyūnī or Niẓāmūd-Dīn Ahmad.

In a modern work, however, the Ḥakīm is stated to have been practising at Āgrā whence he was brought to Jaunpur by Mun'im Khan to practice as a state physician; he however returned to Āgrā after some time, as some official pointed out the mounting expenditure on free-medicines incurred by him; etc. But unfortunately, no authority for this account has been quoted, which can reasonably lead one to dismiss it as nothing more than a flourish of the pen of an imaginative writer.

In any case, the information contained in the epigraph is important both from the literary and historical points of view.

Similarly, Abul-Faḍil mentions Miskin Quchīn and Miskin Tarkhān, but these also do not appear to be identical with Miskin, the composer of the epigraph. Nor does the name of Miskin find mention in the list of poets of Akbar's court or time, given in the works of the above-mentioned historians.

The other inscription from the mosque is carved on a slab measuring 1'07 m. by 42 cms. which is fixed above the central miḥrab. Its two-line text comprises one Persian Quatrain, inscribed

---

1 Abul-Faḍil, AN, vol. II, P. 356.
2 Ibid. It may be mentioned that modern historians like Vincent Smith and A.L. Srivastava, who have exclusively dealt with the reign of Akbar have not taken notice of this.
3 Ibid., vol. III, p. 281.
5 Abul-Faḍil, AN, vol. I, pp. 224, 254, 259, etc.
6 Iqbāl Ahmad, op.cit., pp. 377, 492.
(a) Epigraph, dated A. H. 976, from Akbarpur (p. 72)

(b) Inscription from Jaunpur (p. 77)
in four panels arranged in two lines, and conveys the same purport, namely that the Ḥakīm had constructed the mosque in the reign of Akbar.

The style of writing is Nastaliq of no particular merit.

The text runs as follows:

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

١ يفِضّي كَهْ زَيْلاً إِلَّا [الله] سُلْطَانُ مُحَمَّدٍ رَسُولٍ إِلَّهَ سَلَّم
(٢) اِنَّ مَسْجِدَ عَالِيَ كَهْ بِلَا نِكَرَدْ حَكْمَ
آٓثَرِ ثَانِمَ عَدْلٍ أَكْبَرُ شَاهٍ سَلَّم

TRANSLATION

(1) The bounty which (a believer enjoys) from ‘There is no god but Allāh’¹ is due to the grace of ‘Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh’.²

(2) This lofty mosque which the Ḥakīm has built is the relic of the just reign of king Akbar.

XIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 981, FROM BUDĀUN

The tablet bearing this inscription measures 73 by 38 cms, and is built up into a niche in the southern wall of the dālān of the Tomb of Ḥaḍrat Badru’-d-Dīn Shāh Wilāyat at Budāun. Maulvi Raḍī’-d-Dīn was the first to publish its eye-reading in his Kanzū’-Ṭūrīkh—a very valuable gazetteer of Budāun in Urdu.³ But his reading suffers, quite understandably, from inaccuracies. It was copied by Dr. Z.A. Desai in 1960.

The text of this inscription runs into two lines of Arabic and is executed in Thulūḥ characters. The object of the inscription which was written by Husain Khān, is to record the beautification of ‘the Shamsī building’ and the garden by Mīrzā Muḥammad, son of Wali Shāh in 1573-74. While it is quite likely that the epigraph is not in situ, it is difficult to say what exactly is meant by ‘the Shamsī building’ that is to say the building constructed by the Mamlūk ruler Shamsu’-d-Dīn Il-tutmish (1211-36). It may be recalled that this monarch had built a number of buildings here, of which the extant buildings of note, which have no doubt undergone extensive repairs at subsequent periods, are the Jāmi’ mosque and the ‘Īgāh. The proximity of the last-mentioned building to the site of the present record, may suggest the possibility of its beautification and laying out of a garden there. But it is equally likely that the epigraph pertained to a monument which has since disappeared.

¹ This constitutes the first half of the First Creed.
² This forms the second half of the same Creed.
³ Raḍī’-d-Dīn, Kanzū’-Ṭūrīkh (Budaun, 1907), pp. 49-50. For references to the history and account of the historical remains of the town, see A. Cunningham, op. cit., vol. XI (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 1-11; DGUP, vol. VI, Budaun (Allahabad, 1907), pp. 131-62, 183-86; Führer, op. cit., pp. 21-23: etc. Inscriptions of Budāun have been listed in ARIE, 1900-01, Nos. D, 221-50 and some of them published in EJL, 1911-12, p. 22; ibid., 1913-14, pp. 30-31; EIAPS, 1964, pp. 7, 19; ibid., 1965, pp. 11-18; ibid., 1966, pp. 14, 18; ibid., 1967, pp. 39-35, 40; etc.
The text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXI(c)*


1) في زمان السلطان العادل جلال الدين محمد أكبر بإدماج غازی

2) زین عمارة الشمس و الحدیقة میرزا محمد ابن شاه ولی حرص حسن خان سنه


**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the time of the just king Jalālū'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī,

(2) the Shamsī building and the garden were beautified by Mīrzā Muḥammad son of Walt Shāh. Written by Ḥusain Khān (in the) year (A.H.) 981 (1573-74 A.D.)

None of the persons mentioned in the epigraph, the person who beautified the building and laid out a garden, namely Mīrzā Muḥammad, his father Walt Shāh and the scribe Ḥusain Khān can be satisfactorily identified. The possibility that the first mentioned may have been an official of Akbar, posted at Budān or its neighbourhood, cannot be ruled out. As a matter of fact, Ḥusayn Faḍl mentions one Mīrzā Muḥammad who held the rank of four hundred. But it is not certain whether he is the one.

**XIV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 981, FROM AMROHĀ**

This inscription from Amrohā, in Morādābad district, was copied by Shri Kādirī in 1962, and is carved on a large slab measuring 30 cms. by 1.53 m. which is built into the south wall of Shaikh Saddeš's mosque. Its text as supplied by Gangā Parshād, then Deputy Collector, Morādābad, was first published with its English translation by Blochmann, but the reading particularly in the last verse being slightly faulty, Blochmann was misled in the calculation of the date. As he could not properly understand the indication of subtractions as contained in the same verse, the chronogram for the date was worked out to yield the date A.H. 980. Also, the reading supplied to Blochmann did not contain the date figure or the name of the scribe and the composer.

What strikes most about this epigraph is the arrangement of its text, which is written in slanting and not horizontal panels as is usually the case. It is also sufficiently important both from the historical and literary points of view. On one hand, it provides epigraphical memento of a famous learned man and judge of Akbar's time, and on the other, it adds one more name to the list of the poets and calligraphists of Akbar's reign.

The main record consists of six couplets of Persian verse. There is in the beginning the formulae Allāhu Akbar, while the date in figure and the name of the composer and the writer one

---

3. Shaikh Saddeš to whom the mosque is now ascribed is a legendary figure of the middle ages. For him and a description of the mosque, which is architecturally not without merit, see *BGUP*, vol. XVI, Morādābad (Allahabad), 1911, pp. 141-70.

