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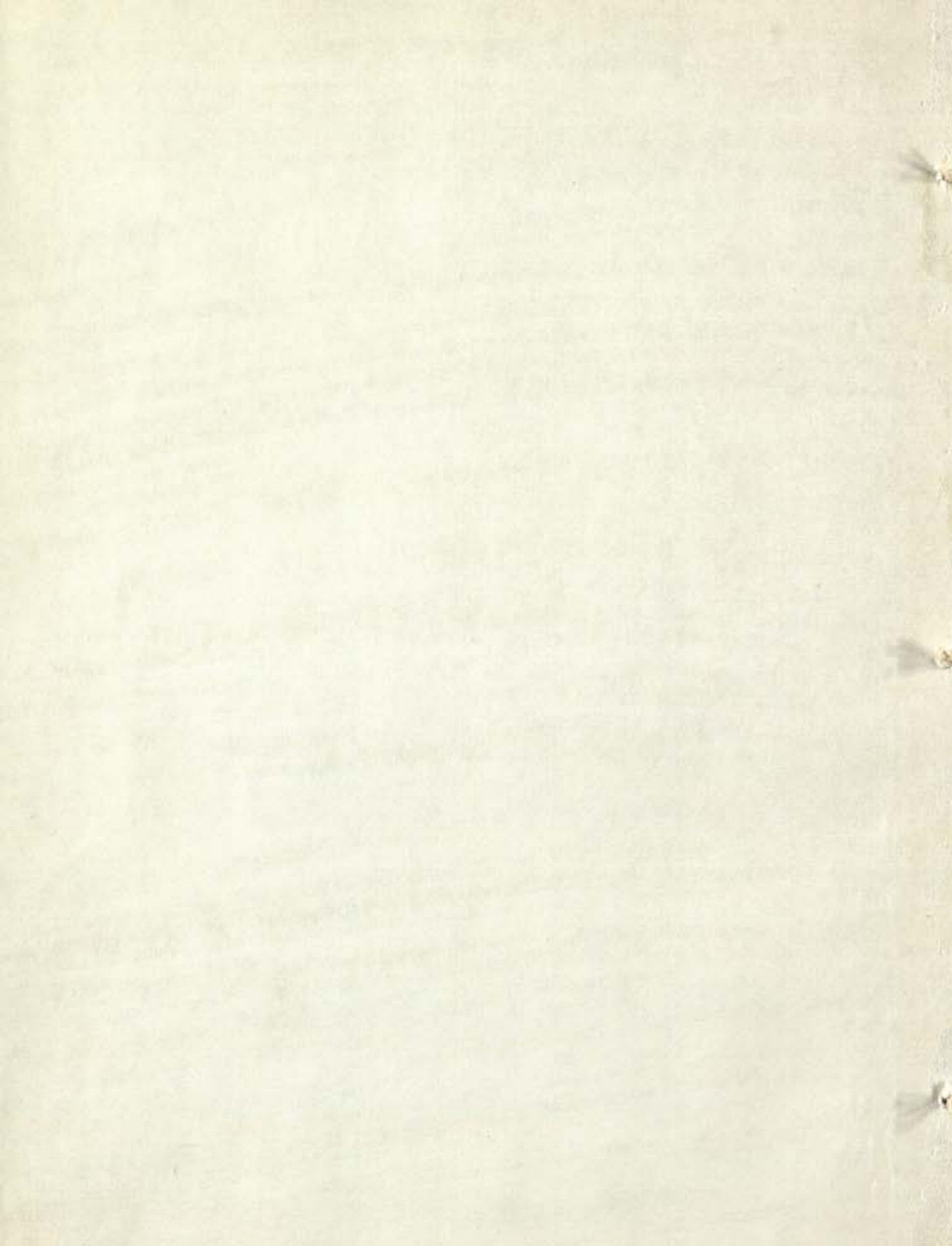
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PREFACE

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

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*)

1968

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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 Ghorid 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 this 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 Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1949-50, pp. 18-53. 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, 1962-63, 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, fn.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. 588 (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 'Uṭhmānī, a member of the Pīrẓāda 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 Mahārāja of Jodhpur, and that one of them, which he could not read, contained a name like Subuktigīn and a title like Nāṣir or so. 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 Nagaur including those of the Khānzādas. Anyway, we went to the Fort, and with the active co-operation of Shri Naurang Lāl Bhat, the Custodian of the Fort, Mr. Uṭhmānī 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khālji, his son Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak and Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh and at least half a dozen of the Khānzāda 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 Hansi 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 mosque 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. a'ḥ-Shihābī, which is preceded by only the last letter of his name. This letter could be read either as *l* or as *n*, but I am inclined to think that it is *n*. In that case, the name—or it could be a title only—might

¹ *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 4-8, 10-11.

² *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 19.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 335.

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-Dīn' or so. In case the said letter is taken to be *l*, the name could very well be Abu'l-Faḍl or so. As regards the *nisba* a'sh-Shihābī, it appears to me to fall in the category of similar cognomens like al-Qutbī, a'sh-Shamsī, al-Ghiyāthī, etc., used, as was the practice in vogue in Islamic countries, for the nobles and high officials respectively of Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak, Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish and Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn 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'sh-Shihābī, in relation to the regnal title Shihābu'd-Dīn of his master Muhammad bin Sām.

The slab in its present state measures 78 by 47 cm. The style of writing is *Nasḥ* 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 Muhammad bin Sām dated A. H. 596, are incised and not cut into relief.¹ However, all the other records of Muhammad 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.²

The surviving text of our record reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(۱) [ابوالمظفر] محمد بن سام ناصر امير المؤمنين

(۲) ن الشهابی فی شہورسنہ اربع و تسعين [و] خمسماية

TRANSLATION

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

(2) in a'sh-Shihābī, 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.*, 1925-26, pl. XI b; *ibid.*, 1911-12, pl. XXVII, nos. 1, 2.

² *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 6.

THE CHANDERI INSCRIPTION OF 'ALĀU'D-DĪN KHALJĪ

By DR. Z. A. DESAI

The inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, 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 Dayāl, a Brahmin resident of the town of Chanderi,³ which was once the provincial capital under the Sultāns of Malwa. Now considerably reduced in importance, except for its cotton *sāris*, it is denied even the status of a *tahsīl* 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 *Nasikh* 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 Khaljī monarch.

The text purports that a mosque was built in 1312, during the reign of the great king, the Alexander of the age, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh and during the time of the governorship of Amīru'l-Umarā Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Tamur Sultānī, the champion (*pahlvān*) of Irān, by Ismā'il, son of 'Abdu's-Salām, called Wajīh-i-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,

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, 1924-25, No. 10 of Appendix E.

² B. S. Saksena, 'Persian Inscriptions in the Gwalior State', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. I (1925), pp. 655-56.

³ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1962-63, No. D, 59 and p. 36.

⁴ For a brief note on the exact connotation of this term, see *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1967, p. 13.

⁵ For a note on the meaning of the term *khitta*, please see p. 10, *infra*.

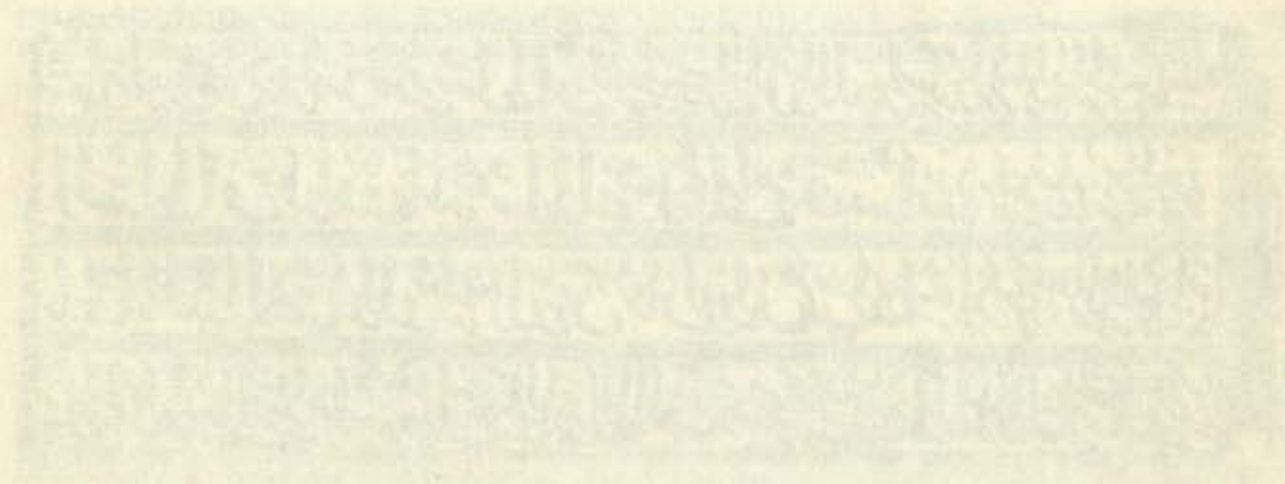
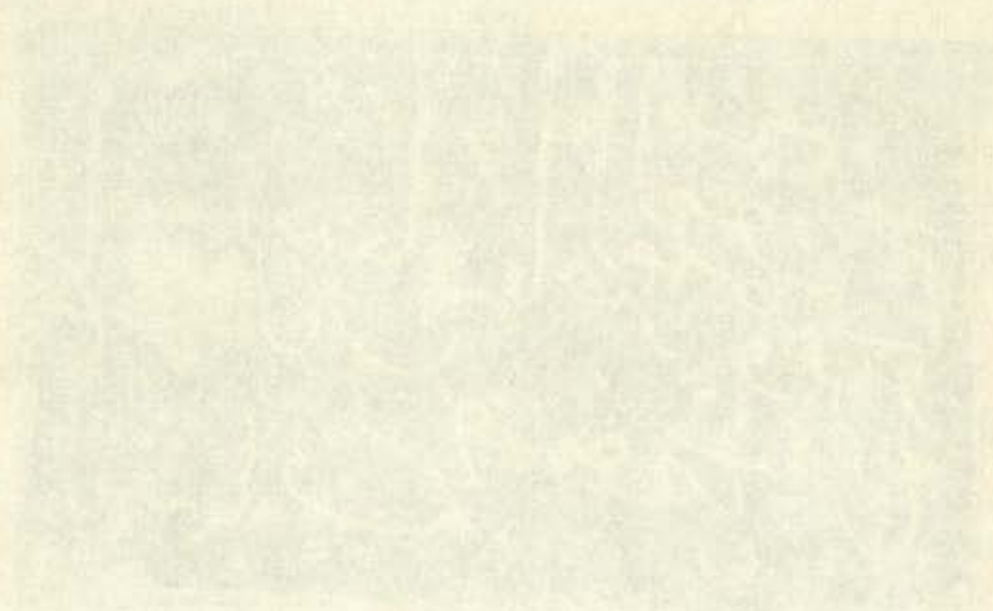


PLATE I

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 'ALĀU'D-DĪN KHALJĪ

and secondly, having read the place-name 'Kol' as a personal name 'Kok', 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)

- (۱) عبارت این مسجد در عهد مملکت سلطان المعظم علاء الدین اسکندر الزمان
ابو المظفر محمد شاه
- (۲) السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه واعلى امره و شانه و در وقت نیابت امیر الامرا
- (۳) ملجاء الکبرا اختیار الدولة و الدین پهلوان ایران تمر سلطانی ادام الله معاليه و
زید دوانه
- (۴) بنده امیدوار رحمت دار [۱] لسلام اسمعیل بن عبد السلام الملقب وجیه نجیب معمر
منسرب بخطه کول تمام کرد بیستم از ماه شعبان سنة احدى عشر و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this mosque (took place) in the reign of the kingdom of the magnificent Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn (lit. Glory of the State and Religion), Isẓandar (i.e. Alexander) of the Time, Abu'l-Muẓaffar 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, Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, the champion (*pahlvān*) of Irān, Tamur Sultānī, may Allāh perpetuate his glories and increase his fortune!

(4) The creature, hopeful of (attaining) the mercy in the House of Peace (namely), Ismā'il, son of 'Abdu's-Salām, called Wajīh-i-Najīb, the *muḥarrir* attached to the District (*khiṭṭa*) of Kol, completed it (on) the twentieth of the month of Sha'bān, year (A.H.) eleven and seven hundred (20 Sha'bān 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 'Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Pahlvān-i-Irān Tamur Sultānī'. 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 honorific 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'.¹ 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 *Ikhtiyārū'd-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'il*, son of 'Abdu's-Salām, as one 'who wrote this epigraph', though he correctly credits him with having 'caused the mosque completed'.² This mistake was again due to his wrong reading of the word *mansūb* in the phrase *muḥarrir-i-mansūb ba-khiṭṭa-i-Kol* in the third line, as *maktūb*; this phrase (as read by him) he had translated as 'writer of the script (caused it to be completed), in the country of Koka'.³ The fact is that *Ismā'il* was the *muḥarrir* (secretary)⁴ attached to the *khiṭṭa* (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'il*'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'.⁵

Thirdly, Mr. Saksena states that the 'inscription names no town but mentions the territory of Koka.....the Raja of Malwa'.⁶ 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 Khalji 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 Firishṭa only.⁷ 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 Amīr Khusrāw and later Yāhyā Sarhindī.⁸

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 Baranī lists him among the nobles of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī and his son Qutbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh and quotes both his name and title.⁹ He also mentions his having received the fief of Chanderi and Erichh from 'Alāu'd-Dīn'.¹⁰

¹ Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 654.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 655.

⁴ For two more inscriptions referring to the office of the *muḥarrir*, please see *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 5; 1967, p. 13.

⁵ Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 655.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 654.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 655.

⁸ Amīr Khusrāw, *Khazā'inu'l-Futūḥ* (Calcutta, 1953), pp. 55, 56; Yāhyā Sarhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta 1931), p. 78.

⁹ *Diwān-i-Dīn Baranī, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 241 (where the title is spelt as جبار الدين, an obvious misprint, which has not been corrected in the Hindi translation of the relevant portion in S.A.A. Rizvi, *Khalji-kāin Bāharat*, Aligarh, 1955, p. 41), 379.

¹⁰ Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

THE CHANDERI INSCRIPTION OF 'ALĀU'D-DIN KHALJĪ

According to Amīr Khusraw, another contemporary historian, Tamur continued to hold the fief in the time of Mubārak Shāh as well.¹ In the latter's reign, he participated in the Warangal and Ma'bar expedition under Khusraw Khān, during which he and other nobles reported Khusraw Khān's secret designs to usurp the throne to the king, who, on the contrary, being under the evil influence of Khusraw Khān, punished them. As a result Tamur was dismissed, and his fief, transferred to Khusraw Khān.² Incidentally, the fact that the fief of Chanderi was deemed worthy to be conferred on Khusraw Khān 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-Dīn Tughluq Shāh, if not earlier, for we find him assisting Prince Jūnā, later on Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, in his Telangana expedition. Here too, 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.³

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 Qutbu'd-Dīn 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 Mīr Khurd, the celebrated author of *Siyarū'l-Auliya*. Mīr 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, Ḥadrāt Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliya, migrated to other parts of the country.⁴ 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 'Ainu'l-Mulk soon after his conquest of Mandu in 1305,⁵ but no authority is quoted for this statement. No one among the contemporary historians, Khusraw, Barani, or 'Isāmī, refers specifically to the conquest of Chanderi itself. Even Yahyā Sarhindī, writing more than a century later, does not mention Chanderi's conquest either by 'Ainu'l-Mulk or any one else. Only Firishṭa refers to the capture of Chanderi, along with, and not after, that of Ujjain, Dhārānagarī (i.e. Dhar), and Mandu.⁶ 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 Amīr Khusraw, *Nuh-Sipahr* (Bombay, 1950), p. 100.

² Barani, *op. cit.*, pp. 400-01; Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty* (Calcutta, 1963), pp. 31-32; K. S. Lal, *History of the Khalijis* (Allahabad, 1950), pp. 340-41.

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 'Isāmī gives more details in his *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Madras, 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. 64-69.

⁴ Mīr Khurd, *Siyarū'l-Auliya* (Delhi, 1876), p. 286.

⁵ A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. II (Simla, 1871), p. 402, giving 1304; Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 655; Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Ibn Battūṭa, *The Rihla*, Eng. tr. Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain (Baroda, 1953), p. 166, fn. 3; Dr. R. C. Majumdar, ed. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), p. 29.

⁶ Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Kanpur, 1884), p. 151.