The mosque also bears a Mamlūk record, dated A.H. 686, of the time of Kāqqūbād (*EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 32-33, where, however, the builder's name is wrongly read as Bārzmār instead of 'Ambar).
(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 981, from Amroha, (p. 79)

(b) Epigraph, dated A. H. 387, from Bareilly (p. 83)

(c) Inscription, dated A. H. 981, from Budhan (p. 78)
Ärifi, occur a the end. It states that Sayyid Muhammad who is described as the glorifier of the religion of Prophet Muhammad and an Amir who is the asylum of people, constructed a Jami’ mosque in Amrohâ in 1573-74. The date is also obtained by a chronogram. The style of writing employed, except for the religious formulae in the first line which is executed in Na’kha, is Nastâ’liq of a fairly good order. The quality of verse is also quite good.

It has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XXI(a)

(1) Allâh is great.

(2) In the reign of Akbar, the Ghâzi, Jalâl-î-Daulat wa Din (lit. the glory of the state and the religion), the pivot of the country and communities, the king who is the Shadow of Allâh—

(3) Time is a sincere servant of his court, and the Star (of destiny) carries out his orders without any hesitation.

(4) the glorifier of the religion of (Prophet) Muhammad, the nobleman in whom the people seek refuge, constructed a Jâmi’ mosque in Amroha.

(5) (He is) Sayyid Muhammad, the just of heaven-like status, whose virtues are repeatedly sung by the people on all occasions.

(6) When my heart asked for the subtlety of its date from Wisdom, it gave a quick reply (in the form of) a fluent hemistich, pleasing to the heart, namely,
(7) 'Do not take into account (lit. utter) the last 'hū' and utter for its date (these words: it is) an edifice built by the asylum of justice, the Mir of lofty dignity.

(8) Year (A. H.) 981 (1573-74 A.D.).

(9) Composed and written by

(10) 'Ārifī.

The numerical value of the letters of the last hemistich adds up to 986 from which the value of the letter hū—5 is to be deducted. This gives us A.H. 981, which is also inscribed in figure and not A.H. 980 as calculated by Blochmann.1 The latter was misled due to the fact that the first word in the last hemistich comprising the chronogram was read as ʿalī instead of ʿal in the reading supplied to him with the result that the total value of the chronogram came to 996 from which, if he were to deduct only five, being the value of the last hū/i(hū), the date would have been A.H. 991, seven years after the death of the Mir. Therefore, Blochmann thought that it was not the numerical value of one letter hū, but of all the letters h, a and ī which denominate the sound—totaling 16 which has to be deducted.

Sayyid Muḥammad of Amrohū, the builder of the Jāmī’ mosque, was the Mir-i-ʿAdl (Chief Justice), held the rank of 900 horse and was for two years until his death in A.H. 9842 governor of Bhakkar in Sind.3 He was renowned among his contemporaries for learning and erudition. At least three of his sons and one nephew find place in Abu’l-Faḍl’s list of rank-holders under Akbar.4

1 'Ārifī, the poet and calligrapher, is an obscure person.

XV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 985, FROM ĀZAMPUR

This interesting and unpublished inscription was first copied by Maulvi Muḥammad Shu’aib mentioned above.5 It was recopied by Shri Ṣiddiqī in 1964.

The epigraphical tablet measuring 1·24 m. by 28 cms. is fixed above the middle opening of the eastern wall of the tomb of Ṣalib Khān at Āzampur.6 Locally called Ḥaẓīra, it is situated to the east of the Tomb of the celebrated saint Shāh ‘Abdu’l-Ghaffār. The Ḥaẓīra is now a roofless square structure and has fallen in ruins, but it seems to have been originally beautified by a garden all around, the remains of which can still be seen.

The record is of historical importance as it forms the epitaph of a person who is described as a benevolent governor, but whose association with Āzampur or its neighbourhood, as an official or otherwise, is not recorded in any historical work. Therefore, this epigraphical evidence in respect of administrative history of the place is not without interest.

The text of the epigraph is composed of two distinct parts: One comprises the famous Quranic text, the Āyatul-Kursi, and the other is in Persian prose and verse. But the arrangement of these is somewhat confusing. The religious text is inscribed in Thulūt and the Persian

---

1 PASB, 1873, p. 101.
5 ARIEF, 1911, p. 68, No. 22 of Appendix E.
portion in Nast'aliq, both quite beautiful, but lack of symmetrical arrangement and want of proper attention to size of letters and their appropriate spacing and alignment, detract from its otherwise calligraphical effect.

The prose portion of the Persian version is incomplete in that there is no verb; as it is, it refers to the reign of Akbar—for whom here also the title of Šāhib Qirān (see p. 68, supra) has been used—and to the tomb as that of Tālib Kān. The composition is somewhat clumsy, but the sense that it was constructed in the reign of the emperor can be easily made out. The metrical portion of the Persian text consists of two couplets and records 1577-78 as the date of the Kān’s death in a chronogram, also supported by figures and refers to him not by his name but by the honorific titles as ‘benefactor of the age and a benevolent ruler or governor (hākim)’. A couple of words below this portion cannot be made out. At the end occurs the name ‘Abdu’l-Ḥalim whose connection with the event or the epigraph is not specified, but he may be the composer of the text, if the conjectural reading of the unintelligible words happens to be correct.

The text has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXII(a)*

(a) Top panel.

(i) Right side:

الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السماوات وما في الأرض من ذي الذي يشع عندنا إلا باذنه يعلم ما بين إيديهم وما خلفهم

(ii) Left side:

1) در عهد خسرو فلكك ائتدار ساية عاطفت پروردگار صاحب قرآن
2) قايم مقام سلمان سلطان سكندر جلال الدين
3) محمد أكبر بادشاه خلد الله ملكه روضه منورة المفتقر الى الله
4) المنان ذره يمتدار طالب خان نور الله مرده

(b) Lower panel.

(i) Right side:

و لا يحيتون بشئ من علومه إلا بما شاء ويقع كريمه السماوات والارض ولا يوده

حفظهما و هو العلي العظيم
(ii) Left side:

1) صدوای صد درگی که محسن زمان بر فت
لیکن از یه سرای فنا در جنان بر فت
2) تاریخ فوت او چو طلب کردم از جنان
گفتا که هوا حاکم محسن جهان بر فت
3) از اندو (؟)

985

Abdul al-Halim

TRANSLATION

(a) i. Part of Throne Verse (Qur'an, Chapter II, part of Verse 255).

ii. (1) In the reign of the king, having the authority of the sky, the shadow of the kindness of the Nourisher Allah, the Sāhib Qirān,

(2) successor of King Solomon, the king having the dignity of Alexander, Jālāluddīn,

(3) Muḥammad Akbar Bāḏshāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom! (This) illuminated tomb (is) of one who is dependent upon Allāh.

(4) the Obliging, the insignificant particle Tālib Khān, may Allāh illuminate his grave

(b) i. Remain in part of Throne Verse.

ii. (1) Hund, as of woes and hundreds of grief that the benefactor of the age has departed; however, he has gone to heaven from this transitory abode (i.e. the world).

(2) When I asked for the date of his death from Heaven, it said, "Woe that the benevolent ruler (kākim) of the world is gone".

(3) By Indū (?). (A.H.) 985 (1577-78 A.D.). Composed by the slave (?) 'Abdu'l-Halim.

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich gives the date, which is also inscribed in figures.

Practically nothing is known about Tālib Khān who is described as a benevolent ruler. In Abu'l-Faqīl's annals, mention is made of one Tālib Khān, who was one of the auxiliaries in the Imperial forces under Mun'im Khān and his successor during 1575-76. On two other occasions, Abu'l-Faqīl mentions in the same connection and with almost the same auxiliaries in Bengal army, Tālib Baig and Tālib Badakhshī. But from the context, all the three appear to be one and the same person. In one of these, Tālib Badakhshī is stated to be a son of Khwāja Ibrāhīm Badakhshī, mentioned in the Sakit inscription (No. V, supra). It is not unlikely that Tālib Khān of our record is this person.

About 'Abdul-Halim who seems to have been the composer of the epigraph, we have no information.

XVI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 987, FROM BAREILLY

This beautifully executed inscription forms the earliest extant Muslim record from Bareilly city, headquarters of the district of the same name. Its reading was first published along with an English translation by Mr. Blochmann, from the reading (or rubbing) sent to him in 1871 by Mr. A. S. Harison of the Bareilly College. Blochmann in his brief note also identified

1 Abul-Faqīl, AN, vol. III, p. 118.
2 Ibid., p. 182.
Aïnûl-Mulk mentioned in the record and referred for further details about him to his English translation of the A'in-i-Akbarn.  

The epigraphical tablet measures 1.05 m. by 40 cms. and is fixed over the central opening of the facade of the historical Mirzâ-i-Masjid in the Mirzâ-mahalla of the old city. It contains a two-line text comprising two Persian verses, which are inscribed in four panels, two to each line, beautifully decorated with floral designs. The style of writing is equally elegant Nasta'liq. The record states that Aïnûl-Mulk built the mosque by the order of the emperor in 1579-80. The date is given in a chronogram as well as in figures.

The text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXI(b)*

(1) سَاتِحَ مَسِجَدِ بَاميُّ آنَیر شَهَد
(2) مُوْمَانْنَا سَتَ سَالَ تَأَبِّيْحُ

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The striver for (this) act of bounty, Aïnûl-Mulk, constructed the mosque by the order of Akbar Shâh.

(2) The year of its date is (contained in the instructions) to the believers: Prostrate yourself exclusively for the sake of Allah.

Year (A. H.) 987 (1579-80 A.D.).

The builder is none other than Haḳîm Aïnûl-Mulk, an accomplished physician, learned man and poet, who is too celebrated a figure to need any further introduction. Nevertheless, it is rather surprising that not much about his life and career is known. In the recorded events of his career, no specific date has been mentioned about his appointment in the Bareilly region, but it is generally believed to have taken place immediately or some time after his return from the embassy to Bijâpur. This was some time in the middle of July 1577. In any case he must have been appointed at Bareilly some time in or before 1579-80, the date of our epigraph.

Bloehmann speaks of his appointment as Fanjâr of Sambhal which does not seem to be correct. For Shah Nawâz Khan who is his main source mentions the place of appointment as boundaries (budûd) of Sambhal. The fact is that he was appointed as the Fanjâr of Bareilly, and Abu'l-Fadl specifically thus designates him when he successfully foiled the attempt on the Bareilly fort made by 'Arab Bahâdur and other Bengal rebels who had created disturbances in

---


EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

the confines of Sambhal; this was some time in March 1581. He seems to have continued at Bareilly until October of the same year, when he was made the Sadr of Bengal.

XVII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1005, FROM BULANDSHAHR

The last but one inscription of this article is to be seen on the main entrance of the Tomb of Buhil Shâh at Bulandshahr, from which town an earlier epigraph of Akbar’s reign has been studied above (No. II, supra). It was copied by Shri Kâdîrî.

The epigraphical tablet measuring 40 by 36 cms. contains a four-line text in Persian executed in Naskh characters and purporting that the building of the tomb of Miyân Buhilî Bahlîm was completed in 1597 in the reign of Akbar at the cost of seventeen thousand and fifty tankas. The name of the supervisor of the construction is also given at the end of the text, but the letters in that part being slightly affected and also somewhat crowded, the name does not admit of perfect decipherment. It seems to read as ‘Sâlîr’, a servant of Miyân ’Imâd Bahlîm.

The text has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate XXII(b)

(1) در عهد جلال الدين محمد أكبر بادشاه غازی
(2) عمارت مقره ازân میان بهلول خان به‌هایم
(3) مرتب شد شهر ذی الحج مورعا سنه الف خمس 1005
(4) مبلغ هفده هزار پنجاه تکه کارفرمان سالار نوکر میان عماد به‌هایم

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Jalâlu’d-Din Muhammed Akbar Bâdsheh Ghâzi,

(2) the building of the tomb of Miyân Buhilî Khân Bahlîm,

(3) was completed (in the) month of Dhu’il-Hijja, dated in the year one thousand and five (A. H.) 1005 (July-August 1597 A.D.),

(4) (at the cost of) a sum of seventeen thousand and fifty tankas, under the supervision of Sâlîr, a servant (?) of Miyân ’Imâd Bahlîm.

It is difficult to identify Miyân Buhilî Khân Bahlîm who is interred in the tomb. From the honorific epithet Miyân affixed to his name, he appears to have been a man of status, but his name is missing from the list of important officials given in contemporary historical works. Badâyûnî, no doubt, mentions in the list of contemporary learned men, one ‘Shaikh Buhilî of Delhi, who was well versed in the science of Tradition,’ but he seems to be different. Of the other

---

2 Ibid., p. 372. Also Blochmann, op. cit., but he merely gives the regnal years. The Gregorian equivalents of the month of the year are based on the almost exact dates given by Abu’l-Faśl.
persons mentioned in the text too, Miyān ‘Imād, who seems to be his son and Sālār, who was in all probability attached to the latter, nothing is known.

The epigraph is nevertheless quite important. Apart from providing material for the correct identification of the tomb, it supplies another piece of information, which we do not generally come across: The expenditure incurred on the tomb is recorded in the epigraph. A total amount of 17050 tankus is stated to have been spent on the construction.

XVIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1013, FROM KĀLPI

The last inscription of the group, a damaged record from Kālpī, was copied by Shri Śiddiqī in 1964. It is inscribed on a tablet measuring 45 by 23 cms. which is set up on the northern entrance of a ruined Tomb, situated on the bank of the Jamunā in the Madārpūrā locality of the town. The lofty dome has developed many ominous cracks and is lying in more or less ruinous state. At present, it is used by a local farmer as a store-room, and there is no trace of the grave which must have once occupied the central place.

The record is in Persian and consists of five lines executed, somewhat carelessly, in Naṣrāṭiq characters, the calligraphy being on the cruder side and quite inferior to the other inscriptions from Kālpī of the same period. Moreover, the letters of the text are also considerably affected with the result that the task of decipherment has not been easy, and we are not satisfied with the reading of the date. The epigraph states that the magnificent Tomb, called Ḥūjra was built in 1604, in the reign of emperor Akbar by Nawwāb Qulī Khān Hindāli at a cost of one thousand two hundred and eighty-five hons. The work is stated to have been supervised by Bājī (?),Khatri and the chief artisan was Ismā‘īl gīlkhār (mason).