Barani's account of the distribution of fiefs: we are told that while Dhar and Ujjain were given to 'Ainu'l-Mulk, Chanderi and Erichh were conferred on Malik Tamur.¹ Also, from Ibn Battūta's statement, it can be reasonably inferred that the administrative unit of Chanderi was inclusive of the region around Gwalior too. Ibn Battūta, 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 Iltutmish's son Nāṣirū'd-Dīn Maḥmūd in 1251,³ the place seems to have defied Muslim authority. At least in the time of Jalālū'd-Dīn Firūz Khālji (1290-96), it was under Hindu sway, as is known from a categorical statement of 'Alāu'd-Dīn 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn. We can safely dismiss Ibn Battūta's statement that it was conquered by Khusrāw Khān;⁵ he was probably misinformed or rather misled by the fact that Qutbū'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh had bestowed Chanderi on Khusrāw Khān 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn. According to him, a governor (*wāli*), who was a disciple of the patron-saint of Delhi, Ḥaḍrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn, 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, Maulānā Wajihu'd-Dīn Yūsuf 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 Maulānā Yūsuf 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 Tamar,⁸ Tamūr, Tamur or Timur,⁹ and Timūr.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 'Tamar' or 'Timur' in Arabic, the former meaning a 'ripe date', and the latter, the eye-disease—'a pearl in the eye' or 'obscurity and darkness'.¹¹ But in Turkish, the same word is pronounced

¹ Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

² Ibn Battūta, *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 167.

³ Minhāj-i-Sirāj, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Lahore, 1952), p. 122.

⁴ Barani, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁵ Ibn Battūta, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

⁶ Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-37.

Ibid., p. 286.

⁷ Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Lal, *op. cit.*, pp. 230, 341; Rizvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 133, 136, 225; Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, 65-66 (but 'Timūr' on pp. 67-68 and 'Tamar (Timūr)' on p. 67, f.n.3). In Dr. Mahdi Husain's English translation of Ibn Battūta's *Rihla* (p. 50), the name is spelt as Tamār.

⁸ Ibn Battūta, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁹ 'Iṣmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 392, 393, 394, 398.

¹⁰ Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

¹¹ Muḥammad Bādshāh, *Farhang-i-Anandray*, vol. I (Lucknow, 1889), p. 731.

Timur which is stated to be the actual phonetic expression of the word written with long vowels i.e. *Timūr* and which means 'steel'.¹ On the other hand, according to 'Abdu'l-Hayy Ḥabībī, an Afghan scholar, who has recently published *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Minhāj-i-Sirāj from Kabul, 'the word spelt as Tamur, has been stated by Kāshgharī to mean steel, and the same spelling is given in the *Ṭabaqāt* in the names Tamurchī, Tamur Khān Qirān and Tamur Khān Sangar. However, the spelling of this name in the later times became *Timūr*, at times written as *Tamūr*. In Turkish, the term 'Damor' meaning iron or steel is nothing but a form of this 'Tamur'.² There is therefore little doubt that the correct pronunciation of the name is Tamur or Timur only. That the second syllable is *mur* is also corroborated by 'Iṣāmī who uses it as a rhyme of *pur*,³ which shows that the pronunciation, as he knew or heard it, was Tamur or Timur. Incidentally, the editor of the Madras edition of 'Iṣāmī's *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* has throughout transcribed the name as Timur.⁴

It may also be mentioned here that Tamur is mentioned as the *muqṭi* of Chanderi by Baranī,⁵ as *āmīl*, by Ḥājī Dabīr⁶ and as *wālī*, by Mir Khurd.⁷ This would mean that the terms *muqṭi*, *āmīl* and *wālī* were considered more or less synonymous.⁸

About Ismā'il, 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 Saksona. He was the *muḥarrir* attached to the district (*khitta*) of Kol or modern Aligarh, and was also commonly called (*almulaqqab*, lit. entitled, i.e. with nick-name) *Wajīh-i-Najīb*. This last phrase, I feel, represents the second or popular names of both the son and father: in other words, 'Ismā'il was commonly called *Wajīh* 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'.⁹ 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn's army.¹⁰ 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 Battūta and Firishṭa—do not mention the fort of Chanderi but only the city and since the present city is fortified, 'Alāu'd-Dīn 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 old Chanderi that was conquered by 'Alāu'd-Dīn. 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 Muḥammad Bādghāh, *op. cit.*, p. 779.

² 'Abdu'l-Hayy Ḥabībī, ed. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by Minhāj-i-Sirāj, vol. II (Kabul, 1343 Hijri Shamsi), pp. 430-31.

³ 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.* (Agra, 1938), p. 389 (verse 7389); *ibid.* (Madras, 1948), p. 398.

⁴ *Ibid.* (Madras), pp. 392, 393, 394, 398.

⁵ Baranī, *op. cit.*

⁶ Ḥājī Dabīr, *Zafaru'l-Walīh bi-Muḥṣifār wa-Ālih*, part II (London, 1921), p. 845.

⁷ Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁸ For the views of Dr. Mahdi Husain on the functions of these posts, see Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, p. 31, l.r.3.

⁹ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report (ARSI)*, 1924-25, p. 168.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 402-03; *ARSI*, 1924-25, p. 168; Saksona, *op. cit.*; Mahdi Husain in Ibn Battūta; *op. cit.*, p. 166.

Before we conclude, a note on the term *khitta* may not be out of place here. 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',¹ 'a boundary or foundation-line of a house',² or a land around which a boundary-line is drawn for the construction of a building to prevent encroachment, a piece of land,³ or 'the name by which a big (capital) city is generally known or is called in Arabia'.⁴ 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'.

¹ Francis Johnson, *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic and English* (London, 1852), p. 528.

² F. Steingass, *Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London, 1957), p. 467.

³ Muhammad Bādghāsh, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Lucknow, 1889), p. 1029; Ghiyāth'u'd-Dīn, *Ghiyāth'u'l-Luġat* (Lucknow, 1895), p. 160.

⁴ *Ibid.* The printed text of Muhammad Bādghāsh's work has عرف i.e. in popular parlance, while that of Ghiyāth'u'd-Dīn's has عرب i.e. in Arabia. The latter may be a misprint.

SOME UNPUBLISHED PRE-MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

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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,¹ of two articles by Dr. Z.A. Desai and Mr. A. A. Kadiri, 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 Sultāns is a very welcome attempt in this direction. In this paper, it is proposed to present three more unpublished pre-Mughal records, one of Firūz Tughluq and two of the Bengal Sultāns.

I. INSCRIPTION OF FIRŪZ TUGHLUQ FROM BIHAR SHARIF

This partly damaged inscription, belonging to the reign of Firūz Tughluq (1351-88), was discovered by me in the compound of the Dargāh of the sixteenth-century saint Shāh Qumais in Bihar Sharif, district Patna.² 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 Islām Shāh, which once adorned the 'entrance gateway' of the small mosque situated in the same compound (now completely ruined),³ 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 Khānzāda Malik Sirāju'd-Dīn (son of) Sulaimān in the reign of Firūz 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 *Nasikh* of the conventional type, which is the high water-mark of the Tughluq inscriptions of Bihar Sharif.

¹ *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, pp. 25-44.

² There is another fragmentary inscription of the same monarch in the Dargāh. It is fixed in the northern wall of the *hujra* of the *Sajjāda-nashīn* and was published in *ibid.*, p. 27.

³ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1923-24, p. 28.

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate II(a)

- (۱) [قال] الله [تعالى] لما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله و اليوم الاخر عمارت کرد این
 م[سجد (؟)] مبارك
- (۲) [در عهد (؟)] بادشاه الزمان الوائق بتايد الرحمن ابوالمظفر فيروز شاه السلطان
 خ[لد].....
- (۳) بنده خانزاده مكرم ملك مساج الدين سليمان في الثاني من شوال[ل].....

TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh, the Exalted says, "Only he shall visit the mosques of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. Day of Judgement)".¹ This auspicious mosque
- (2) (in the reign of) the king of the Time, confident of the support of the Beneficent (Lord), (viz.) Abu'l-Muẓaffar Firūz Shāha's-Sulṭān, (may Allāh) perpetuate.....
- (3)by the slave of the honourable Khānzāda Malik Sirāju'd-Dīn (son of) Sulaimān, on the second of Shawwāl.....

The epigraph is quite important as it provides the name of an important Tughluq official, Khānzāda Malik Sirāju'd-Dīn, the master of the builder. In this connexion, the attention of the readers is recalled to an article by Dr. Dēśai on the Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from the Indian Museum, Calcutta,² two of which were from Bihar Sharif, the find-spot of the inscription under study. While discussing the inscription of Malik Ibrāhīm's mausoleum,³ Dr. Dēśai has thrown much new light on the career of Malik Ibrāhīm, and also suggested the identity of the two succeeding governors of Bihar, Malik Dā'ūd and Khānzāda Sulaimān, 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 Ibrāhīm. Khānzāda Malik Sirāju'd-Dīn mentioned in it is very likely the son of Khānzāda Sulaimān mentioned in the Calcutta Museum inscription from Bihar Sharif.⁴ The prefixes, Khānzāda and Malik, make the identification almost certain. But I would not venture to suggest, also, that Sirāju'd-Dīn succeeded Sulaimān 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 Ibrāhīm. 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 Khānzāda Sulaimān. Without claiming his succession to the governorship of Bihar after Sulaimān, it may

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter IX, part of verse 18.

² *ELAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 1-32.

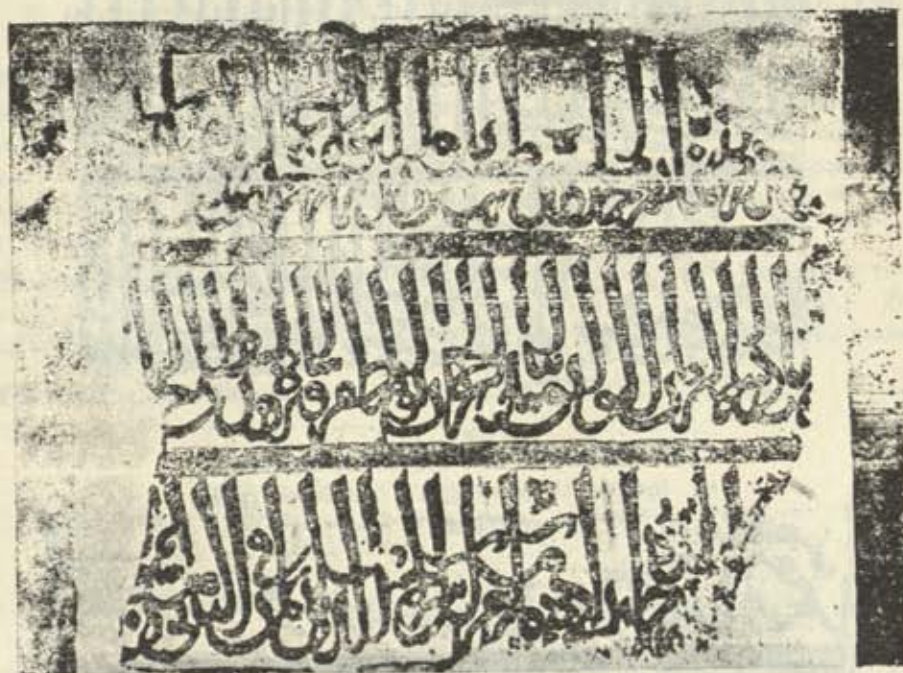
³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

PRE-MUGHAL RECORDS FROM BIHAR

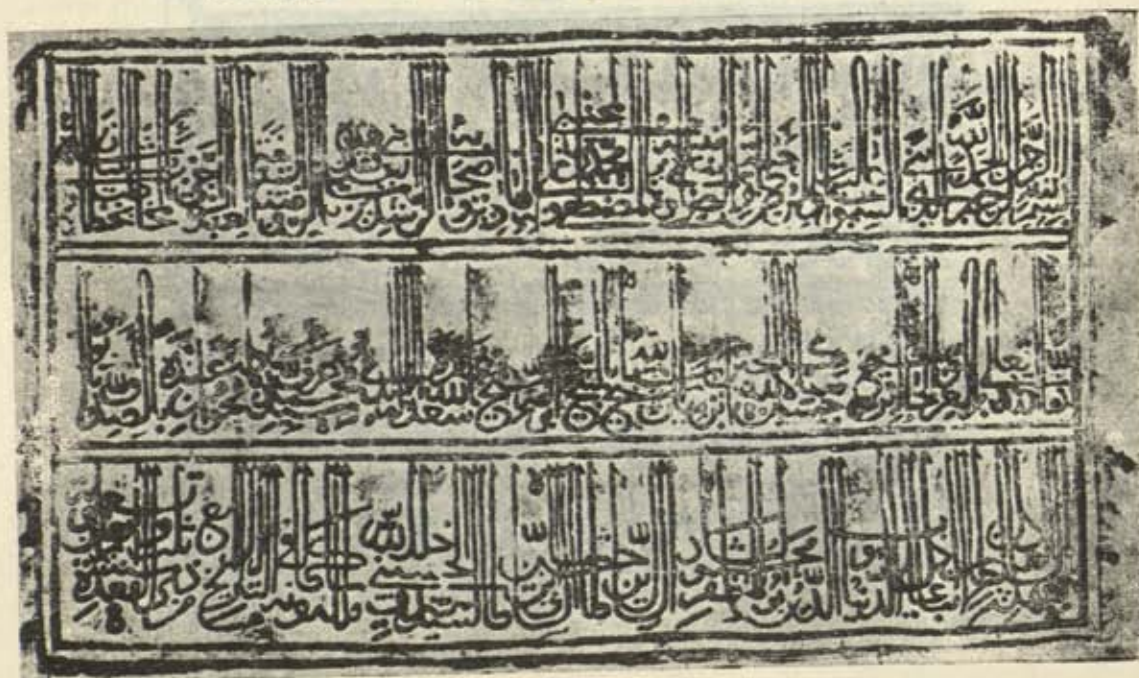
(PLATES II-IIIa)

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



SCALE : .25

(b) Epigraph of Mehmūd Shāh of Bengal, dated A.H. 943, Purnea (p. 14)



SCALE : .29

PLATE III

(a) Epigraph of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, A.H. 917, Bhagalpur (p. 13)



SCALE : 15

A SULTANATE RECORD FROM GUJARAT

(b) Epigraph of Ahmad Shāh I, from Baroda (p. 18)



SCALE : 22

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 'ALĀU'D-DĪN ḤUSAIN SHĀH FROM BHAGALPUR

This inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh in A.H. 917 (1511-12 A.D.). The style of writing is *Naskh* 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)

(١) بنى هذا الباب المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم و المكرم علاؤالدنيا و الدين.
(٢) ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانہ في سنة سبع و عشر و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

(1) This gateway of the Jāmi' mosque was built by the magnificent and illustrious Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

(2) Abu'l-Muzaffar Ḥusain Shāh a's-Sultān, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī, 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh,⁴ 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 'Alāu'd-Dīn, dated six years earlier.⁵ It may be recalled that there is another

¹ I personally think that it may not be correct to read *idīfat-i-ibnī* between Sirāju'd-Dīn and Sulaimān. I had suggested to Dr. Ahmad that Sirāju'd-Dīn could be a title of Khānzāda Sulaimān. It will be remembered that the full name (with title) of Khānzāda Sulaimān's father, in the proposed identification by me, is 'Alāu'd-Dīn Dā'ūd Khān. I even now think that Sirāju'd-Dīn Sulaimān was his full name.—Editor.

² *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1962-63, No. D, 19.

³ Cf. *EIM*, 1933-34, pl. II a; *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pls. V b and c; *ibid.*, 1961, pl. XI V a, b, c: etc.

⁴ Shamsu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. IV (Rajshahi, 1960), pp. 149-206.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

inscription of this Sultān in Bhagalpur town itself, dated ten years earlier, which refers to the construction of a mosque by *Sar-i-Laḥkar* Majlis Maḥmūd bin Yūsuf.¹ The political control of 'Alāu'd-Dīn 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 GHIYĀTHU'D-DĪN MAḤMŪD SHĀH 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 inscriptional tablet, measuring 57 by 34 cm., is kept in the compound of a mosque adjacent to the house of Mir Nayyar 'Alī of Maḥalla Keonlāpūr 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 *Jalī* or thick variety of this script so characteristic of the epigraphs of the Sultāns of Bengal, is *Khafī* or 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. Desai, to all of whom I am very much indebted.

The epigraph records the construction of a tomb over the grave of Sayyid Muḥammad commonly known as Bābū, by one who is known by the title Balyān Shāh, son of Shaikh Husain, son of Miyān Shaikh, (namely) Abu'l-'Azz Shaikh Sa'du'llāh, in the time of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Husain Shāh, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Husainī. It is dated the 4th Dhi'l-Qa'da 943 (14th April 1537).

The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي بَنَى السَّمَوَاتِ عَالِيَةً وَ الْأَرْضَ طَاحِيَةً وَ
الصلوة على نبيه المصطفى محمد بن عبد الله المجتبي و على آله الهادين و اصحابه الراشدين أما بعد فقد بنى
هذه الروضة الشريفة العبد الراجي المخاطب بخطاب بليان شاه

¹ *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 45-48.

³ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 2.