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XXII(c)*

(1) این حظیرہ عالی در عہد دوام دوام داتل جلال الدین محمد آکبر
(2) بادشاہ غازی رفعت یافتہ بی نظر میں سو شاہانہ مشہور بہجرہ نواب قلیخان
(3) هندلی بناسخت و بکہ مزار و دوست هشتاد و پنج هون(؟)
(4) مهر در پاب این حظیرہ یہ نواحی تجربه لم پنا خرامت غریب غریب نماح سنا 1310[1]
(5) کا ہی میں بہائی کہتی ہوئ سلسلہ شکار کا ایسی قلم باد کا روشن پر انوار باد

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This lofty Ḥaẓīra (mausoleum), in the everlasting reign of Jalālu’d-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar

(2-3) Bādshāh Ghażī was raised. The matchless magnificent (lit. royal) mausoleum, better known as Ḥūjra was built by Nawwāb Qulī Khān Hindāli(?). And (a sum of) one thousand two hundred and eighty-five hons.

---

2. *This word can also be read as gulkār, meaning an artist.*
(4) was spent in respect of this tomb. Written on the first Rajab, year 11013 (?), (13th November 1604).

(5) The supervisor (was) Bāji (?) Khatri and the master-artisan Ismā'il gilkūr. May this tomb be illuminated.

As in the case of quite a few persons mentioned in the epigraphs studied in the preceding lines, Nawwāb Quāl Khān Hindālī who is credited with the construction of the Tomb cannot be identified. If his epithet Hindālī has been correctly deciphered, it may be taken to mean that he preferred to be so called on account of his association or that of his father, with Prince Hindāl, uncle of Akbar. In any case, he seems to have been a man of position, as is also indicated by the title Nawwāb used for him in the record.

From the text, it is not easy to say for whom the Tomb was built. It could be that the Nawwāb had caused it to be created for himself during his life-time, but in that case, the statement that it came to be known as Hujra when the inscription was set up can only be explained by taking for granted that the tablet was set up some time after the completion of the Tomb, that is to say by the time it had acquired fame. In the alternative, the Nawwāb had constructed a new tomb in place of one locally known as Hujra, which might have belonged to some saintly person.

But far more important is the mention in the text, as in the case of the Bulandshahr inscription just studied above, of the cost of the construction of the Tomb. Here it is stated to amount to 1285 honas, as against 17060 tankas in the case of the Bulandshahr Tomb under reference. Another interesting point about this record is the mention of hon as the currency. As is well-known, hon was a gold coin mostly current in Deccan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abā Bakr, the first Caliph</td>
<td>2, 12, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdu'l Ghaffār, Shāh, a saint, tomb of</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdu'l Ḥalīm, a composer</td>
<td>81, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdu'llāh Khān, Fīrūz Jang, Mughal official</td>
<td>37, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī, Mullā, the historian</td>
<td>51, 57, 76, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdu'l Wāsir 'Badakhshān, a builder</td>
<td>20, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Sūr, Raḥān chief of Bihār</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdu'r-Raḥmān, Shāhī, see Shāhī 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Abdu'r-Razzāq Ma'mur, Mughal official</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū Bakr, see Abū Bakr</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū Bakr Siddīq, see Abū Bakr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū Ḥanīfa, Imām, the great theologian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abū-Faḍl, father of Afdal Khān, Mughal nobleman and historian</td>
<td>6, 29, 30 &amp; (f.n.1), 32, 71, 75, 76, 78, 80, 82, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abūl-Fath Muḥammad Mu'min Mīrza, mughal official</td>
<td>63, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abūl-Muṣaffār, Shams of Jalālū'd-Dīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzi (a.v.)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, Shams of Nūrū'd-Dīn Jahāngīr Bādshāh (a.v.)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, Shams of Shāh Jahlān Bādshāh Ghāzi (a.v.)</td>
<td>17, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ādil Shāhī, a dynasty</td>
<td>33, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afdal Khān, son of Abūl-Faḍl, governor of Bihār</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afgān, a clan</td>
<td>4, 12, 57, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>25, 61, 64, 73, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āhangar, Hājī Husain, see Hājī Husain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Bukhārī, Sayyid, see Sayyid Ahmad Bukhārī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Ḥanbal, Imām, the great theologian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Khwāja, see Khwāja Ahmad</td>
<td>5, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmadābād, in Gujarāt</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmadnagar, in Maharashtra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Samarqandī, Khwāja, see Khwāja Ahmad Samarqandī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ain Khān, a Nīṣām Shāhī official</td>
<td>11, 12, 30 (f.n.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ainu'l-Mulk, commander of 'Alau'd-Dīn Khālīj</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ainu'l-Mulk, Ḥakīm, a builder</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmer, in Rajasthan</td>
<td>15, 32, 33, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbarpur, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>70, 71, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbarpur-Tāndā, Mughal mint</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbārī, Ḥāmīd, see Sayyid Akbārī Khān</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allahdiya Anārī, father of Khwāja Ahmad, a supervisor and architect</td>
<td>63, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ālamgīr, Ghāzī, Muhammad Aurangzeb, see Aurangzeb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Alū'īd-Dīn Khālīj</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Alū'īd-Dīn Shāṭṭārī, Shāh, see Shāh 'Alū'īd-Dīn Shāṭṭārī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Alū'īd-Dīn, Sultan, see Sultan 'Alū'īd-Dīn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Bākhshtī, al-Khwāfī, Mīrāk Husain, see Mīrāk Husain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'All, the fourth Caliph</td>
<td>2, 12, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'All Akbar, a builder and trusted officer of Šafīdar Khān</td>
<td>5, 6, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>——, surgeon of Jahāngīr</td>
<td>7 (f.n.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Alī Akbar, Sayyid, see 'Alī Akbar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Alī Qult Khān, Khān-i-Zamān, Mughal nobleman</td>
<td>69 (f.n.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Alī Wardī Khān, Mughal official</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allāhābād, sāba of</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alwar, district in Rajasthan</td>
<td>49, 56, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ambar, a builder</td>
<td>78 (f.n.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ambar, Malik, see Malik 'Ambar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amber, in Jalāpur district</td>
<td>49, 55, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambiyā, a composer</td>
<td>44, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amīr Kishīmtī, Mughal official and builder</td>
<td>54, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asāru'l Umarā, a post</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amroha, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>61, 78, 79, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Aqīdat Khān, title of Ibrāhīm Husain, Mughal official</td>
<td>33, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Arab Bahādur, a rebel</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabia, a country</td>
<td>54, 68, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ārīf, a composer and writer</td>
<td>79, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audh, a region</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Bhabhar, in Sind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bharatpur, in Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhikangoon, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhil, a tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhilas, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bidar, in Mysore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bihar, a region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biharshariff, in Bihar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bijagarh, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bijapur, in Mysore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bijnor, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bir, in Maharashtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Budhesh Khan, Haji, see Haji Budhesh Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Budhun, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhlal Khan Bahlim, Miyun, the deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buhlal Shab, tomb of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bulandshahr, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burbunker, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Central India, a region</th>
<th>21, 46</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Champanganj, a suburb of Bhagalpur town, in Bihar</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Champagni, a river</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chandan Pir’s Shrine, at Sassaram</td>
<td>5 &amp; (f.n.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chanderi, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>20, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chhindor, in Maharashtra</td>
<td>43, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chaudhrar Saffar, a builder</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chauhan, of Raghuvar</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chitor, in Rajasthan</td>
<td>16, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chota Nagpur, in Bihar</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Decca, called Jahangirnagar</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Da-Last, European traveller</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dahr, Mughal prince</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daru, a post</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daud Khan, Mughal official</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dai’ud Khan, Shaikh, see Shaikh Da’ud</td>
<td>33, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dalalatbad, in Maharashtra</td>
<td>33, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deccan, a region</td>
<td>15, 16, 19, 23, 25, 29, 31, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deccan</td>
<td>33 (f.n.5), 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, (f.n.4), 45, 46, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>5, 15, 21, 45 (f.n.1), 49, 53 (f.n.3), 54, 67, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dharur, in Maharashtra</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dhul’Qadar, title of Nawab Mubin Khan (s.v.)</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dhul’Qadar, a tribe of Turks</td>
<td>71 (f.n.6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dilawar Khan Ghori, Malwa Sultan</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daud, a post</td>
<td>8, 9, 56, 69 (f.n.2), 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dugga-i-Pahar, a post</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durjan Sah, Mughal official</td>
<td>8 (f.n.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etah, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faizabad, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>70, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faizul Din, a scribe</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farakhdji, Ma'sum Khan, see Ma'sum Khan Farakhdji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faridabad, township of</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farid Bukhari, see Shaikh Farid Bukhari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrukh Siyar, Mughal emperor</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farrukhnagar, sarkar of</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatehpur Sikri, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>55 (f.n.2), 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatih Jang, title of Ibrahim Khan (s.v.)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatihulah Shahrizai, Shiah, see Shiah Fatihullah Shahrizai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faujdar, a post</td>
<td>11, 12, 24, 41, 42, 43, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Faujdar-i-khazan, a post</strong></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finch, European traveller</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firuz Jang, title of 'Abdulah Khan, Mughal official (s.v.)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firuz Jang, title of Ghaziid-Din Khazan</td>
<td>37, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firuz Topluq</td>
<td>45, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>G</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganga Parshad, deputy collector of Moradabad</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganges, the river</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay, in Bihar</td>
<td>9, 10, 12 (f.n.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gharib Das Khihti, Chauhan, of Raghubar</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazid-Dinpur, a suburb of Bir in Maharashtra</td>
<td>45, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazipur-Banaras, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaziud-Din Khan, Firuz Jang, son of Qilich Khan (s.v.), Mughal nobleman</td>
<td>45, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghaziud-Din Nagar, a suburb of Bir</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiyapura, pargana in Bihar</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilani, Nur Muhammad, see Nur Muhammad Gilani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilkar, i.e. a mason</td>
<td>85, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gomti, a river</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gondgan, in Maharashtra</td>
<td>43, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haqdar Badru'd-Din Shiah Wilayat, tomb of, at Badnawar</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haqdar Musa, a saint, tomb of</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hafiz Shaikh Daud, see Shaikh Daud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haidar, i.e. 'Ali (s.v.)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haji, see Haji Sadar Shah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haji Budag Khan, Mughal nobleman</td>
<td>52, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haji Husain Ahangar, a builder</td>
<td>59, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haji Sadar Shah, father of Muhammad Shah</td>
<td>45 &amp; (f.n.5), 46 &amp; (f.n.1), 47 &amp; (f.n.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haji Tawakht Baisi, a builder</td>
<td>55, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haqam i.e. Sultan Muhammad (s.v.)</td>
<td>75, 76, 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haqam 'Ainul-Mulk, see ‘Ainul-Mulk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamid Bukhari, Sayyid, see Sayyid Hamid Bukhari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamidud-Din Nagauni, Qazi, see Qazi Hamidud-Din Nagauni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handia, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haqadd Khan, a builder</td>
<td>83 (f.n.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harun Shah, industrialist of Khargone</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasanpur, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasmim, son of Sayyid Khwaja Zafarullah Naqshbandi</td>
<td>41, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasmim Khan, a Mughal official</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindali, prince and uncle of Akbar</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindali, ruler of Nawab Quli Khan</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindustan, a country</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoshangabad, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humayun, Mughal emperor</td>