(۲) نَقَّاهُ اللهُ تَعَالَى بِالْعَزْ وَ الْعِزَّاهُ ابْنُ شَيْخِ حُسَيْنٍ صَفَا اللهُ كَمَاءَ اللَّجِينِ ابْنِ مِيَّانِ شَيْخِ
سَفَاهُ اللهُ بِالنَّبِيحِ (؟) أَبُو الْعِزِّ شَيْخِ سَعْدِ اللهِ غَفَرَهُ اللهُ لِسَيِّدِي سَيِّدِ مُحَمَّدٍ عَرَفَ بِأَبُو نَجْوَى مِنْ عِنْدِهِ
بِالصِّدْقِ وَ ثَوَابًا

(۳) بَعْدَ السُّلْطَانِ الْعَادِلِ الْبَازِلِ غِيَاثِ الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ ابْنِ
حُسَيْنِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ ابْنِ السَّيِّدِ شَرْفِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ خَلَّدَ اللهُ مُلْكَهُ وَ سُلْطَانَهُ فِي التَّارِيخِ الرَّابِعِ مِنْ
ذِي الْقَعْدَةِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثٍ وَ إِدْبَعِينَ وَ تَسْمِيَةِ

TRANSLATION

(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 Balyān Shāh,

(2) may Allāh distinguish him with honour and rank, son of Shāikh Ḥusain, may Allāh brighten him like water of silver, son of Miyyān Shāikh, may Allāh saturate him with....(?) namely, Abu'l-'Azz Shāikh Sa'du'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 Sultān Ghiyāthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaḥḥar Maḥmūd Shāh, a's-Sultān, son of Ḥusain Shāh a's-Sultān, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Ḥusainī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty; on the 4th Dhī'l-Qa'da, year (A.H.) three and forty and nine hundred (4 Dhī'l-Qa'da 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 Sultān 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'da 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'da 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.

² J. N. Sarkar, ed. *History of Bengal*, vol. II (Dacca, 1948), pp. 159-65; K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shāh and his Times* (1965) pp. 136-62.

³ Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

Sher Shāh 'completed his annexation of Bihar territory upto Bhagalpur'.¹ But the further eastern region of Purnea continued under the control of Mahmūd Shāh. Further, it shows that even after the first invasion of Gaur by Sher Shāh (middle of 1536) and the treaty with Mahmūd Shāh, according to which 'territory from Kiul to Sakrigali, some 150 kilometres in length and 50 kilometres wide',² was ceded to Sher 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 Tadhkiras to the saint Sayyid Muḥammad or to the builder of the mausoleum, Shāikh Sa'du'llāh and his ancestors. The name Balyān Shāh by which the latter was generally known is worth notice.

¹ Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

² Qarringo, *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 epitaph. 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 Gujarat (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 Gujarat 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 *Naskh* 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.

¹ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 91-93.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State*, for the year ending July 1938 (Baroda, 1939), pp. 14, 31.

³ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 92.

⁴ *Cl. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1939-40, pp. 2-3, pl. II, and Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1942), pp. 28-29 and 30-31, pls. IV a and IV b.

The six-line text commences with *Bismi'llāh*, 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)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) در عهد دولت خداوند عالم بادشاه بنی آدم مالک

(۳) وقاب الامم مولی ملوک العرب و العجم فرمانده روی زمین ظل الله

(۴) فی العالمین الوافی بتائید الرحمن ناصر الدنیا و الدین ابو المجاهد احمد شاه

(۵) بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه بناکرده بنده امیدوار برحمت

پروردگار بیکتارس

(۶) بن آدم بن سلیمان المعروف به اعظم خان کنبد مسجد چاه هر کے باین رسد بدعاء

ایمان یاد کند فی التاریخ نصرة اللهی^۱

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 Abu'l-Mujāhid Aḥmad Shāh,

(5) son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar Shāh the Sultān, 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: *Nugratu'Uāhī* (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 Sultān, as will be discussed hereinafter, or earlier than the 14th Ramaḍān 813 (10th January 1411), the date of the Sultān'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 Gujarat, 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 Gujarat have not taken cognisance of the fact that the names Bhikan and Ādam recorded in the Persian chronicles, printed or otherwise, as of two persons, are in fact of one individual, Bektars (son of) Ādam, 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 Ādam and grandson of Sulaimān and that he was entitled A'zam Khān. Now none of the three main published works on the history of the period, viz. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Sikandar's *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* and Firishṭa's *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, commonly known as *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, which were written within few years of one another, is found to contain any reference to Bektars, though all of them contain the names Ādam 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 Bhankar.³ Not only that, but the confusion was made worse by the interpolation of the conjunctive *wāw* between the name of the father and the son in Sikandar's work.⁴ It is worth pointing out that not only do the *Tabaqāt* and the *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* not have the conjunction, but the unpublished *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd 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 Aḥmad Shāh by his uncles, aided by a few of the veteran noblemen. In one of the battles, they defeated, according to Sikandar, 'Bhikan and Ādam Afghān who were sincere (i.e. loyal) to the king',⁵ and according to Firishṭa, 'Ādam Bhankar who was sent by the king'.⁶ While Professor M. S. Commissariat 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 Aḥmad Shāh's reign, particularly of the foundation of Ahmadabad, construction of the Jāmi' mosque, etc. (Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* (Baroda, 1961), pp. 31, 34, 37).

² Sir E. C. Bayley, *Gujarat* (London, 1886), p. 88 and f.n.

³ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 40; Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1935), pp. 97, 100. In Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, 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 *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī* (MS) seems to have Bikan.

⁴ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁷ M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, vol. I (Bombay, 1939), p. 79.

Misra who had, in addition, access to the manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*, merely follows Sikandar and Firishṭa and mentions 'two loyal Afghan chiefs Bikan and Ādam.'¹ It may be noted in this connexion that the much earlier *Tārīkh-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.² 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 *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī* while describing this event name him as 'Malik Bhikan (Bikan in *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*) Ādam Sulaimān'; in Firishṭa, 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 would be inscribed respectively in Arabic script thus: بهيكن, بيكن, بهنكر and بيكنرس. Now written in a running or cursive hand, بيكنرس—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 Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Ādam, son of Sulaimān, was the *muqṭi* (fief-holder) of Barodara (i.e. Baroda) in A. H. 807 (1405 A.D.).³ As regards Bektars, it has been already stated above that according to Sikandar and Firishṭa, he was on the king's side at the time of the first revolt of the latter's uncles. But the authors of the *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī* and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* do not subscribe to this fact. It appears from the *Tabaqāt* that Bektars was already *muqṭi* of Baroda during the time of Muzaḥḥar 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.⁴ This account of the *Tabaqāt* appears to be nearer to the truth.⁵ 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.

¹ Dr. S. C. Misra, *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat, 1298-1442* (Bombay, 1963), p. 168.

² Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

³ *EIM*, 1939-40, pp. 2-3.

⁴ So in Niṣāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 97. The Navalkishore edition of this work gives 'Shekh' which is still more corrupt. From the context it appears that the place was at a few march's distance to the north-north-west of Broach. It is very likely that the town intended is Dehej, since its Persian spelling دهيج is the nearest to answer the spelling وئج 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 Bhavnagari*, 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. Com-missariat, 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.¹ It was originally built up, when first noticed in the *Corpus*, into the left-side wall of the *chopāṭa* or a small square-room attached to the Gādi Gate of the same building. It is inscribed with eight lines of writing of which the first comprises *Bismi'ullāh* 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'īnu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Malikshah, son of Badr, the *muqti* of the region (*shiq*) of Sorath, for the prosperity of the *qasba* (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 kingdom 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 Rajasthan, by the agents of the fief-holder, who was asked by the emperor to discontinue it as well as some more similar imposts on the representation of the public.²

¹ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1954-55, No. D, 138.

² *Ibid.*, 1965-66, No. D, 230. 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 *Diwān* (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)

(۱) یا الله بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله معین الضعفاء

(۲) در سال شهور سنة خمس^۳ و ثمانماية^۴ بندگی ملک الامرا

(۳) معین الدولة و الدین ملک ملکشه بدر

(۴) یدیم الله معالیه مفتح^۵ شقی^۶ سورت^۷ برای آبادانی

(۵) قصبه منگلور و فراغ خاطر خلق هر وجهی کے بوقت

(۶) تزویج هندوان^۸ در دیوان^۹ کوتوال قصبه مذکور می

(۷) ستند^{۱۰} دور کرده و گذاشته بعد ازین نستانند و^{۱۱} هم همچنین

(۸) بر خلق [مذکور معاف] دارند تانجات دینی و دنیاوی باشد

¹ Cf. *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1953 and 1954 pl. XVII a ; *ibid.*, 1962, pls. VIII a, IX, X a and b; etc.

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (Bhavnagar, 1889), p. 19.

³ *Ibid.* omits.

⁴ *Ibid.* has ملک العالی.

⁵ *Ibid.* has یتیم.

⁶ *Ibid.* omits.

⁷ *Ibid.* has سورتیه.

⁸ *Ibid.* has آهیران.

⁹ *Ibid.* has ستاند.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* has غبره.

AN EARLY FIFTEENTH CENTURY RECORD FROM GUJARAT

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



SCALE : 2

A SHARQI INSCRIPTION FROM BIHAR

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



SCALE : 26

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TRANSLATION

- (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 Malikū'l-Umarā
- (3) Mu'īnu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Malikshah, (son of) Badr,
- (4) may Allāh perpetuate his glories, *muqti*¹ of the district (*shiq*) of Sorat (i.e. Sorath), for the prosperity of the
- (5) town (*qasba*) of Mangalor and the peace of mind of (its) inhabitants, any amount that, at the time of
- (6) the marriage of the Hindus, in the office (*Dīwān*) of the Kotwāl of the said *qasba*
- (7) 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 *muqti*¹ of the *shiq* of Sorath, 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.² 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 Aḥmad Shāh I in A.H. 813.³ 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 *muqti*¹ 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 Sorath as the *muqti*¹.⁴ This epigraph also, as in the case of other epigraphs from Mangrol, indicates that Mangrol was the headquarters of the Sorath *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 Gujarat 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,⁴ the absence of any reference to the governor is somewhat intriguing. Attention is also invited to the fact that the name of the *muqti*¹ 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 Malikū'l-

¹ Until a few years back, Junagadh district was officially called Sorath district.

² Sikandar, *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* (Baroda, 1961), p. 30. In the Name index of *ibid.*, p. 194 (of introduction), the name is incorrectly quoted as Shāh Badar Khatri, Malik.

³ *ELAPS*, 1962, pp. 37-38.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

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 Tātār 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 *muqti* of Sorath to adopt this attitude. As has been seen above, he was already on the side of Maudūd who had rebelled against Aḥmad Shāh I at the time of the latter's accession after the death of Zafar Khān who had assumed kingship under the title Muzaffar Shāh on the death of Tātār Khān in A.H. 806. There is another explanation for the titles used for Malik-i-Umarā Malik Malikshah, 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 unrelenting 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 Dargāh of Hadrat Shāh Faḍlū'llāh Gosā'in at Bihar Sharif in Patna district, a tablet bearing an inscription of the last Sharqī king, Husain Shāh, which had since disappeared. In one of his learned papers, he had also published its reading,¹ 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.² 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

¹ S. H. Askari, 'Bihar in the time of the two Lodi Sultāns of Delhi', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, vol. XLI, Part 3 (1955), p. 3, fn. 1.

² *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1962-63, No. D, 24.

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 intact. 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 Husain *Shāh Sharqī* of Jaunpur, and seems to record the construction of a tomb. It also seems to mention one nobleman *Malik-i-Sharq Malik Bhikh*, with the title '*Alāu'd-Daulat wa'd-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, *Muharram* (*Muharram* 892-28 December 1486-26 January 1487).

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

TEXT

Plate IV (b)

سلطان حسین خسرو شاه صباح و شام (۱)
ان گنبد..... گنبد گردون سبزوام	زوسر فراز گشت..... در زمین
..... (۲)	صفدار صفشکن ملک شرق بهیکه انک
دوکار زاد..... سر تیغ رنگ ظلام (۳)	گردید علاء دولت دین..... کس که بد (۴)
سن هجری (۴) هشت صد نود دو کسے شد (۴) تمام	از ماه سال اول وز سال ماه بود

TRANSLATION

(1).....
..... Sultān Husain, 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-i-Daulat (wa'd-) Dīn*' (lit. glory of the State and Religion)..... in
the battlefield, by the point of his sword colour of darkness.

From the month of the year, it was first (i.e. Muḥarram) and from the year of the era (?), 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 Kannaṁj 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 Lodi control. In that year Bahlul Lodi 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 Lodi 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 'sh-Sharq Malik Bhikh, 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 *IRIE*, 1963-64, 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 Ibrāhīm (dated A.H. 807 and 835) and Maḥmūd (both dated A. H. 859), and have been published in *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persia: Supplement*, 1962, pp. 42, 43, 50, 52.

³ A. B. Pandey, *The First Afghan Empire in India* (Calcutta, 1956), pp. 85-86.

⁴ For details of the Sharqī-Lodi struggle, see Askari, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4; Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-86, 121-29; Dr. Abdul-Halim, *History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra* (Dacca, 1961), pp. 21-30, 37-45, 63-74.

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 Humāyūn, 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.¹ Subsequently, it was briefly described by Dr. A. Führer in his list, but his notice too was unsatisfactory.² Likewise, more or less the same information was repeated in the district gazetteer of the United Provinces.³

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 Rāḍiyya, I was thrilled to find that the text mentioned a lady, who could be none other than emperor Bābur'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 Humāyūn have come to light. But what makes this epigraph extremely interesting, is the fact that it refers itself to the governorship ('*amal*') of a lady, who is none other than Humāyūn'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, Rāḍiyya.⁴

The epigraphical tablet measures 118 by 32 cm. and is fixed on the central *mihrāb* of the 'Idgāh at Bulandshahr, a district headquarters in the state of Uttar Pradesh.⁵ 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 Muḥammad bin Sām or his two immediate successors.⁶

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 *Bismillāh* 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 government ('*amal*') of Begam Dildār *Aghāchā*. The mosque is stated to have been built by Nikpay Khān,⁷ son of Malik Jānlar (?). From this purport,

¹ Edwin T. Atkinson, *Statistical, descriptive and historical account of the North-western Provinces of India*, vol. III. (Allahabad, 1875), p. 130.

² A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), p. 5.

³ H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vol. V, Bulandshahr (Lucknow, 1922), p. 207.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1966, pp. 1-3.

Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1962-63, No. D, 263.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1965-66, Nos. 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 Khān at the time of listing it in *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 263.

which can be checked up with the illustration of the record, it should be clear that the name of the governor was not Bānū Begam,¹ nor was the builder's name Nek Bakht Khān.² According to Nevill, the mosque referred to has nothing to do with the 'Idgāh,³ 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 *Naskh*, 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)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ اللّٰهِ
(۲) در عهد دولت حضرت محمد همایون بادشاه غازی و در ایام عمل عفت مآب بیگم
دادار اغاچه بنا کننده مسجد نیکیبخان ابن ملک جانلر(?) تمت فی شهر الرجب سنه ۹۴۵

TRANSLATION

(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 Humāyūn Bādshāh Ghāzī and during the days of the government of Begam Dildār Aghācha, the builder of this mosque is Nikpay Khān, son of Malik Jānlar (?). 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 portion having lost their sharpness, the reading is not absolutely above doubt; it can be read as Nikī 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 **ا** or **م** 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 **ا**. If so, the name could be **جانلز** (Jānlaz), or if we take the dot of **ز** to be of **رجب** transcribed just above, it could be **جانلر** (Jānlār). In the alternative, **جهانگیر** (Jahāngīr) also suggests itself, but the letter **گ** has no distinguishing stroke which is given at every other such place in the text, and moreover, there are no dots for the letter **ی**, while dots are provided in each such case. I, therefore, tentatively read the name as Jānlār.

But it is the other personage mentioned in the text which, as stated above, invests the epigraph with far greater importance. She is Begam Dildār Aghācha, 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 Dildār Aghācha was emperor Bābur's wife and Humāyūn's step-mother of whom, among the total five children, Mirzā Hindāl and Gulbadan Begam were born. Inexplicably, she is just mentioned by Bābur.¹ Whatever few details are available about her are to be found in her daughter Gulbadan's *Humāyūn Nāma*² 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, Bābur 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 Turkī original of Bābur's memoirs and by others) as Aghācha, 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 Aghācha as is correctly used in the *Akbar Nāma* of Abu'l-Faḍl in preference to the variant Āghā.⁴ The exact connotation of this term, in the words of Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, the translator of both Bābur'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 Bābur 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 Dildār Begam, according to Mrs. Beveridge, again, is Māham Begam's forcible adoption of Dildār's children Hindāl and Gulbadan Begam in 1519 and 1525 respectively. According to her, 'in some cases which are mentioned by Bābur, adoptions were made by a childless wife of high degree from a slave or servant, but no

¹ Bābur, *Bābur Nāma*, Eng. tr. Annette S. Beveridge (London, 1921), p. 347.