<td>15, 67, 71, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hov, a gold coin</td>
<td>85, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain, Mr, see Mr Husain Khwaji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain Ahangar, Haji, see Haji Husain Ahangar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain Khan, a scribe</td>
<td>77, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain Khwaji, Mr, see Mr Husain Khwaji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain Shahrizai, a scribe</td>
<td>23, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydroabad, erstwhile State</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, Bijapur king</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim al-Musawi, Mughal official</td>
<td>36, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Badshah, Khwaja see Khwaja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Badshah Shih</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim Husain, entitled 'Agidat Khan Mughal official (s.v.)</td>
<td>33, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>K</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kābul,  Ma'ṣūm Khān, see Ma'ṣūm Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Kābuli.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Kaĉhwaĥa, rulers of Jaipur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>KahalGateo, in Bihar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78 (f.n. 3)</td>
<td>Kaqubād, Mamlâk King.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (f.n. 2)</td>
<td>Kâko, in Bihar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kâlī Sind, a river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 65 &amp; (f.n. 3)</td>
<td>Kâlpi, in Uttar Pradesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Kamāl, son of Khânsâh, a builder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Kamāl, Sayyid of Shîrāz, see Sayyid Kamāl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Kamāl Bakhtâri, Sayyid, see Sayyid Kamāl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Buakhâri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57, 58</td>
<td>Kamāl Khān, a builder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Kamāl Khān, descendant of Sulţân 'Alâ'ud-Dīn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Kamāl Khān Gakkhar, father of Mubârak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62, 63</td>
<td>Kamâlu'd-Dîn, son of Ādam, a scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62, 63</td>
<td>Kamâlu'llâh Ādam, son of Sulaimân, a builder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, 21</td>
<td>Kanjia, in Madhya Pradesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20, 21</td>
<td>Karanja, a pargana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 56</td>
<td>Kashmir, a territory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, 53, 54, 55</td>
<td>Khadak-Purna, a river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Khalf-Îl-Tahrîzî, a calligrapher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, 34</td>
<td>Khân-i-A'zam, title of 'Azîz Koka, Mughal official (a.v.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Khân-i-Daurân, Nâgrat Jang, titles of Khwâja Sahîr, known as Nagîr Khân (a.v.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 &amp; (f.n. 4)</td>
<td>18, 19, 20, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32, 33</td>
<td>Khân-i-Khâjan, title of 'Abdu'r-Rahîm Khân, Mughal general.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33, 39</td>
<td>Khân-i-Khâjan, title of Mahâbât Khân, Mughal general.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Khân-i-Khâjan, title of Mu'in Khân, Mughal nobleman (a.v.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Khân-i-Sarwar, wrongly taken as name of Sa'dar Khân.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (f.n. 1)</td>
<td>Khânsâh, father of Kamâl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Khân-i-Zamat, title of 'All Quli Khân (a.v.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71, 74</td>
<td>(f.n. 2), 71, 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Khân-i-Zamân, title of Mirzâ Amânu'llâh, Mughal commander.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Khânghâ, 50, 51, 52, 57, 58.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 12</td>
<td>Kharagpur, hills, in Bihar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Khargone, in Madhya Pradesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Khâta Kherî, fort, in Madhya Pradesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15, 25</td>
<td>Khiĉhî, Chauhan a clan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Khurajî, in Madhya Pradesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Khurramâbâd, near Sassârâm, in Bihar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 &amp; (f.n. 2)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>J</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49, 53</td>
<td>Jael, in Rajasthan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 &amp; (f.n. 2), 35</td>
<td>Jajēr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 67, 70</td>
<td>5, 7, 12, 16, 20, 21, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Jahânbâd, in Bihar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (f.n. 2)</td>
<td>1, 2, 4, 5 &amp; (f.n. 2), 6 &amp; (f.n. 2), 3, 4, 7 (f.n. 2), 3, 8 &amp; (f.n. 3), 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jahângîar, Mughal emperor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, 55</td>
<td>Dacca, renamed as Jaipur, in Rajasthan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, 55</td>
<td>Jâmsâd, in Uttar Pradesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 &amp; (f.n. 3)</td>
<td>Jalâlu'd-Dîn Muhammad Akbar Bādshâh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 60, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 73, 79, 82, 84, 85</td>
<td>ghâzi, title of Akbar (a.v.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Jâlaun, in Uttar Pradesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Jamshîd, legendary king of Persia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Jânti Bazg, Mirzâ, see Mirzâ Jânti Bazg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Jamuna, river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 68 &amp; (f.n. 1), 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76</td>
<td>Jaunpur, in Uttar Pradesh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Jesalmer, in Rajasthan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Jumun, Khwaja, see Khwaja Jumun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Jumna, in Maharashtra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khurraw Khan of Thatta, known as Khurraw Khan Chirgis, father of Lutfullah, Mughal nobleman</td>
<td>31, 32, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaj, Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din, see Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Ahmad Samarqandi, a builder</td>
<td>63, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Ahmad, son of Alahdiya Ansari, a supervisor and architect</td>
<td>37, 38, 39 &amp; (fn. 4), 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Barkhurdar Khan, son-in-law of Khwaja Rihan Mahabat Khan</td>
<td>16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Ibrahimg Badakhshi, see Nasiru'd-Din Ibrahim Khan Badakhshi</td>
<td>62, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Jumma, a supervisor</td>
<td>16, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Fazil, a supervisor</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Qasim, entitled Safdar Khan, Mughal official</td>
<td>16, 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Sabil, Sayyid, known as Nasir Khan, son of Khwaja Sabil</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Shamsu'd-Din, Mughal nobleman</td>
<td>41, 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khwaja Zafarullah Nasabbandi, Sayyid, father of Haji</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koh, capital of Badakhshan</td>
<td>8 (fn. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokradesh, present Chhota Nagpur in Bihar State</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kundli, a river</td>
<td>31, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahman Dias, Divers of Khan-i-Zamantan</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laid, Shaikh, see Shaikh Laid</td>
<td>46, 52 (fn. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore, in West Pakistan</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loharpar, in Rajasthan</td>
<td>49, 50, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutfullah, entitled Bahali Khan, son of Khurraw Khan of Thatta, Mughal official</td>
<td>31, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madar, Shah, see Shah Madar</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh, State</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madina, the holy city in Arabia</td>
<td>46, 52 (fn. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras, at Nagaur</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahabat Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Mughal general</td>
<td>35, 37, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahbub, a revenue division</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra, State</td>
<td>29, 45 (fn. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maheshwar, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud Shaikh, see, Shaikh Mahmud</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmud Khaliq, Malwa Sultan</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majhul, see Sayyid Majhul</td>
<td>11 &amp; (fn. 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik, Imam, the great theologian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malik 'Arif, Sultan Shat general</td>
<td>33, 34, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malha Khan, a Malwa nobleman</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malwa, a region</td>
<td>15 &amp; (fn. 4), 16, 18, 19, 25, 26, 28, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malwa, Sultan, see Sultan of Malwa</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjik, a dynasty</td>
<td>50, 77, 78 &amp; (fn. 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandasor, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maud, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>15, 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maner saints</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manjib</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mankus, Raja, see Raja Mankus</td>
<td>75, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manikwadi, region in Maharashtra</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwar, a region</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maq'ud, Shaikh, see Shaikh Maq'ud</td>
<td>75, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maq'm Khan Faranghuddal, governor of Jaunpur</td>
<td>75, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maq'm Khan Kabuli, Mughal official</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maq'm Nam, Mr. Muhammad, of Bhakkar, see Mr Muhammad Maq'm Nam</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulana Shu'aib, see Muhammad Shu'aib</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulvi Muhammad Shu'aib, see Muhammad Shu'aib</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecca, the holy city in Arabia</td>
<td>46, 52 (fn. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehdaw Khan, in Bihar</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehr, in Maharashtra</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir 'Ali Akbar, Mughal official</td>
<td>7 (fn. 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Bafi Hijari, Mughal official</td>
<td>18, 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mir Husain Khawft, foster brother of Aurangzeb</td>
<td>24, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr-i-Adi, a post</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Muhammad Maq'm Nam of Bhakkar</td>
<td>18, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Muhammad Muhas, see Muhammad</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Padam Dast, Mughal nobleman</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Tahm, a post</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Wajiz, alias of Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman (s.v.)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrak Husain al-Bakhht al, Khwft Mughal official</td>
<td>9, 10 &amp; (fn. 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrak, Ghazi, Mughal official</td>
<td>32 &amp; (fn. 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrak Hindal, brother of Humayun</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrak Ibrahim Husain, Mughal nobleman</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrak Jani Baig, Sind ruler</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrak Lakhkar, son of Sayyid Yusuf Khan</td>
<td>75, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrak Muhammad, son of Walt Shah, a builder</td>
<td>77, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrak Sultan Muhammad, Mughal official</td>
<td>61 &amp; (fn. 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miskin, a composer</td>
<td>75, 76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Miskin Qughin, Mughal official ..... 76
Miskin Tarkhan, Mughal official ..... 76
Miyam Buhud Khan Bahlil, see Buhud Khan Bahlil ..... 80
Miyam Imad Bahlil, see Imad Bahlil ..... 80
Miyam Mubarak, Mughal nobleman ..... 56, 57, 59
Mohsin Khan, Nawwab, see Mohsin Khan ..... 65
Monghyr, district in Bihar ..... 11, 12
Morshad-i-Khazna, i.e. royal contingent ..... 65
Moradabad, district in Uttar Pradesh ..... 61, 78 & (f.n. 3)
Mubarak, the Dia of Mahdi Qasim Khan ..... 56
Mubarak Khan, son of Kamal Khan Gakhar, Mughal official ..... 56
Mubarak, Miyan, see Miyan Mubarak ..... 1, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 20, 21, 27, 28, 29, 30 & (f.n. 1), 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 43, 55, 61, 65, 72
Muhaddis, a poet ..... 43, 44
Murdad, son of Muhammad Kabir, a builder ..... 42
Murad, Sultan, Mughal prince ..... 29, 31, 76
Murtada Khan, title of Shaikh Farid Bukhari (c.v.) ..... 3, 4
Musaa, Hadrat, see Hadrat Musaa
Muhammad Khan Turkman, Mughal official ..... 35, 36
Muntamad Khan, title of Muhammad Sahl Khwaifi ..... 28