² Gulbadan, *Humāyūn Nāma*, ed. Annette S. Beveridge (London, 1902), pp. 20, 29, 32, 38, 43, 45, 47, 52, 62, 76.

³ See also Gulbadan, *Humāyūn Nāma*, Eng. tr. by Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge under the title *The History of Humāyūn* (London, 1902), p. 226.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 225.

⁵ Gulbadan, *op. cit.* (Eng. tr.), p. 3.

⁶ Translator of Bābur'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.'³

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 Aghāchā 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 Mirān Shāhī birth,⁴ and while doing so, she has suggested her identification with Ṣāliḥa Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Maḥmūd Mirzā Mirān 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 *Wāq'āt-i-Mushṭāqī* of the contemporary *Shāikh* Rizqu'llāh with the poetical name, *Mushṭāqī*. In the section of this book dealing with the Malwa king Naṣīru'd-Dīn, one Dildār Aghāchā⁶ 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 *naḍīma-i-majlis* (boon-companion) from that monarch. Rizqu'llāh also quotes one hemistich composed *impromptu* by Dildār, on a particular occasion, and goes on to report that the king was so much elated with the extempore composition that he openly acknowledged that were not Dildār Aghāchā 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 Naṣīru'd-Dīn 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 *Shāikh* Sa'īd to the Lodī 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 Ḥājī Dabīr 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 Mirzā Ḥaidar Daughlāt, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Raṣṣīdī*.

³ Gulbadan, *op. cit.*, (Eng. tr.), p. 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 225; Bābur, *op. cit.*, pp. 712-14.

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 Hindi translation of its extracts made by Dr. S. A. A. Rizvi (*Uttar Taimūr-kālīn Bhārat*, Part II, Aligarh, 1959), from the London Manuscript. The appellation is cited by him (*ibid.*, pp. 140-41), as *Ghāchā*, 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 Khaljis of Malwa and the Sultans of Delhi', *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XL (1962), p. 756).

⁷ Rizvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.

⁸ Ḥājī Dabīr, *Zafaru'l-Walāh bi-Muzaffar wa-dāh*, vol. III (London, 1928), p. 924; 'Abdu'llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* (Aligarh, 1954), pp. 63-64.

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 1519,¹ as determined by Mrs. Beveridge 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 Sultān later on became the consort of the Mughal emperor.

Of course, a question may be asked why *Shaiḵh* 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 itself 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 Mushtāqī's *Wāqī'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 date 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 SŪR 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 Khānzāda chiefs and now a district headquarters in Rajasthan.¹ These include the records of the Ghorī, Mamlūk, Khaljī, Tughluq, Khānzāda, Sūr and Mughal dynasties,² and of them, the Khaljī and Tughluq epigraphs were published by me in the previous issue,³ and the only Ghorī 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 Sūr king Islām Shāh (1545-54).

It is not that our inscription is the only Sūr record to be found here; as a matter of fact, three records of this dynasty—set up in the time of Islām Shāh himself from this place are known.⁴ Therefore, strictly speaking, it is not that our record supplies new information about the political status of Nagaur in the Sūr period,⁵ 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.⁶ 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 Shāh's death gave Māldeva his opportunity and by the end of the year 1546, he was again lord and master of Jodhpur and Marwar.⁷ 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-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1949-50, pp. 18-53). But his study of the Nagaur inscriptions (*ibid.*, pp. 35-53) was confined to the records of the Sūrs and the Mughals. Chaghtai does not seem to have been aware of the record under study.

² *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1965-66, Nos. D, 334-66.

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, 1956), p. 186; A. L. Srivastava, *Sher Shāh and his Successors* (Agra, 1950), pp. 50-51, etc.

⁷ *Ibid.*

The inscriptional tablet is now in the custody of Pīr Bashīru'd-Dīn Suhrawardī,¹ the *sa'ūdā-nashīn* of the *khānqāh*, at Nagaur, of the famous thirteenth century saint Qādī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī, who lies buried at Delhi.² 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. Suhrawardī 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 *Shaiḥ* Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī Suhrawardī, by Miyān Khwājā, son of *Shukr* (or *Shakar*) Batanī in 1552. It also mentions His Holiness *Shaiḥ*u'l-Mashāiḥ *Shaiḥ* Sulaimān, as the spiritual successor of Qādī 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 Islām *Shāh* is lost, and of that of his father *Sher Shāh* too, only the initial *Sh* has survived.

The style of writing is *Naskh* 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 mentioning *Shaiḥ* Sulaimān,³ to which we shall refer in the following lines.

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(۱) بنا کرد این مسجد در خانقاه بندگی حضرت شیخ حمیدالدین ناگوری سهروردی

(۲) صاحب سجاده ایشان بندگی حضرت شیخ المشایخ شیخ سلیمان

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 348.

² For the account of this scholar saint of great repute, see Mir Khurd, *Siyaru'l-Auliya* (Delhi, 1876), pp. 56-57, 343, 472, 476-77, 501-02, 507, 519, 526, 576; Amir Hasan Sijzi, *Fawa'idu'l-Fu'ad* (Delhi, 1894), pp. 6, 33, 53, 83, 162, 188-89, 239-41; Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khairu'l-Majālis* (Aligarh, 1959), pp. 45, 276; Faḍl-i-Aḥmad, *Adhkar-i-Abrār* (Agra, A.H. 1328), being the Urdū translation of Muḥammad Ghauthi's *Gulzar-i-Abrār*, pp. 47-48; 'Abd'ul-Haq Dihlavi, *Akhbaru'l-Akhyār-i-Aṣrār-i-Abrār*, (Delhi, 1914), pp. 37-44; Dārā Shukūh, *Safinat'u'l-Auliya* (Kanpur, 1900), pp. 113-14; Hāfiz Ghulām Sarwar, *Khaznatu'l-Azfiya*, vol. I (Kanpur, 1902), pp. 309-13; Sayyid Sabḥu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, *Basm-i-Sāfiyya* (Azamgarh, 1949), pp. 84-88; C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, vol. I, pt. 1 (London, 1935), pp. 6-7; pt. 2 (London, 1953), p. 1194.

³ *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pl. XVI a.

HUMĀYŪN'S RECORD

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



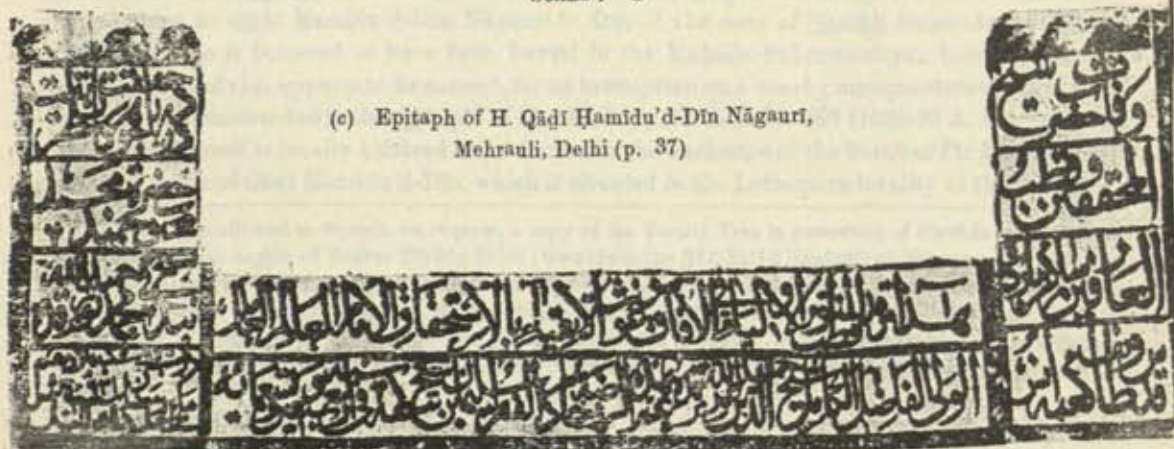
SCALE : '15

A SŪR RECORD FROM RAJASTHAN

(b) Record of Islām Shāh, dated A.H. 959, Nagaur (p. 34)



SCALE : '2

(c) Epitaph of H. Qāḍī Hamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī,
Mehrauli, Delhi (p. 37)

(۳) بن شیخ بهیکه بتوفیق الله تعالى میان خواجا بن شکر بتنی غره رجب سنه تسع و

خمسین و تسعمایه

(۴) در عهد سلطان السلاطین الوائق بتائید الرحمان ابوالمظفر اسلام شاه بن [شیر شاه]

سلطان

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the *khānqāh* of His Holiness, Ḥaḍrat Shaiḥh Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaūrī Suhrawardī,

(2) (during the tenure of his) *sajjāda* (lit. carpet, i.e. holder of the carpet—spiritual successor), His Holiness Ḥaḍrat Shaiḥh 'l-Maghāiḥ Shaiḥh Sulaimān,

(3) son of Shaiḥh Bhikh, through the guidance of the Exalted Allāh, by Miyān Khwājā, son of Shukr (or Shakar) Batanī, (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-Muẓa-ffar Islām Shāh, son of] Sh[er Shāh], Sultān.

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 Batanī. 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 Shaiḥh Sulaimān, about whose identity, nothing was known so far from sources other than epigraphical. Even the aforementioned Pīr Bashīru'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 Nagaur 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 Pīr Bashīru'd-Dīn is twelfth in descent from Shaiḥh Sulaimān, mentioned in our epigraph, the latter is a thirteenth degree descendant of Qādī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaūrī.¹ One of the sons of Shaiḥh Sulaimān was Shaiḥh Bāyazīd, who is believed to have been buried in the Maḥalla-Suhrawardiyyān inside Nahār-Pole at Nagaur, and this appears to be correct, for an inscription on a nearby mosque states that the said mosque was constructed in the *khānqāh* of Shaiḥh Bāyazīd in A.H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.).² Shaiḥh Sulaimān himself is locally believed to be buried in the enclosure of the Tomb of Pīr Zuhūru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, a son of Qādī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn, which is situated in the Loharpura locality of the town.³

¹ I was also allowed to consult, on request, a copy of the Family Tree in possession of Pīrzāda 'Abdu'l-Qhānī Sāhib, the *sajjāda-naghā* of Ḥaḍrat Tārikīn Sāhib (Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Ṣāfi Su'ālī Nāgaūrī) at Nagaur. It varies from the copy mentioned above in one or two places. For example, one name is made into two: Shaiḥh Magharu'd-Dīn Bhikh of the first copy appears as Shaiḥh Bhikhji (son of) Shaiḥh Zuhūru'd-Dīn Bhikh in the other. But the main point of difference is that in his copy, Pīr Bashīru'd-Dīn is stated to be a descendant of Shaiḥh Sulaimān through the latter's son Shaiḥh Muṣṭafā, while in the other copy, he is shown as having descended from his other son Bāyazīd.

² *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 132.

³ For the inscriptions from this tomb, see *ARIE*, 1965-66, Nos. 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,¹ 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 Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn.² 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 *poṭāl* (religious building), standing in the name of Bhattārka Kīrat Chānd, 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-ʿĀli Yūsuf Daulat Khān Sūr, who was most probably the governor.³ 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 Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn and the head of the Nagaur *khānqāh*. 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 Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn 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 Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaūrī, 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 Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, 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 *chhatra* 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 *Thulūṭh* letters on three, i.e. north, east, and west sides,⁴ and with the historical record on the remaining, i.e. southern or foot-side.

¹ *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 63; *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 107.

² *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 23.

³ *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 63.

⁴ The text on the north side comprises *Qur'ān*, 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 Maulvī Zafar Hasan, who has otherwise described the grave of Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn,¹ 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 Aḥmad Khān and others, have cited its reading in their works.² But I feared that it had perhaps disappeared some time after they wrote or the above rubbing was taken. Even Mr. Abdul-Qadir 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*.³

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 Ramaḍān 641 (22nd February 1244) and the second that of the construction of his tomb by Shaiḥ Sulaimān, son of Bīkh (Bīkh) 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 Aḥmad Khān and Bashīrud-Dīn Aḥmad, 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. 695.⁴

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

TEXT

Plate V (c)

(a)⁵

(١) هذا مرقد المنور قطب الاولياء في الافاق و غوث الاتقياء بالاستحقاق الامام العالم العابد

(٢) الولي الفاضل الكامل شيخ حميد الدين نورالله مرقد عمر هذا الروضة خادم الفقرا

سليمان بن شيخ بيكه في سنة اربع و سبعين و تسعمائة

(b) Right margin.

(١) وفات حضرت شيخ

(٢) المحققين و قطب

(٣) العارفين ساكن بارگاه

(٤) قدس و طائف كعبه انس

¹ *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, vol. III, Mahrauli Zail (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 45-46.

² T. W. Beale, *Miftāḥu't-Tawārīkh* (Agra, 1849), p. 113; Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār-u's-Sanādīd* (Delhi, 1874), p. 185; Bashīrud-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāqī'āt-i-Dāru'l-Hukūmat-i-Dihli* (Agra, 1919), p. 271.

³ *AKIS*, 1964-65, 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 17cm., and 105 by 17 cm. respectively.

(c) *Left margin.*

(۱) در دریا حقیقت جوهر کان طریقت

(۲) محبوب حضرت محمد حمید

(۳) بندگی شیخ محمد حمید نورالله مرقدہ

(۴) در شب دو شنبه یازدهم ماه رمضان سنہ ۶۴۱ جاء الشمس فی

الحمل ذالک الیل

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) This is the illuminated grave of the Qutb (lit. pole-star)¹ among the saints of the horizons (i.e. universe) and the Ghauth (lit. helper)² among the pious by right, the learned and the devout Imām,

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

(b & c) The death of His Holiness, the Shaiikh among those who have attained the Truth and the Qutb among the Gnostics, the resider 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 Muḥammad the praised one, His Reverence Shaiikh Muḥammad, (the) Ḥamīd³, 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 Shaiikh Sulaimān. Incidentally, the name of Shaiikh Sulaimān's father is given in the text as Bikh, 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.⁵

But here, it is intended to stress its evidence on the date of the death of the saint, which is differently quoted in hagiological works. The fourteenth-century author Mir 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 Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn survived, by ten years, his spiritual preceptor Khawja Bakhtiyār Kākī, who had expired on the 14th Rabi'ī 633.⁶ This would place the Qāḍī's death in A.H. 643. This is also the date given by Muḥammad Ghauth⁷, the early seventeenth-century hagiologist, who quotes 29 Ramaḍān 643.⁷ According to Abu'l-Faḍl, he

¹ In Sūfī hagiocracy, a Qutb occupies the first place.

² In Sūfī hagiocracy, a Ghauth occupies the second place.

³ Ḥamīdu'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 *wa* (i.e. and), would yield 641, the Hijra year of death.

⁵ Abu'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), p. 234, includes one Shaiikh Bhikh among the scholars of traditional sciences of Akbar's reign. He could be identical with Shaiikh Bhikh of the record.

⁶ Mir Khurd, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

⁷ Faḍl-i-Aḥmad, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

died on the night of 5 Ramaḍān 644.¹ Dārā Shukūh, who speaks of his having paid a visit to the tomb, also gives A.H. 643.² Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq Muḥaddith 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.³ On the other hand, Ghulām Sarwar who wrote in the last century, quotes a much later date, viz. 10 Rabī' II or 9 Ramaḍān 678.⁴ Beale, on the authority of the *Mukhbīrū'l-Wāṣilīn* has A.H. 695, which he gives in his reading of the record too.⁵

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,⁶ gives only the year, as seen above; the next authority Muḥammad Ghauthī, is later than our record, though it gives not only the same year as Mir Khurd, but in addition, quotes 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—fortyfive 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 Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliya quoted by the former as well as by Ḥasan Sijzi.⁷

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 Sulaimān 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 Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn, one of the most talented and scholarly among the early Ṣūfī saints of India, was a spiritual disciple of Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and was held in high esteem both by the latter's successors, Ḥaḍrat Farīdu'd-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar and Ḥaḍrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliya. He was well-versed in Arabic and Persian, and has to his credit a number of works on mysticism.⁸ But his greatest contribution to the Indian mysticism is his pioneer role in popularising *Samā'*.⁹ His son Maulānā Nāṣih'ud-Dīn and grandson, on daughter's side (nabīsa)

¹ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1877), p. 217.

² Dārā Shukūh, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

³ 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴ Ghulām Sarwar, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

⁵ Beale, *op. cit.*

⁶ Before Mir Khurd. Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 346 and 'Iṣmī, *Futūḥ's-Salāṭīn* (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 Qāḍīs to his vocation of *Samā'* and the discussion on the subject between the two parties in the presence of Iltutmish.

⁷ Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

⁸ Some details about his *taḍakkir* and sayings, titles of and extracts from his works, etc., will be found in Ḥasan Sijzi, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 83, 162, 239-41, etc.; Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, pp. 343, 472, 476-77, 501-02, 507, 519-20, 526, 576, etc. A modern estimate of his work and mission will be found in Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *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.

⁹ 'Iṣmī describes the interesting account of the opposition of the *samā'* by the orthodox clergy, their representation to the king, etc. Also see Ḥasan, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-41; Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57; Faḍl-i-Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48; 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

Maulānā Sharafu'd-Dīn find mention in the *maifūzāt* of Ḥaḍrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn Auliā.¹ His grandson Bahāu'd-Dīn, commonly known as Rāja, is quoted by Storey, as the author of *Asrārul-Mashāikh*.²

It may strike one as a little odd that the tomb of Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn 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 Mir Khurd's work has to say in this regard. According to it, Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn 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 Mir 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 Mir Khurd's work is consulted.

¹ *Ḥamān*, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 188-89; Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

² Storey, *op. cit.*, pt. 2, p. 1054.

³ Mir Khurd, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-57; 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

‘ĀDIL 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 *sarkār*.

At the time of the establishment of the Bahmanī dynasty in Deccan, Bankapur belonged to the Vijayanagara king Harihara I,¹ and had resisted the efforts of the first two Bahmanī sovereigns ‘Alāu’d-Dīn Ḥasan (1347-58) and Muḥammad Shāh I (1358-75) to annex it to their empire. Even active efforts by Muḥammad Shāh (1375-78) in 1377 for the subjugation of Bankapur fort and the country around, do not seem to have met with complete success.² It was only during the reign of Firūz Shāh (1397-1422), according to Firishṭa, that Bankapur became a Bahmanī possession.³ We are told that in the winter of A.H. 809, i.e. in about October 1406, Mir Faḍlu’llāh Injū was sent with the army of Berar to conquer the fort of Bankapur.⁴ The fort and the surrounding country were reduced by him and handed over, under the king’s orders, to Miyyān Siddhū 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.⁵

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 Maliku’t-Tujjār Khālaf who succeeded in compelling the sons of Deva Rāya to raise the siege of the two forts.⁶ Bankapur seems to have been a Bahmanī 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 Maḥmūd Gāwān who ultimately persuaded the rebel father and son to surrender and sent them to the royal court.⁷

¹ Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, vol. I (Kanpur, 1884), p. 296; Sir T. Wolsley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), p. 489; *Gazetteers of Bombay State, Dharwar District (GBS, Dharwar)* (Bombay, 1959), pp. 73, 766.

² Firishṭa, *op. cit.* For the comments on Firishṭa’s account of Muḥammad Shāh’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, 1962), pp. 32-43.

³ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 307; *Imperial Gazetteers of India*, vol. VI, p. 381; Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁴ Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 161, makes Miyyān Siddhū, the Sarnaubat, the leader of the Bankapur expedition on the authority of Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 314. But what Firishṭa says is that the Sulṭān sent Malik Siddhū along with Khān-i-Khānān to lay waste the southern part of the Vijayanagara empire and Amir Faḍlu’llāh Injū, along with the Berar contingent, to conquer Bankapur.

⁵ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-15; Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 392; Sherwani, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-63.

⁶ Firishṭa, *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 Firishṭa’s account. For the untenability of their strictures, see *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1962, pp. 54-56.

⁷ Firishṭa, *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 Rāy, the ruler of Belgaum, made 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.¹ 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 Rāya of Vijayanagara.²

According to Firishṭa, Bankapur was retaken by 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I towards the close of his reign;³ the exact date of this conquest is stated by another authority to be A.H. 981 (1573-74),⁴ which is corroborated by an inscription from Mudgal, dated A.H. 982 (1574-75).⁵

But epigraphical evidence clearly shows that long before that date, Bankapur was taken by the 'Adil Shāhi 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 Shāh authority in A.H. 945 (1538-39 A.D.), the reigning king mentioned being Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I (1534-58). Very likely, Bankapur was captured by Ibrāhīm during his campaign against Vijayanagara in A.H. 942 (1535-36 A.D.), or by his general As'ad Khān who had laid siege to Adoni, later in the year, and defeated Venkatādri.⁶ And it was probably some time towards the end of his reign that the place was again lost to Vijayanagara. After the death of Rām Rāya 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 Vallabha, Velapa or Belapa, as in Firishṭa), and Velapa Rāya (as in the District Gazetteer); and this Velapa had, after the death of his master, become independent.⁷ In A.H. 981 (1573-74 A.D.), 'Alī 'Adil Shāh I, urged by his Prime Minister Muṣṭafā Khān Ardastānī marched against the said Velapa and reduced the fort after a siege of four months.⁸ After the conquest, Bankapur and its dependencies were put in charge of Muṣṭafā Khān,⁹ who held it till his murder in 1580. A little earlier, after the assassination of 'Alī I in March 1580, a section of the nobles who did not see eye to eye with Kishwar Khān thought of requesting Chānd Sultāna to summon Muṣṭafā Khān from Bankapur and entrust the ministership to him. But on receipt of this intelligence, Kishwar Khān planned to get Muṣṭafā Khān removed from the political scene through Mirzā Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Mashhadī, a protégé of Muṣṭafā Khān himself, who held fief in the vicinity of Bankapur and was promised the *jāgīr* of Bankapur for the job. Mirzā Nūru'd-Dīn carried out the evil design through one Muḥammad Amīn.¹⁰ Historical works are silent about the fate of the last mentioned two persons who succeeded in putting Muṣṭafā Khān to death.¹¹ Nor do they name any immediate successor to the fief of Bankapur. But it is possible that Mirzā Nūru'd-Dīn might have succeeded his former

¹ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 352; Sherwani, *op. cit.*, p. 319; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

² Sewell, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-19, 123.

³ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), p. 41.

⁴ M. I. Zubairi, *Basā'ir al-Salāṭīn* (Hyderabad), p. 151.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-36, p. 16.

⁶ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 28 and Zubairi, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 53-54, call him Asad Khān, but the name of the general is thus spelt in his Belgaum inscriptions (*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, (ARIE), 1962-63, No. D, 152-53; *ibid.*, 1965-66, No. D, 232-33).

⁷ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 127; GBS, Dharwar, p. 766.

⁸ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-29. According to GBS, Dharwar, p. 766, Bankapur fell after a siege of one year and three months.

⁹ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 129; GBS, Dharwar, p. 767.

¹⁰ For details, see Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 50. According to Zubairi, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-73, Kishwar Khān deputed one Abdu'l-Mu'min Mugdālzāda for the purpose.

¹¹ According to Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 172, 'Abdu'l-Mu'min was also killed by people after the murder of Muṣṭafā Khān.

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 Khurshīd Khān, the Nāib-i-ghaibat, in charge at Bankapur, according to a *farmān*, dated the 22nd Shā’bān 991 (31st August 1583) issued by Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II.¹ Khurshīd Khān 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),² mentions one Najafī Khān 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 Khurshīd Khān. 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 1593.³ But the veracity of this statement is not proved by any other source. On the contrary, from Firishṭa’s account, it transpires that while some local chiefs in the neighbourhood of Bankapur, who had been submissive to Muṣṭafā Khān, had become independent and defied for sometime the royal authority after the Khān’s death, capturing Chandrakoti etc., Bankapur continued to remain in charge of the royal nominees.⁴ According to the same authority, at about this time, i.e. close of A.H. 1002 (1594 A.D.), at the instigation of ‘Alī Shāh, son of ‘Ainu’l-Mulk, the Ahmadnagar king Burhān Nizām Shāh and Rām Rāya of Nalgonda entered into an alliance to wrest Sholapur, Mudgal and Bankapur, from the ‘Ādil Shāhī king.⁵ 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 Khurshīd Khān, who was apparently the highest authority at Bankapur, constructing a bastion, evidently to improve the defences of Bankapur. The same Khān was also the deputy of the ‘Ādil Shāhī king in A.H. 1011 (1602-03 A.D.), as seen above. It is a pity that Khurshīd Khān 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 Muḥammad Ishāq mentioned in a *farmān* of Ibrāhīm II, dated 3rd Shā’bān 1027 (16th July 1618).⁶ He seems to have been succeeded by Mīr ‘Alī Ridā who is mentioned as the Havāldār of the *mu’āmalā* of Bankapur in two *farmāns* dated 18th and 20th Dhī’l-Hijja 1035 (31st August and 2nd September 1626).⁷ ‘Alī Ridā 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 Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh, in that year, Kadam Rao, the new commandant of Bankapur revolted and ‘Alī Ridā 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, ‘Alī Ridā returned to the capital.⁸

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 Mīr ‘Alī is mentioned as the Havāldār of Bankapur, and in a *farmān* dated 9th Dhī’l-Hijja 1053 (8th February 1644), one Sīdī Dilāwar is designated as the Havāldār of the *mu’āmalā* of Bankapur.⁹ While no mention of the successive

¹ G. H. Khare, *Persian Sources of Indian History*, vol. III (Poona, 1939), p. 3.

² *GHS*, Dharwar, p. 80.

³ Firishṭa, *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. 57.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 3, 76.

⁷ Zubairi, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-86.

⁸ Khare, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

governors of Bankapur is found in historical works or elsewhere, the fact that 'Ādil 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,¹ the Desāi of Guttal, in the Bankapur *mu'āmalā*.² 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 Raihān, who was commissioned to deal with the refractory chief of Chitrakal.³ But the connection of Malik Raihān *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 'Alī 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 'Alī 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 Rattehalli was given to Shaikh Aḥmad, (son of) Hājī Mubārak, while the *desāi*-ship of Tollali, Hargalli, Holal fort and Harihar fort—all in the *mu'āmalā* was granted to Nawwāb 'Abdu'l-Karīm, of Bankapur, and on the representation of Linga, 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 Khawāss Khān and other sons of the late Khān Muḥammad were ordered to be restored to him.⁸

The last mention of Bankapur during the 'Ādil Shāhī period is again in connection with an event of the same year—11th November 1675, when Nawwāb 'Abdu'l-Karīm arrested Khawāss 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 Dilair 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 Ādil 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 Gaunda in the *farmāns* to which references are given here.

² Khare, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴ Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

⁷ GBS, Dharwar, pp. 767, 781.

⁸ Khare, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

⁹ Zubairi, *op. cit.*, pp. 446, 449.

¹⁰ Saḥāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthirul-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), p. 52.

‘ĀDIL SHĀHI INSCRIPTIONS
(PLATES VI-VIII)

(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 945, from Bankapur (p. 45)



SCALE : ·12

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 999, same place (p. 46)



SCALE :

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.

Ibrahim 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 *miḥrāb* 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 Amīn 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 Amīn, 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 *Naskh* 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)

ملطان عادلشاهی بتوفیق الہی

(c) Middle panel.

(۱) لو انزلنا هذ القرآن علی جبل لرايته خاشعا متصدعا من خشية الله و تلك الامثال

نضربها للناس يعلمون هو الله الذى لا إله الا هو عالم الغيب و الشهادة هو الرحمن

(۲) الرحيم هو الله الذى لا إله الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المومن المهيمن العزيز

الجليل المتكبر سبحان الله عما يشركون هو الله الخالق البارئ المصور له الاسماء الحسنی يسبح له

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 301.

(۳) بنای مسجد عالی که خانم ملک بنهاد
 شگفته باد گلی دولتش ز باغ مراد
 شده تاریخ در بیان ز امین واعبد
 ربك بياتك اليقين
 ما في السموات و الارض و هو العزيز الحكيم

TRANSLATION

(a) First Creed.

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

(2) Sultān 'Ādil Shāhī. Through the guidance of Allāh.

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

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

its date was announced by Amīn 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 Dargāh of Shāh 'Alāu'd-Dīn Qādirī.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 Najafī *Khān* 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)

(۱) سوی این برج رفیع الشان بین که بر فعت فلک مریخ است
 (۲) خردم از یی تاریخش گفت برج خان نجفی تاریخ است

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 *Khān*-i-Najafī.

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

¹ This represents a slight variation of *Qur'ān*, Chapter XV, verse 99.

² *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 299.

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 was, we have already seen above, the Nāib-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.¹ The writing which occupies a space of about 1.15 m. by 65 cm. on the stone, comprises three Persian couplets carved in relief in *Nasta‘līq* 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)

شهی دانا دل ابراهیم عادل	سکندر فر لقمان رای کامل
بعضرش کرد خورشید زمانه	بنا برجی که مثلش در جهان نه
بسال الف وست تعمیر دادش	برفت سایه بر کیوان فتادش

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 its 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 Nāib-i-ghaibat and Kārkun of the *mu‘amala* of Dārū‘l-Faṭḥ Bankāpūr. 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.²

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 Jāmi‘ Masjid of the town.³ The tablet which measures 1.3 m. by 42 cm., contains

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 302.

² Khurshid Khān is also mentioned in a record from Hangaḷ in Dharwar district, which is dated A.H. 1009 (*ARIE* 1965-66, No. D, 274).

³ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 234.

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 (*nā'ib*) of the king, *Khurshīd 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 chfonogram occurring in the last but one hemistich of the text, which is both composed and inscribed by Abu'l-Qāsim, son of *Shaiikh* Nizām. Incidentally, the last mentioned also composed and inscribed another record of *Khurshīd Khān* dated A.H. 1009 (1600-1601 A.D.), set up at Hangal, also in Dharwar district.¹ 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 *Khurshīd Khān* as the governor of Bankapur. Like the *Khān*, the poet-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 talents.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate VII (b)

(۱) خان غازی پناه اهل زمان	معدن جود و منبع احسان
خادم اهل بیت پیغامبر	یار و غمخوار جمله مسکینان
(۲) نایب شاه عادل کامل	صایب الزام نادر الدوران
هست خورشید خان باسم و برسم	همچو خورشید بر جهان تابان
(۳) اینچنین مسجدی بنا فرمود	که سراقراز باد در دو جهان
سال تاریخش از خدا بدعا	خواستم گفت هاتف ای نادان
(۴) سبحوا و اذکروا که امر خداست	هست تاریخ آن بخوان و بدان
ناظم و راقم این نظم و کلام	شده بر القاسم ابن شیخ نظام

TRANSLATION

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

servant of the family of the (holy) Prophet, friend and sympathiser of all the destitutes,

(2) deputy (*nā'ib*) of the perfect and just ('*Ādil*) king, possessor of sound judgement and prodigy of the age.

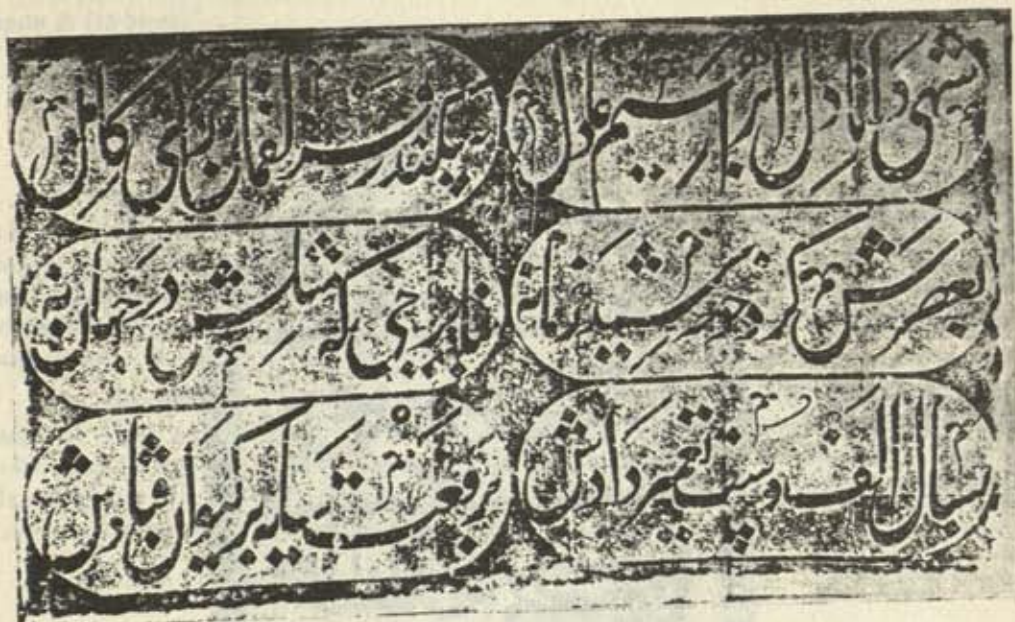
Khurshīd Khān is, both in name and in practice, like the sun shining over the world!

(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,

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 274.

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



SCALE : 13

(b) Another record, dated A.H. 1011, same place (p. 48)



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)’.

The composer and scribe of this poem and speech is [A]bu’l-Qāsim, son of Shaikh 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 *mihrāb*.² It consists of four lines of writing carved in relief, of which the first two are in *Naskh* characters and contain the Throne Verse, while the remaining two contain the historical text in Persian prose and verse engraved in *Nasta‘liq* 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 Abu’l-Qāsim.

The epigraph purports that the mosque was built in A.H. 1011 (1602-03 A.D.), during the reign of ‘Āljāh Abu’l-Muzaffar Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil 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 ‘Āljāh which is not found in all the records of this king.