N

Nahar Baig, name of Uzbek Khan (c.v.) ..... 37
Nagraur, in Rajasthan ..... 49 & (f.n. 2), 52 & (f.n. 5), 53 & (f.n. 3), 57, 58, 59
Nahvi, Shaikh Sa'du'llah, see Shaikh Sa'du'llah Nahvi
Nam, see Mir Muhammad Masum of Bhakkar
Nandurbar, in Maharashtra ..... 31 & (f.n. 2)
Nagbandi, a saintly order ..... 38, 40
Narbada, a river ..... 18, 24
Nasik, in Maharashtra ..... 43
Naghir 'Ali Sultan, Nawwab, a builder ..... 65, 66
Nagri Khan, Khwaifa Sibir (c.v.) known as 16 & (f.n. 4), 17
Nawwab Mohsin Khan, see Mohsin Khan
Nawwab Mubarak Khan, see Mubarak Khan
Nawwab Mubarak Khan Dhu l Qadar, see Mubarak Khan
Nawwab Munim, see Munim Khan
Nawwab Murtaq Khan, see Murtaq Khan
Nawwab Naga'ir 'Ali Sultan, see Naga'ir 'Ali Sultan
Nawwab Qutb Khan Hindali, see Qutb Khan Hindali
Nawwab Safdar Khan, see Safdar Khan, Nawwab
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nawwâb Sayyid Farid, see Sayyid Farid Bukhârî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawwâb Sayyid Sâdîr Khân, see Sâdîr Khân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawwâb Sâfâr Khân, see Sâfâr Khân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nâqîr, a composer</td>
<td>72 (f.n.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nickahêd, a supervisor</td>
<td>54, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nishâpur, in I rân</td>
<td>68, 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nîzâmî, a scribe and composer</td>
<td>26, 27, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīzâm Shâhî, a dynasty</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nîzâmûd-Dîn, title of Khwâjâ Ibrâhîm Khân Badakhshî</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nîzâmûd-Dîn Ahmad, Mughal official</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nîzâmûd-Dîn Ibrâhîm Khân Badakhshî, Mughal noblemen and father of Tâlib Badakhshî</td>
<td>67, 68, 69, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nûr Muhammad Gilânî, a supervisor</td>
<td>7, 8, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nûrûddîn Muhammad, title of Jahângr (s.v.)</td>
<td>2, 6, 13, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nûsrat Jang, Khân-i-Daurân, title of Naşîr Khân (s.v.)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oresâ</td>
<td>4, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osmanâbâd, in Maharashtra</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paîthan, in Aurângâbâd district</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purâgâ, an administrative division</td>
<td>13, 20, 21, 28, 43, 44, 61, 67, 70, 71, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parnâra, a dynasty</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parviz, Shâh, Mughal prince</td>
<td>11, 12 (f.n.1) 32, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patnâ, in Bihâr</td>
<td>1 &amp; (f.n.2) 2 (f.n.2) 5, 9, 12 &amp; (f.n.1) 13 (f.n.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia, a country</td>
<td>54, 68, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phât, Khwâjâ, see Khwâjâ Phât</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Hindal, see Hindâl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Parviz, see Parviz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Murâd, see Murâd Sulâtân</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qâdî Hamidu’d-Dîn, Nâgaurî, a saint</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qâdî Karam Husainî, of Tijârâ</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qe’odâr, a post</td>
<td>39, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qâsîm Khwâjâ, see Khwâjâ Qâsîm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qâtî Sâe’d Shâhî of Patnâ</td>
<td>13 (f.n.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qâlîb Khân, father of Gâzîn’U’d-Dîn Khân</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râghugâr, Chânâhî of</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râisen, in Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râja, of Kokradesh</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râjâ Mân Singh, Mughal nobleman</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râjasthân, a state</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râjputs, a race</td>
<td>49, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râjputânâ, a region</td>
<td>15, 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Râmâdân, Shâhî, see Shaikh Râmâdân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rânâ Sângî, of Chitor</td>
<td>15, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rêwâ, i.e. Old Bandhaw</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rîdîr, Sayyid Yûsuf Khân, see Sayyid Yûsuf Khân</td>
<td>38, 39, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ru’knu’d-Dîn Shâtîrî, Shâh, see Shâh, Ru’knu’d-Dîn</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’dât Khân, title of Muhammad Ja’far al-Husainî al-Mâzandarânî (s.v.)</td>
<td>73 (f.n.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâbir, Sayyid Khwâjâ, see Sayyid khwâjâ Sâbir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadr, a post</td>
<td>58, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadr Shâh, see Hüjji Sadr Shâh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’dul-lâh Khân, famous vazir</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâdîr Khân, Chaudhârî, see Chaudhârî Sâdîr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâdîr Khân, title of Mirzâ Lakhkâri, Mughal official</td>
<td>3, 6 (f.n.1), 7, 10, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâdîr Khân, Nawwâb, Sayyid</td>
<td>20, 21, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâfâshîkân Khân, title of Sâfâshî Khân</td>
<td>6 (f.n.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâhib, i.e. a consort</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâhib Qirân, title of Akbar, Mughal emperor</td>
<td>68, 69, 81, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâhib Qirân-i-Thânî, title of Shâh Jâhân</td>
<td>17, 19, 21, 26, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâhib Qirân-i-Thânî, title of Shâh Jâhân, Mughal emperor</td>
<td>36, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakit, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>66 &amp; (f.n.1) 67, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salâbat Khân, Mughal official</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salâh Khân, Mughal official</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâlâr, a servant of Miyân ‘Umâd Bahlâm</td>
<td>84, 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâlib, Shaikhî, see Shaikhî Sâlib</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâlib, Siddîqî, Muhammad, see Muhammad Sâlib Siddîqî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâlib Siddîqî</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâlîm Shâh, Sûr king</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambhal, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>61, 63, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samugâr, battle of</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanjhâuli, in Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>70, 71, 72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sarangpur, in Madhya Pradesh .......................... 15, 16
Sarang Singh Khelchi, a ruler .......................... 16
Sarkār, an administrative division 11, 12, 16, 20, 22, 24, 25, 61, 70, 71
Sarkār-i-Farrukhu sagar, see Farrukh sager .................
Sassārām, in Bihar ........................................... 5, 7 & (f. n. 2)
Saugar, in Madhya Pradesh ................................. 20
Sayyid Ahmad Bukhārī, father of Nawwāb Sayyid Farid .................. 3, 4, 5
Sayyid Akbar yār Khān, a builder .......................... 73 (f. n. 1)
Sayyid 'Alu'd-Dīn, dargah of ............................... 31
Sayyid 'Ali Akbar, see 'Ali Akbar .........................
Sayyid Bābā, a dārūgha .............................. 40
Sayyid Chāh Nāshir, house of ............................. 36
Sayyid Farid, Nawwāb, see Shaikh Farid Bukhārī ............... 34, 43, 44
Sayyid Hāiday, father of Sayyid Mājhe .................. 41, 42