It has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

- (۱) الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض من ذا الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما
(۲) خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يؤده حفظهما وهو العلى العظيم صدق الله تعالى وصدق رسوله
(۳) در زمان سلطنت شاه عاليجاه مهر سپهر جلالت و بدر منير عدالت سمع خليل الله ابوالمظفر ابراهيم عادلشاه عمارت اين بيت الله الحرام نموده شد
(۴) چون بتائيد خدای متعال اين بنا گشت مرتب بكمال
بد گزشته ز زمان هجرت الف و احدى و عشر اول سال

TRANSLATION

(1-2) Throne Verse.³

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

¹ *Qur’ān*, Chapter XIX, verse 11 (part), Chapter II, verse 203 (part).

² *ARIE*, 1963-66, No. D, 283.

³ *Qur’ān*, Chapter II, verse 255.

(4) (Verse :) 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 Muhammad 'Adil Shah, is carved on the headside of a sarcophagus, in the local graveyard situated outside the town on the bank of a lake.¹ Its three-line text, carved in beautiful *Naskh* style, contains, apart from a religious formula, the name of Mir 'Ali Ridā, son of Muhammad Husain, the Havāldār of Bankapur, 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 Mir 'Ali Ridā.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) توکلث علی اللہ محمد علی

(۲) بن محمد حسین [میر] علی رضا

(۳) حوالدار بنکاپور سنہ ۱۰۵۰

TRANSLATION

(1) I rely on Allāh !² Muhammad, 'Ali.

(2) Son of Muhammad Husain, [Mir] 'Ali Ridā,

(3) the Havāldār of Bankāpūr. (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 Mir Ridā mentioned in a *farmān*, dated 31st August 1626 as the Havāldār of Bankapur.³ This 'Ali Ridā 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 Havāldār at Bankapur, until A. H. 1050 (1640-41 A.D.). This is in conformity with the evidence of another *farmān* which mentions Sīdī Dilāwar as the Havāldār of Bankapur in A.H. 1053 (1644 A.D.).⁴

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 289.

² This word is written in the second line for symmetry.

³ This word is written in the third line for symmetry.

⁴ *Qur'ān*, Chapter XI, verse 56.

⁵ Khare, *op.cit.*, pp. 3, 76.

⁶ *Ibid*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

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 Mahākoshal, Malwa, etc. and the erstwhile states of Bilopal, 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, headquarters of the district of the same name, and Jaura-Alapur in Morena district. Two of the three inscriptions of Jahāngir, were found at Udaypur, and one at Sironj 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 Dharmashāla, 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. Siddiqi, 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, *Nasta'liq*, 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.

³ R. S. Saksena, 'Moslem Epigraphy in the Gwalior State', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LVI (1927), p. 145.

⁴ *Ibid.*



The record states that in the time of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the Ghāzī, Shāh Fakhrū'd-Dīn 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 chthonogram, 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 Fakhrū'd-Dīn, is fortunately known through historical works. A Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad in Iran,¹ he came to India in A.H. 961 (1554 A.D.) along with the Mughal 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 'Alī Ridā. He is stated to have been married to a daughter of Prince Kāmran,² but I have not been able to check the reference.

After serving Akbar in different capacities under various noblemen including Mirzā 'Azīz 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.³

There is, however, some difference of opinion about the date of his death. According to Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, Shāh Fakhrū'd-Dīn expired in A.H. 986 in Gujarat.⁴ 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 Dai (the tenth month) of the Regnal Year 23,⁵ 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.).⁶ 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 Fakhrū'd-Dīn 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. 987.⁷ 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.

¹ Mashhad, the capital of Khurasan, the north-western province of Iran, is the last resting place of Imām 'Alī Ridā, son of Imām Mūsā Kāsim, and a great centre of pilgrimage particularly for the Shī'as. The Mūsawī Sayyids are descended from Imām Mūsā.

² B. De, Eng. tr. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1936), p. 332.

³ H. Blochmann, Eng. tr. *A'in-i-Akbarī* of Abu'l-Faḍl, vol. I (Calcutta, 1927), p. 445; Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), p. 384; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āṭir-i-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 556-57.

⁴ Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁵ Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1886), pp. 263-64.

⁶ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 557. Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 445, following him, places it in the end of the regnal year 24.

⁷ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 445, suggests as probable the beginning of A.H. 987 as the date of his death, while pointing out that Nizāmu'd-Dīn gives A.H. 986.

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 Fakhru'd-Dīn had ordered the construction of the Sarāi 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 Sarāi 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.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض
من ذا الذي يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا
بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يوده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم

(b) *Main portion.*

- (۱) بدوران جلال الدين محمد اكبر غازي
- (۲) كه عالم را مسخر كرد اقبال خدادادش
- (۳) شه پاكيزه سیرت شاه فخر الدين كه پيوسته
- (۴) جهاني را باحسان بنده دارد طبع آزادش
- (۵) بي آسایش مردم سرائي ساخت زينگونه
- (۶) كه خواند آسمان از محكميها حصن فولادش
- (۷) چو در وقت بفايش استعانت خواست از ايزد

۹۸۲

- (۸) خرد زان استعانت يافته تاريخ بنيادش
- (۹) وگر تاريخ جوئي از پے اتمام اين بقعه
- (۱۰) بجو از بقعه خير و به بين دركار استادش

۹۸۶

۹۸۶

TRANSLATION

(a) *Throne Verse.*¹

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

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter II, verse 255.

(3-4) the Shāh of pure nature, Shāh Fakhru'd-Dīn, whose magnanimous (lit. free) nature perpetually keeps people enslaved through benevolence,

(5) constructed such a *sarā'ī* (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,

(8) Wisdom found the date of its foundation (in the word) : help, 982 (*ista'ānat*). (A.H. 982=1574-75 A.D.).

(9) And if thou desirest 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 *tahsīl* 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 Faqīron-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 Aurangzeb'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 *Bismi'llāh* 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 *Khawāja Qābil* in A.H. 995 (1586-87 A.D.), in the reign of Jalālu'd-Dīn 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)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ [ر] سُوْلُ اللّٰهِ

¹ *ARIH*, 1962-63, No. D, 76.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 76.81.

(۳) بدوران جلال الدین محمد شه باحشت و شیرین شمایل
 (۴) جناب خواجہ قابل کرد بنیاد چہ و مسجد کہ ہر دو ہست قابل
 (۵) چو میگردم خیال سال تاریخ خرد میگفت 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 Jalālu'd-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 *tahsil* 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 Baland-Darwāza of the fort.² It consists of six lines of writing in Persian executed in *Naskh* of a fairly good order, which states that Nawwāb Muḥammad Sharif Khān ordered Maḥram, the Kotwāl, to construct (or more correctly, reconstruct) the gate for the fort of Sārangpūr 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 Maḥram 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 Sharif Khān, he can be safely identified with Sharif Khān, a brother of Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ataga

¹ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 594.

² *ARIE*, 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)

(۱) هو

(۲) در عهد حضرت خاقانی آفتاب سلطانے

(۳) حضرت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی خلد اللہ ملکہ

(۴) بتعمیر طاق حصار سازنگپور نواب مستطاب محمد شریف خان

(۵) سلمہ اللہ تعالیٰ بمحرّم کوتوال حکم فرمود الحمد للہ و المنة لہ

(۶) کہ در سنہ ۹۹۶ عمارت طاق حصار با چبوترہ کوتوالے صورت اتما[م] یافت

TRANSLATION

(1) He is (Allāh)!

(2) In the reign of His Royal Highness, the sun of sovereignty,

(3) His Majesty Jalāu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh, the Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom!

(4) for the construction of the gateway of the fort of Sārangpūr, His Grace Nawwāb Muḥammad Sharif Khān,

(5) may Allāh the Exalted keep him safe, gave orders to Maḥram, 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 *Chabūtara-i-Kotwālī* 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 Sharif Khān whose name is omitted in the text — ordered its reconstruction; and consequently Maḥram, the Kotwāl, got it rebuilt in A.H. 996 (1587-88 A.D.). The date is indicated by the numerical values of three letters, *ṣād* (90), *vāv* (6) and *zā* (900). This epigraph, in addition, quotes the name of the calligrapher Abu'l-Faṭh.

¹ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 57; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

² *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 131.

(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 996, from Sarangpur (p. 56)

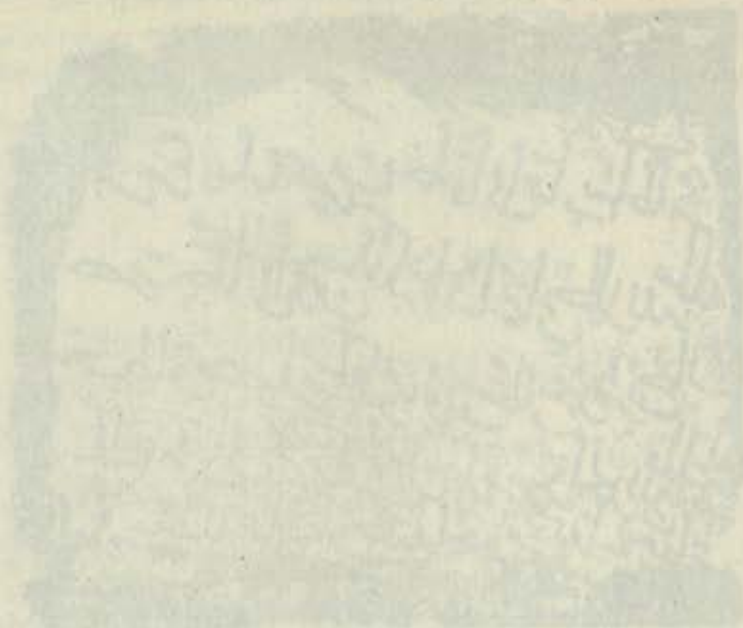


SCALE : -16

(b) Damaged record, same place (p. 57)



SCALE : -23



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MS. A. 1. 1. 1. 1.

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)

(۱) هو

..... که جای پناه گشت ز.....	(۲) حصاریست در شهر سارنگپور
بتعمیر وی حکم کرد آن کریم	(۳) دری داشت عالی و لیکن کهن
دل مردمان زوست فارغ ز بیم	(۴) که باغ جهان تازه از لطف او
که بود آن ملک خانزاد قدیم (؟)	(۵) بفرمود بر محرم کوتوال
..... بنا کرد طاقی.....	(۶) بتاریخ یکصد و یک و او و ظا
نگهدار.....ری غنیم (؟)	(۷) الهی بود تا بناء جهان

(۸) کاتبه ابو 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 Sharif 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 *ḡād* (90), one *vāv* (6) and one *zā* (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 Abu'l-Fatḥ.

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 Narwar in the *Karera tahsil* 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 Lodī.¹

¹ *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1965, pp. 29-38.

The first of these two inscriptions appears over the central *mihrāb* of a mosque in front of the local High School, situated on the Narwar-Shivpuri Road.¹ There is another inscription fixed above the one under study, but it contains only Quranic verses (Chapter IX, verse 18).² 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 Mirak, son of Aḥmad Khān Kolābī, who is described as the 'chief among the great Khāns', in January-February 1573, during the reign of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh 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)

(١) بنى هذا المسجد فى زمان مالک رقاب ملوک المشرق و المغرب سلطان سلاطين المعجم
و العرب
(٢) جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازى خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و [ا]فاض على العالمين بـ
(٣) و احسانه راس الخوانين العظام ميرك احمد خان كولابى و قد وقع الفراغ من
البناء فى شهر رمضان سنة تسع و سبعين و تسعمائة

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 Sultān of the Sultāns of Persia and Arabia,

(2) Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh 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, Mirak, (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 *mihrāb* of the Jāmi' mosque of the town.³ 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

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66 No. D, 150.

² *Ibid.*, No. D, 149.

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

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reign of emperor Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh and governorship of Nawwāb Mirak Aḥmad Khān Kolābī and assigns the construction of the mosque to Shaiḥ Bāyazīd, of whose father's name only the prefix Shaiḥ is legible.

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

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

- (۱) در عهد شهنشاه جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشا[ه] خلد الله ملکه و سلط[انه]
 (۲) حکومت و [زمان] (؟) نواب میرک احمد خان کولابی بنا کرد این [مسجد را]
 (۳) شیخ بایزید [بن] شیخ

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of the emperor Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,
 (2) government and time of Nawwāb Mirak, (son of) Aḥmad Khān Kolābī, this mosque was built by
 (3) Shaiḥ Bāyazīd, son of Shaiḥ.....

It is difficult to establish the identity of Shaiḥ Bāyazīd, 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 Mirak Aḥmad Khān Kolābī, 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 Mirak Khān Kolābī which shows that his name was not Mirak Aḥmad Khān, but Mirak or Mirak Khān only and Aḥmad Khān 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 Hemū.³ In January 1573, he displayed great fortitude and bravery in the battle at Khaṭauti,⁴ against Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā. Next year, he was on his way to Gujarat as an auxiliary of Muẓaffar Khān, the governor of Malwa, who was summoned by the emperor to join him in his Gujarat expedition.⁵ That Mirak Khān is identical with Mirak Khān 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 Ṣāliḥ was killed in the siege of Chitor in A. H. 975 (1567 A. D).⁶

¹ For example, see Indexes to Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*; Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*; Bāyazīd Bayāt, *Tadhkiratu'l-Wāq'at* (Calcutta, 1941); etc.

² At this period, the system of dual names was not so common.

³ Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁴ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35. In the printed text, the site of the battle is called کھلتوتی. The correct name is کھلتوتی (Khaṭauti) which lies in the Jael taluq of Nagaur district of Rajasthan.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1879), p. 317; Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

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 literateur 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)

- (۱) در حینی که بندگان ظل الله جهان پناه عازم
 (۲) تسخیر دکن بودند و نزول اجلال درین مقام
 (۳) واقع شد سنه سال الهی چهل و چار موافق
 (۴) هزار و هشت حرره محمد معصوم نامی البکری

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-Bakkarī (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 *Tārīkh-i-Sind* and *Mufaḍḍāt-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.

² Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 825, 836, refers to Nāmī's embassy and his presentation to *Shāh 'Abbās*. A number of inscriptions left by him in Rajasthan speak of his journey to and back from Iran. For details, see *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 173; 1961-62, No. D, 229; 1965-66, No. D, 364; 1966-67, No. D, 234.

Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, who was his personal friend, devotes a brief notice to him,¹ and Badāyūnī too gives a slightly more detailed account. The latter is highly appreciative of Nāmī as a man.² Blochmann is perhaps the first person who gave all available data about him.³ 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 Ilāhī year 44, is known only from this and several other inscriptions of similar purport engraved by him at Fatehpur Sikri, Bayana, Gwalior, Kolaras in Shivpuri district, Kaliadeh near Ujjain, Sadulpura, Mandu, Burhanpur and Asirgarh.⁴ These fully corroborate Abu'l-Faḍl's account of the marches and halts of Akbar in his expedition to Deccan.⁵

Jahangir

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1014, FROM UDAYPUR

The first of the three records of Jahāngīr is from Udaypur, an ancient place situated in Basoda *tahsil* of Vidisha 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 'Idgāh.⁶ 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 'Idgāh, to Khwāja Basāwan, son of Bahādur Khān, during the governorship ('*amāl*) of Rāja Bikramājī, son of Bhārathī Chand. It is dated the 4th Ramaḍān 1014 (3rd January 1606) in the reign of Jahāngīr.

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

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

As to Rāja Bikramājī, the governor, it is not easy to establish his identity. One Bikramājī was a grandson of Rāja Rām Chand Bāghelā, who had, while a minor, rebelled against Akbar some time after A. H. 1001 or so.⁷ Rāja Bikramājī who was in the Mughal army that besieged Asirgarh in A.H. 1008 and was subsequently sent as an auxiliary of Abu'l-Faḍl to punish Rājū Dakanī,⁸ seems to be different from the Bāghelā chief, but is perhaps identical with Rāja Bikramājī Bhaduriya whom Abu'l-Faḍl mentions among the nobles who received rank, etc., from Akbar in A.H. 1013.⁹ This Bhaduriya chief is also reported to have served Jahāngīr until his death in the latter's Regnal Year 11 or A.H. 1025 or so. The names of Bikramājī and Bhārathī Chand (not as the son and father) occur in the list of the Bundela chiefs, but their dates seem to be slightly later.¹⁰ The dates of Rāja Bikramājī Bhaduriya — the last, A.H. 1013, being hardly a year prior to the date of our

¹ Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 729.

² Badāyūnī. *Muntakhabu't Tawārīkh*, Eng. tr. T. W. Haig, vol. III (Calcutta, 1925), pp. 498-504.

³ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 578-80. As usual, his account is taken from Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 326-29. Also see Dr. H. I. Sadarangani, *Persian Poets of Sind* (Karachi, 1956), pp. 28-33.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909-10, pp. 13, 17, 26, 27; 1925-26, pp. 3, 4, 5, 6; 1933-34, pp. 14, 15; 1949-50, pp. 41, 42; *ELAPS*, 1962, pp. 72, 73, 74; *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 120; 1962-63, No. D, 100; 1965-66, Nos. D, 538-39; 1966-67, No. D, 234; etc.

⁵ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 762-95.

⁶ *ARIE*, 1965-67, No. D, 157.

⁷ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 711; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 767, 801; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 834.

¹⁰ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 546. Rāi Sunder Dās, who received the title Rāja Bikramājī, in A. H. 1026 (Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 183-95), is evidently not identical with Bikramājī of our record.

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)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

- (۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الله لا اله الا هو الحي
 (۳) القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات و
 (۴) ما في الارض من ذ[ا]لذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم
 (۵) ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا
 (۶) بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يوده حفظهم [۱]
 (۷) و هو العلى العظيم در عهد خلافت پناهی نور الدين محمد
 (۸) جهانگیر بادشاه غازی بن جلال الدين محمد اکبر بادشاه
 (۹) غازی در عمل راج بکرماجیت ابن بهار تھی چند مسجد
 (۱۰) بنا کرده خواجہ بساوان ابن بہادر خان تحریر فی
 (۱۱) التاریخ ۴ چہارم شہر رمضان المبارک سنہ ۱۰۱۴
 (۱۲) اربع عشر الف ہر کہ در مسجد نماز گذارد برای [ایمان باقی دعا کند]

TRANSLATION

- (1) There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.
 (2-7) In the name of Allāh, the Benificent, the Merciful. Throne Verse.¹
 (7) In the reign of the asylum of the Caliphate, Nūru' d-Dīn Muḥammad
 (8) Jahāngīr Bādshāh Ghāzī, son of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh
 (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 Basāwan, son of Bahādur Khān. Written on the
 (11) date 4, fourth of the month of the auspicious Ramaḍān, (year A.H.) 1014,

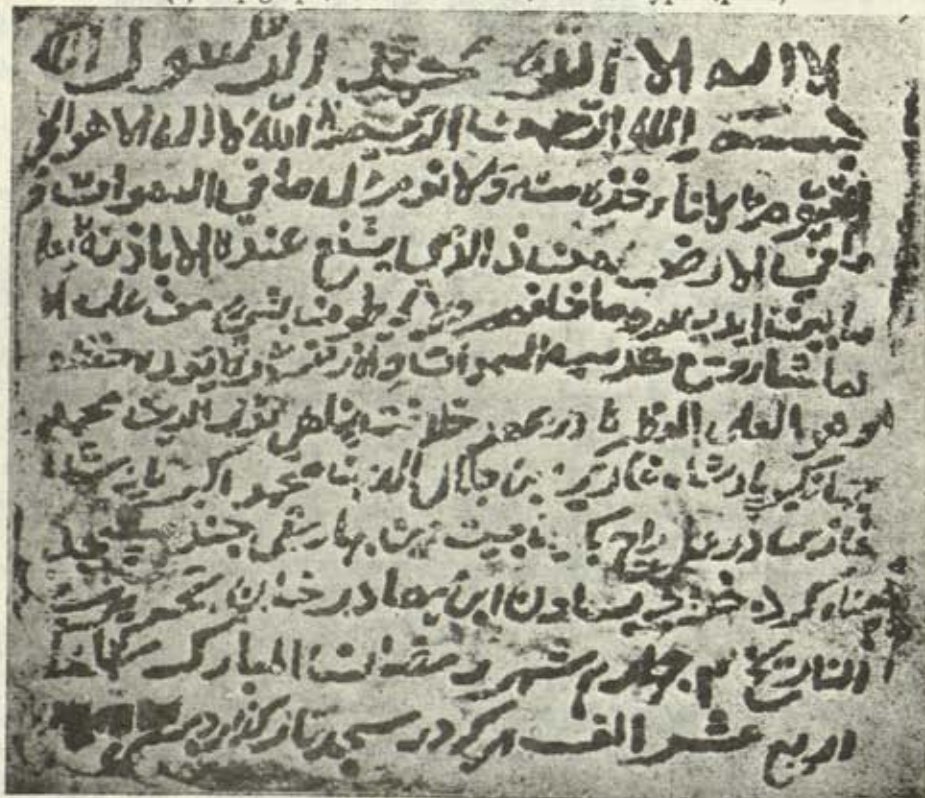
¹ Qur'ān, Chapter II, verse 255.

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1008, from Sarangpur (p. 60)



SCALE : 17

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



SCALE : 44

(b) Record, dated A.H. 1026, Udaypur (p. 63)

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من عباده
 قال وكثيرا الذي من با وجعلنا من عباده
 الله هو يتكلم في ذلك واما في ذلك
 اروي خويشيد من ذلك واما في ذلك
 ذلك كالحسان من ذلك واما في ذلك
 حجازي او للظفر في ذلك واما في ذلك
 نافي ان محمد بن ابي بكر في ذلك واما في ذلك
 كره ان محمد بن ابي بكر في ذلك واما في ذلك
 حضرت ابي بكر في ذلك واما في ذلك

Scale : 18

Scale : 2

ما له التا في ذلك واما في ذلك
 عام ١٠٢٦ واما في ذلك واما في ذلك
 راه اراين واما في ذلك واما في ذلك
 اروي من ذلك واما في ذلك واما في ذلك
 مال ما واما في ذلك واما في ذلك
 تجار واما في ذلك واما في ذلك
 غرو واما في ذلك واما في ذلك
 عام ١٠٢٦ واما في ذلك واما في ذلك
 اروي من ذلك واما في ذلك واما في ذلك
 عام ١٠٢٦ واما في ذلك واما في ذلك
 عام ١٠٢٦ واما في ذلك واما في ذلك

(12) fourteen (and) one thousand (4 Ramaḍān 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 Qāḍiyon-ki-Masjid,¹ it records the construction or foundation of the mosque by Qāḍī Auliya, son of Sayyid 'Abdu'g-Ṣamad 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 Auliya, son of Sayyid 'Abdu'g-Ṣamad during the reign of Abu'l-Muzaffar 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 Auliya completed it in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign.² It bears the date 10 Dhi'l-Hijja 1041, which fell in the fourth year of Shāh Jahān's reign.³

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,⁴ 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 Auliya or such of his kith and kin as are mentioned in the epigraph, no information is available. The style of writing is ordinary *Naskh*.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIII(b)

(a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ لَا اِلهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ

(۲) قَالَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا [۱] فِي الدُّنْيَا بَنَى اللّٰهُ تَعَالٰی قَصْرًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ بَنَى مَسْجِدَ

دُرِّ عَهْدِ عَدَالَتِ

(۳) اَللّٰهُمَّ مَوْجِدَ تَالِيْدَاتِ رَبَّانِي وَبِعِيَامِنِ تَوْفِیْقَاتِ سُبْحَانِی دُثَارِ عِظَمَتِ جِهَانْدَارِی وَ اَنْثَارِ

اَوْبِهَتِ بَخْتِیَارِی شَاهِ مَمَالِکِ

(۴) اَرَادِی خورشید روشن رَای ملجاء کافه اَنَامِ مرکز قدوۀ شہریاران کرام بیت

اَنْبَکِ کو تَبِیغِ عَدَالَتِ کشت قاطع انتصاف (۵) و اَنْکِ کز احسان جلالَتِ غم نماندہ در کَنافِ

مَمْنَعِدِ قَوَائِنِ انصاف قَامِعِ بَیَانِ مَتِنِ اعتصاف حامی الدین

¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 106. It was copied by Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant.

² *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 155. Udaypur is described in the inscription as a *qasba* in the Chanderi *sarkār* of the *gūba* of Malwa, and lying on the border of Gondwāna.

³ For remarks on this inscription, see *ARIE*, 1965-66, pp. 16-17.

⁴ The solitary Persian couplet in the text is mediocre.

- (۶) حجازی ابوالمظفر نور الدین محمد جهانگیر عادل بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه
 (۷) بنای این مسجد در آن ایام که حضرت بادشاه بدولت و سعادت بمندو تشریف
 ارزانی فرمودند بناء
 (۸) کرده این مسجد قاضی اولیا ابن سید عبد الصمد الحسنی هر که درین مسجد نماز
 ادا کند برای ایمان
 (۹) حضرت بادشاه دعا کند سنه الف و عشرين و ست موافق بتاریخ چهارم ماه رجب
 المرجب سنه ۱۰۳۶ عاقبت بخیر باد

(b) *Upper corners.*

ابا بکر - عمر

(c) *Lower corners.*

عثمان - علی

TRANSLATION

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

(2) 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),

spreaders of the canons of justice, remover of the strong foundations of violence, supporter of the religion of

(6) Ḥijāz (i. e. Islām), Abu'l-Muẓaffar Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh-i-Ḡhāzī, 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's-Samad al-Ḥasanī. Who-soever 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!

(b) Abā Bakr, 'Umar.

(c) 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 Jahāngīr was found by my colleague Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant, at Sironj, a *tahsil* headquarters in Vidisha district.¹ 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, *jāgīrdārs*, *karorīs*, *rāhdārs* and *gudhārbāns* 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 *Nasta'liq*.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII(a)

- (۱) فرمان ابوالمظفر نور الدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی
- (۲) حکام کرام و عمال و جاگیرداران و کروریان و
- (۳) داهداران و گذربانان قصبه سرونج بدانند
- (۴) که چون همگی همت عدالت پیرای براف
- (۵) حال کافه عباد الله مصروفست خصوصاً
- (۶) تجار دیده و دانسته زکوة در کل ممالک
- (۷) محرومه معاف فرمودیم ابواب مطالبه آنرا مسدود
- (۸) ساخته ایم هرکس بعد ازین نام زکوة بر زبان
- (۹) آرد بحرمان گوناگون گرفتار گردد اگر کسی بعد ازین
- (۱۰) خلاف (؟) فرمان اقدس اعلی خواهد نمود بذات (؟)
- (۱۱) که نمونه غضب الهی است گرفتار
- (۱۲) سنه ۱۰۱ [X]

¹ ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 128.

TRANSLATION

(1) The royal order (*farmān*) of Abu'l-Muẓaffar Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī.

(2) The great governors, commissaries, *jāgīrdārs*, *karoris*,

(3) *rāhīlārs* and *gudhārbāns* of the *qaṣba* 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,

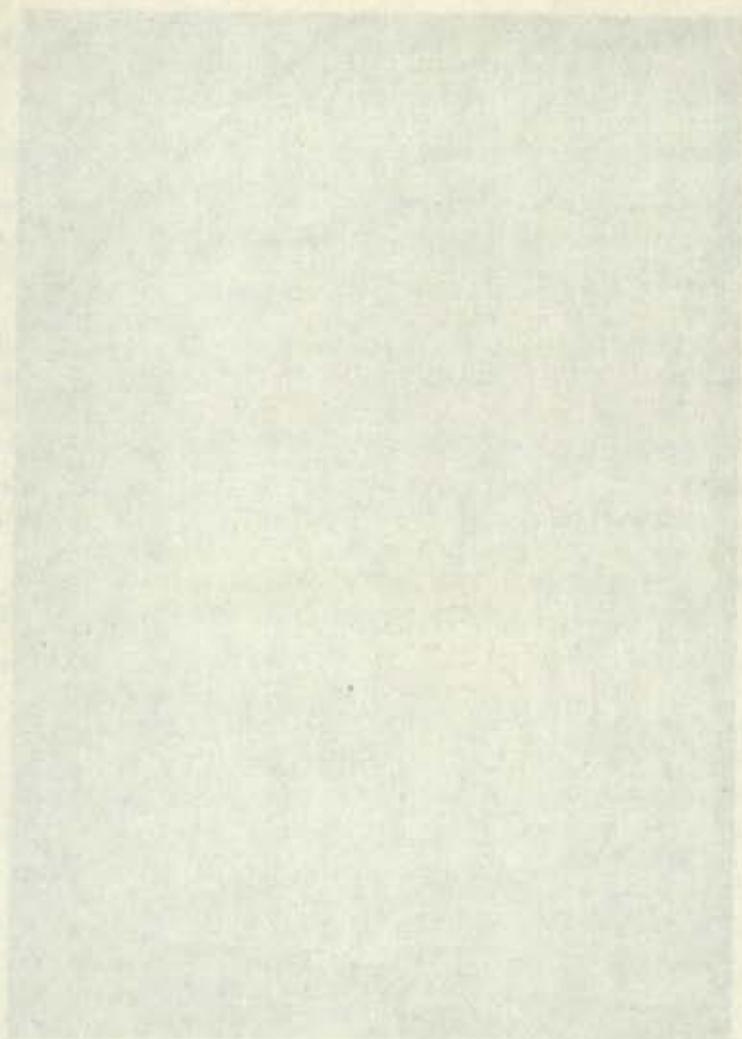
(10) act contrary to the exalted (and) most holy royal order he will be,

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

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

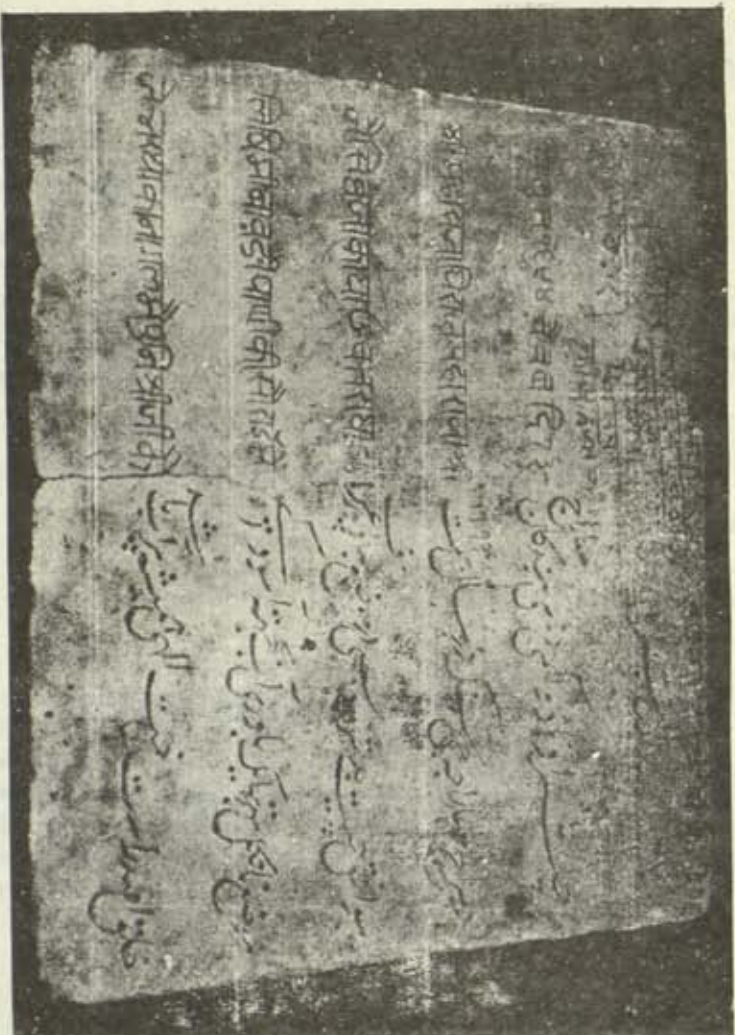
A point or two may be noted about this inscription before we conclude the present study. Firstly, this is one of the quite a few stone-edicts of Jahāngīr remitting *zakāt* that have been found so far only in Madhya Pradesh. This is a little surprising since, as is wellknown, the remission of this levy, 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.¹ 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.



في يوم الاثنين من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة ١٢٩٥
 في مدينة مكة المكرمة





From a photograph

BILINGUAL RECORD FROM JAIPUR DISTRICT

(a) Inscription, dated V.S. 1694, from Bhaupure (pp. 67-8)

THREE RECORDS OF AVRANGZEB,
KOTA DISTRICT

(PLATES XIVb - XV)

(b) Record, referring to a grant,
Gagraun (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 fortyfive kilometers from its district headquarters Jaipur, in Rajasthan.

It contains a bilingual record, written both in Persian and Rājasthānī. 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 Rājasthānī counterpart is in *Nāgarī* 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) Lakmī (i.e. Lakshmi) of Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāja Jai Singh. It is dated the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in Vikrama Samvat 1694. Mahārāja Jai Singh, referred to in the inscription, is Mirzā Rāja 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)

(۱) الله اکبر

(۲) چترا دهاؤ و لکمی دهای بندگان مهاراج

(۳) دھراج مهاراجہ جی سنگہ در سال سمت ۱۶۹۴

(۴) موافق چیت بد ترووسی در موضع بہاؤپور عرف

(۵) موضع نانگل بہرتھا یک باوری آب بچہتہ آسودگی

(۶) خلق الله راست ساخت الہی ہمیشہ پر آب باشد

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is great !

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

(3) Mahārājādhirāj Mahārāja Jai Singh, in the year (Vikrama) Sammat 1694

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

(5-6) village Nāngal-Bharthā caused to be built one step-well (*lāwarī*) of water, for the comfort of God's creatures. Oh my God ! May it always remain full of water !