Sayyid Hāmid Bukhārī, father of Sayyid Kamāl .............. 57
Sayyid Kamāl of Shirāz, the second ........................ 58
Sayyid Kamāl, Bukhārī, son for Sayyid Hāmid Bukhārī, Mughal official .............................. 57
Sayyid Khwaja Sāhīr, son for Khwaja-i-Khiyārī, known as Naṣīr Khān (s. v.) .......... 16
Sayyid Khwaja Zafaru'llah Naqshbandi, father of Häshim ........ 41, 42
Sayyid Mājhe, son of Sayyid Hāiday, Mughal official ........... 43, 44
Sayyid Muhammad, a builder ............................. 79, 80
Sayyid Muhammad Stānī, tomb of .......................... 1
Sayyid Sa'dar Khān, Nawwāb, see Sa'dar Khān ..............
Sayyid Yusuf Khān Rīdāwī, father of Mirzā Lā'ikārī, entitled Sa'dar Khān ..........................................
Shaftil, Imam, the great theologian .......................... 22
Shahābād, in Bihar ............................................ 5
Shāh 'Abdu'l Ghaffār, tomb of .............................. 80
Shāh 'Alu'd-Dīn Šaṭṭārī, a saint ............................. 10
Shāh Aurangzeb, the prince (s. v.) ......................... 23
Shāhbaz Khān, Mughal official ............................. 8
Shāh Budāgh Khān, see Hāj Budāgh Khān ...................
Shāh Fathu'llah Shāhraz, Mughal nobleman .................. 58
Shāhgnāth, in Maharashtra ................................. 29, 30, 36, 41
Shāhī mosque, in Gayā ....................................... 9
Shāh Jahān, Mughal emperor 2, 6 (f. n. 2), 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28 & (f. n. 1), 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 (f. n. 4), 56
Shāhjī, 'Adiil Shāhī and Nīgān Shāhī general .............. 39
Shāh Madār, a saint ......................................... 65, 66
Shāh Nawāz Khān, the author of Ma'āshīrūl-Umarā ............ 83
Shāh Parviz, see Parviz .....................................
Shāhpar, in Berar ............................................. 30 & (f. n. 2)
Shāhpūr, alias of Goondegār ................................ 43, 44, 46
Shāh Ruknu'd-Dīn Šaṭṭārī, a saint ......................... 10
Shāh Tājū'd-Dīn Šaṭṭārī, a saint ......................... 10
Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Rahman, known as Mr Wā'iz son of Sayyid Ahmad Bukhārī (s. v.) .......... 5
Shaikh Barnazīd, a saint ................................... 9, 10
Shaikh Bāyāzīd, a saint ..................................... 57, 68
Shaikh Budī, father of Shaikh Sa'du'llah ................... 51
Shaikh Buhūlī, scholar in science of Tradition ............... 84
Shaikh Dā'ūd Haṣīn, a scribe .............................. 16, 18
Shaikh Farid Bukhārī, entitled Nawwāb Muqtadā Khān, Mughal nobleman 1, 2, 3 & (f. n. 1), 4 & (f. n. 1), 5
Shaikh Lād, a supervisor ................................... 3, 4
Shaikh Māmūd, a builder ................................... 13, 14
Shaikh Mas'ūd, a builder ................................... 13
Shaikh Mubārak, of Alwar ................................... 56, 57
Shaikh Muhammad Ghāthī, famous saint of Gwalior ............ 31
Shaikh Muhammad Śālih Siddiqī, see Muhammad Śālih Siddiqī ..........................................
Shaikh Ramādān, a scribe or supervisor ................... 24, 25
Shaikh Sādho, mosque of ................................... 78 & (f. n. 3)
Shaikh Sa'du'llah Nāshir, khānqāh of, at Bayāna ............. 50, 51, 52
Shaikh Sa'du'llah, son of Shaikh Budī, a saint .............. 51
Shaikh Śālih, dargāh of, at Siroj ......................... 27
Shaikh Śālih see Muhammad Śālih Siddiqī ................... 52, 53, 58
Shaikh Sulasīmān, a saint and builder ...................... 52
Shaista Khān, Mughal nobleman ............................ 8
Shamī Building, construction of ........................... 77, 78
Shamsu'd-Dīn Ittutmīshī, see Itutmīshī .....................
Sharīf Khān, Amru'l-Umarā ................................ 18
Sharif Khān, a builder and governor of Mālūwa .............. 18, 19
Shaṭṭārī, order of saints ................................... 10
Shergānj, correct form of Siroj ............................. 25
Sherpur, in Uttar Pradesh .................................... 61, 62
Sher Shāh, founder of Sūr dynasty 15, 25, 66 (f. n. 1)
Shahabīd-Dīn, father of Iltīṣār Khān ....................... 65
Shahabud-Dīn Ahmad Khān, Mughal nobleman ............... 65, 71 & (f. n. 6)
Shāh bu'd-Dīn Muhammad Śālih Qīrānī: Thānī, titles of Shāh Jāhān 19, 23 (f. n. 2), 26
Shirāz, in Iran .................................................. 58
Shujā'ul Khān, Sūr official .................................. 15, 16
Shujā', Prince .................................................. 12
Siddīqī, Abū Bakr, see Abā Bakr .............................
Siddī 'Azīz, a supervisor .................................... 19, 20
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32, 80</td>
<td>Udghir, in Mahārāshtra 16 (f. n. 6), 37, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ujjain, in Madhya Pradesh 16, 18 (f. n. 7) 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>'Umar, the second Caliph 2, 12, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>'Uthmān, the third Caliph 2, 12, 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, 26, 46</td>
<td>Uttar Pradesh 46, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Uzbek Khan, title of Naqībar Baig, Mūšīn official (s. v.) 37, 38, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40, 41</td>
<td>Vāsīr, a post 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62, 63</td>
<td>Vīdīshā, in Madhya Pradesh 21, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Vindhyas, hill ranges 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Wafādār Khān, Mughal official and builder 29, 30, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Wall Shāh, father of Mirzā Muhammad 77, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Wān, a pargana 43, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Wāqī`ūna, a post 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f. n. 3) 18</td>
<td>Wafūn, a sīf 24, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Wazīr Khān, Mughal official 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>West Khandesh, in Maharashtra 29, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, 22, 24</td>
<td>West Nīmar, in Madhya Pradesh 29, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tāj Muḥammad Faqīh, Imám, Progenitor of Maneri saints 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Tājju'd-Dīn Shātārī, see Shāh Tājju'd-Dīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Tallib Badakhshī, same as Tallib Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>Tallib Baig, same as Tallib Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80, 81, 82</td>
<td>Tārān Muḥammad Khān, governor of Jānpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Tawdūgh Bāghī, a post 55, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tawāghī Bāghī, Hājī, see Hājī Tawāghī Bāghī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35, 36, 39</td>
<td>Thānādār a post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31, 33</td>
<td>Thatta, in Sind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49, 56, 57, 59</td>
<td>Tijārā, in Rājasthān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6, 21, 38, 76</td>
<td>Tuyūl, i.e., a sīf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>Tons, a river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Tughlus, a dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Turkman Khān, title of Muṣṭafā Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (f. n. 1)</td>
<td>Zubūr Ahmad, a builder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Zafar Khān, governor of Jafarabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 7 &amp;</td>
<td>Zafarnagar, original name of Jafarabad 33 &amp; (f. n. 2), 34, 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Zafarullāh Naqībarbandī, Sayyid, see Khvāja Zafarullāh Naqībarbandī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Zain Khān Koka, foster brother of Akbar and father of Zafar Khān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Zubūr Ahmad, a builder 72 (f. n. 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>