In the above text, the word *موافق* 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 *موافق* 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 Rājasthānī 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)

(१) श्रीराम

(२) संवत् १६९४ चैत्र वदि १३

(३) श्री महाराजाधिराज महाराजा श्री

(४) जैसिधजी का घाउ चतरा घाही

(५) लिपिमी बावड़ी पाणी की सौराई मो

(६) जे भरथा का नागल मै पुनि श्रीजी के

TRANSLATION

(1) Śrī Rāma

(2) In (Vikrama) Sambat 1694, (on the) 13th day of Chaitra in the dark fortnight,

(3) Śrī Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī

(4) Jai Singhji's male-nurse Chatarā, female-nurse

(5) Likhimi (Lakshmi) got constructed a *bāōṛī* of water, in the

(6) village Bharthā-kā-Nāgal, dedicating it to Śrījī.

From the above, it is learnt that Bhāpura or Bhaupura was also known as Bharthā-kā-Nāgal, and in that village was constructed a *bāōṛī* or step-well of water by Chatrā Dhā'ū and Lakshmi Dhā'ī, male and female attendants respectively of Mahārājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī Jai Singh in V. S. 1694 on the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Chaitra. Nothing is known about Chatrā (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 Bharthā-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 *bāōṛī* was also dedicated to Śrījī, whose devotee 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 Rājasthānī 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.¹ 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.² Of these, the two principalities of Kota and Bundi were being ruled by the Hādās, the most important among the twenty-four clans of the Chauhāns.³ The separation of Kota from Bundi took place in the time of Shāh Jahān, who bestowed it and its dependencies on Mādhō Singh, the second son of Rāo Ratan Hādā for his gallantry in the battle of Burhanpur.⁴

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

Of the three inscriptions that are studied below, the first is from Shahabad, a *tahsil* headquarters, situated in 25° 14' N. and 77° 09' E. It is surrounded by the Bhāmūtī range of hills, an important feature in the landscape, and near here is found its highest point.⁵ 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 'Ālamgīrī-Masjid which resembles in design to the Jāmi'-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 *tahsil* office.⁶ I was informed that some years ago it was fixed on a platform in front of the Police Kotwālī. 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 *Nasta'liq* and *Nāgarī* characters. The Persian version contains the text of a royal order (*farmān*) issued by the orders of Aurangzeb on the 14th of Ramaḍān 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 *mahājans*, traders and Brahmīns of the village Shāhābād, that the *sāyir* taxes were being recovered from them, a royal decree was issued directing that as

¹ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1923-24, pp. 24-25; 1949-50, pp. 26-29, 47, 48, 49; *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 51, 59, 66; 1959 and 1960, p. 43.

² V. S. Bhargava, *Marwar and the Mughal emperors* (Delhi, 1966), p. 1.

³ James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (London, 1950), p. 355.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁵ J. S. Gahlot, *Rajputāne-kā-Itihās*, vol. II (Jodhpur, 1960), p. 4.

⁶ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1965-66, No. D, 330.

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*, *baṭā'i*, *tolā'i*, *khonṭ*, *koṭwālī*, 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'liq* 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)

- (۱) [اورنگ زیب عالمگیر بادشاہ غازی اللہ اکبر خلیفہ رحمانے]
- (۲) [بتا] زیغ چہار دہم ماہ رمضان المبارک سنہ ۲۳ جلوس والا
- (۳) سہاجنان و زنارداران بیویاریان وغیرہ قصبہ
- (۴) [شاہ آ] باد بدرگاہ خلائی پناہ قدر قدرت رفعت
- (۵) استغاثی شدند کہ محصول سائر از مایان
- (۶) میگیرند برین تقدیر حسب الحکم الاعلیٰ شرف
- (۷) نفاذ یافت کہ از محصول سائر کہ ممنوعہ بارگاہ
- (۸) والا است مزاحم نشوند درینولا امارت منزلت
- (۹) رندولہ خان جاگیردار بموجب حکم اشرف الا علی
- (۱۰) بمنصبدیان حرد نوشت کہ از محصول سائر مزاحم نشوند
- (۱۱) لہذا محصول سائر زکوٰۃ و بتائی و کہوت و تولائی و
- (۱۲) کوتوالی(?) وغیرہ ابواب ممنوعہ بارگاہ والا است
- (۱۳) نصف معاف نمودہ شد و نصف محصول کہ برضای و
- (۱۴) رغبت خود قبول نمودند آنرا جواب میکرده باشند
- (۱۵) و تولدانه و بیت(?) و کنخدائی وغیرہ بالکل معاف نمودہ شد
- (۱۶) مسلمان را خدا در میان زناردار دا(?) دام در میان

¹ Could it be "نسبت" meaning betrothal?

(a) Royal order, dated regnal year 23,
from Shahabad (p. 70)



SCALE : ·16

PLATE XV

(b) Another royal order, dated A.H. 1106,
from Gagraun (p. 57)



SCALE : ·26



TRANSLATION

- (1) [Aurangzeb 'Ā] lamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī. Allāh is great! The vicegerent of the Beneficent.¹
- (2) [On] the fourteenth day of the blessed month of Ramaḍān, Year 23 of the exalted accession (14 Ramaḍān 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 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī),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 (*mutasaddīs*) that they should not subject them to *sāyir* levy.
- (11) Therefore, the *sāyir* imposts (like?) *zakāt*, *baṭā'ī*, *khonṭ* and *tolā'ī*,
- (12) *koṭwālī*, 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 free-will, 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.).⁴ 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.

³ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthīr-i-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1880), p. 309. According to Musta'id Khān *Ma'āthīr-i-Ālamgīrī* (Calcutta, 1871), p. 244, he died on the 4th Rabi' II 1095 (21st March 1684). He should not be confused with his senior contemporary and great Bijapur general Randaula Khān (d. A. H. 1051) who is buried at Rahmatpur in Satara district (*EIM*, 1933-34, Supplement, pp. 54-57).

⁴ *ARIE*, 1966.67, No. D, 93.

determining the whereabouts and possibly, the extent of the *jāgīr* of Randaula *Khān*. It may also be recalled here that in one more 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 unauthorised *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 *Jāgīrdār*.

At the same time, it is also indicated by the present record that the *Jāgīrdārs*, 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 *Jāgīrdār* 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 *maḥṣūl-i-sāyir*. According to Abu'l-Faḍl, the duties on land under cultivation were termed *māl*, those on manufactures (*anvā'i-muḥtarafa*), *jihāt* and those on the remaining items—miscellaneous, *sāyir-i-jihāt*.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 *EIM*, 1937-38, p. 36.

² For example, according to *Khāfi Khān*, *Muntaḥabul-Lubāb*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1874), pp. 87-89, in A. H. 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 ('Alī Muḥammad *Khān*, *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadi*, vol. I, Baroda, 1928, pp. 286-88).

³ Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i-Akbari* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 294. Muḥammad Bādshāh, *Farhang-i-Anandraj*, vol. II (Lucknow, 1894), p. 341, defines *sāyir* as the duties from property like houses, shops, boats, etc. F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary* (London, 1957), p. 645, calls it tax on landed property.

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.¹ 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.²

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), *batā'i*, *khonṭ*, *tolā'i*, *kotwālī*, 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.³ By *batā'i* is probably intended the tax on the actual division of the crop between the cultivator and the land-lord or the government; likewise *tolā'i* (weighing-tax) is obviously the same as *kayyālī* or *wazzānī* of Abu'l-Faḍl's list⁴ or *tarāzū-ka shī* or *Dhāran* or *Ḍandī-dārī* of the *farmān* of Aurangzeb issued to the *Dīwān* of Gujarat in his 16th Regnal Year.⁵ As for *kotwālī*, it is a variety of town duties. *Khonṭ* 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.⁶ 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 *khonṭaiti* was generally used.⁷ As referred to above, the reading *bait* of the levy occurring 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 *Dīwān* of Gujarat. The one termed in our record as *kadkhāḍā'i* occurs under the name *nikāḥāna* in the same order.⁸ 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 *zunnārdārs* (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

¹ H. H. Wilson, *A glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, and of Useful words occurring in official Documents*, etc., (London, 1855), p. 454.

² See also Dr. 'Irḥān Ḥabīb, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (New York, 1963), p. 243.

³ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 237. The terms *Dhāran* and *ḍandī-dārī* are still more or less current in Gujarat.

⁶ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.* The earliest reference to marriage-tax in documents is perhaps that contained in an inscription, dated A. H. 805 (1402-03 A. D.) from Mangrol Gujarat (*ARIE*, 1954-55, No. D, 138). This epigraph has been published at p. 22, *supra*.

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.¹ The inscription, therefore, can only be taken to indicate that the agents of the Jāgīrdār were recovering from the Hindus too, *zakāt* which was a forbidden levy in their case, being required to pay *jizya*.²

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.³

Situated in 24° 38' N. and 76° 12' E. at the junction of Ahu and Kali Sind rivers, about 5 kilometres 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 Ālāu'd-Dīn Khālji in 1300. In 1423, it was conquered by Hoshang 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 Sultān Maḥmūd I, who was then busy suppressing internal disturbances, Palhan Singh Khichī, son of the old Rāja of Gagraun succeeded in re-conquering it, but in 1444, in the time of Maḥmūd II, Gagraun was again captured by Medni Rāi, who placed it under the command of his son Hem Karan. 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 Sultān Bāz Bahādur, voluntarily surrendered the fort. During Akbar's time, it was one of the districts (*sarkār*) of the province (*sūba*) of Malwa.⁴ In the time of Aurangzeb, the fort seems to have been placed in the charge of Shaikh Firūz,⁵ when Nawawāb Irādat Khān was the governor of the province. It remained under the Mughal authority till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Mahī Rāo Bāim Singh of Kota obtained it by grant from the Mughal emperor Farrukh Siyar.⁶

Outside the fort, at some distance, is situated the Dargāh of the saint Ḥadrat Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn popularly called Miṭṭha Shāh. In its enclosure, there is a small mosque, on the southern wall of which is fixed the tablet, measuring 22 by 65 cm., which is inscribed with eighteen lines of writing in Persian. The epigraph assigns the construction of a Jāmi' mosque to Irādat Khān, son of Nawwāb Irādat Khān, and grandson of Nawwāb A'zam Khān and registers the grant in cash sanctioned by him from the total revenue (*māl-i-xā-sāyir*) of Gagraun for the maintenance of the mosque. It further gives the daily rate of expenditure, viz. five Buhlūlis, of which three Buhlūlis were meant for the Imām (leader-of-prayers), one for the Mu'adhḍhin (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 *farmān* in 'Alī 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.

⁴ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-67.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 325.

⁶ *IG*, vol. XII, p. 122; Gahlot, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

to Gagraun (among others), pays obeisance to Shāh Miṭṭha 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 Shāikh Firūz as the person in charge 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 Miṭṭha who finds mention in the record, was a wellknown saint of his time.¹ He is reported to have died in the year A. H. 1003 (1594-95 A. D.).²

As regards Irādat Khān, he is none other than Mīr Mubāraku'llāh, entitled Irādat Khān, the second son of Ishāq Khān, entitled Irādat Khān, and grandson of Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir entitled Nawwāb A'zam 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* Wāḍiḥ and, has to his credit, a collection of poems and a number of books. Under Aurangzeb, he was first the *gūbadār* of Chākna near Poona and thereafter of Mandasor and Malwa. He died in A. H. 1128 (1716 A. D.).³

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

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

- (۱) در سنه ۱۱۰۶ یکم هزار و یکصد و شش هجری
- (۲) بنده درگاه ارادتخان ولد نواب
- (۳) ارادتخان [ن] ابن نواب اعظم خان
- (۴) این مسجد جامع را عند الله احداث
- (۵) نموده هر کس که از حاکمان بصدق تمام
- (۶) در بندگی حضرت شاه متهی خدمت خواهند
- (۷) کرد عتقرب بمراد خواهند رسید و بشرط
- (۸) خدمت مسجد یومیه پنج بهلولی مقرر کرده شد
- (۹) امام سه بهلولی و موزن و همون جاروب کش

¹ The saint seems to have been known as Miyān Miṭṭha Bodla as stated by his contemporary, the seventeenth-century historian of Gujarat, Sikandar. In the printed edition of his work, however, Sikandar, *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī* (Baroda, 1961), p. 289, the popular name is given as 'Miyān Mahatta Bodka.'

² Ghulām Sarwar, *Kāẓimnāt-i-Aḡfiyā*, vol. I (Kanpur, 1902), p. 446. If this date is correct, the noble edifice (i.e. the tomb of Shāh Miṭṭha) 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 Dargāh, by Miyān 'Isā, during the governorship of Sulṭān Rāthor, must have been built during the life-time of the saint.

³ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), p. 204. Almost all the biographical works of the poets of this period devote a notice to him.

- (۱۰) یک بهلولی و آب نیم بهلولی و تیل چراغ
 (۱۱) نیم بهلولی از مال و سایر گگرون هر روز
 (۱۲) برسانند و هر بنده که در مسجد وارد شود
 (۱۳) این احقر را از دعای خیر که عاقبت محمود
 (۱۴) باد عند الله فراموش نسازند
 (۱۵) یکی از کمترین معتقدان این درگاه و
 (۱۶) کمترین خانه زادان خانصاحب مذکور
 (۱۷) شیخ فیروز نایب قلعه که صاحب اهتمام
 (۱۸) بود بدعای خیر امیدوار است و السلام

TRANSLATION

(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 Jāmi' mosque for the sake of Allāh.
 (5) Whoever from among the officials, with all sincerity,
 (6) will render service to His Holiness Ḥadrat Shāh Miṭṭhe,
 (7) will soon attain the fulfilment of his desires. And by way of
 (8) rendering service to the mosque, five Buhlūlīs, per diem, have been set apart—
 (9) three Buhlūlīs for the Imām (leader-of-prayers) and for the Mu'adhdhin (caller-to-prayers) who will also do the sweeping,
 (10) one Buhlūlī, and for water, half Buhlūlī and for oil for lamp,
 (11) half Buhlūlī—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 Shāhib,
 (17) viz. Shaiḫ Fīrūz, the deputy incharge of the fort (*nā'ib-i-qal'a*), who was the supervisor (for this work),
 (18) is hopeful of good prayers (for him). And there be peace!

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'l-Faḍl 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 Buhlūl.¹ In any case, the epigraph supplies important information.²

The second inscription from Gagraun and the third and the last inscription of the group is also from the Dargāh of Miṭṭha 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.³

The text which consists of seven lines of writing in Persian, is executed in *Nasta'liq* characters of an ordinary type. It refers to an endowment of the land-revenue (*maḥṣūl*) of the village Cha-ukiya, 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)

- (۱) چون محصول چوکیا
 (۲) عرس درگاه بنده
 (۳) درگاه ارادتخان نذر
 (۴) کرده هر بنده خدا
 (۵) که درینجا وارد گردد
 (۶) مزاحم نشود که
 (۷) عند الله اجر عظیم است

¹ For details, see H. R. Neville, *The Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* (Delhi, 1936), pp. 257-59.

² This para is by the Editor.

³ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D. 324.

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 INSCRIPTION ON THE AMIN DARGAH AT BIJAPUR

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Ḥaḍrat Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā, also known as Amīnu'd-Dīn 'Alī Shēr-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 Burhānu'd-Dīn Jānam and grandfather Ḥaḍrat Mirānī Shamsu'l-'Ushshāq, for his piety and saintliness as also for his services to the Dakanī-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 Ḥaḍrat Mirānī Shamsu'l-'Ushshāq came to Shahpur, and became a disciple of Ḥaḍrat Shāh Kamālū'd-Dīn Mujarrad (lit. celibate) Bayābānī, who, it is reported, advised him to settle down and to lead a married life. Accordingly, Shāh Mirānī got married in a respectable family of Bhingar in Ahmadnagar District. He had at least two sons, namely Burhānu'd-Dīn Jānam and Khwāja 'Aṭā'illāh, of whom the latter died young and was buried on the same hillock¹ at Shahpur, where now the Mausoleum of Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā stands.

There are quite a few works which contain details of the members of this illustrious family. One of these is *Tadhkira-i-Ghaṭhiya*, in Persian verse, which describes the teachings of the saint's grandson 'Alī Pīr and contains praises of the saint, and his father and grandfather. Ḥaḍrat Shāh Burhānu'd-Dīn is therein described as the pillar of the religious code (*shar'*) of the Prophet, the spiritual successor of Shāh Mirān, 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 *Faqr* of the Prophet,² etc. The same work describes Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā, whose name it gives as Amīnu'd-Dīn 'Alī, 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 '*khatm-i-walī*' (i.e. the last of the saints) as the chronogram for his death, which yields A.H. 1086 (1675-76 A.D.).³

According to Mu'azzam, a disciple of Shāh Amīnu'd-Dīn and a pupil of Qādir Lingā-Kotāl, who is the author of a poem entitled *Shajaratul-Atiqiyyā*, Burhānu'd-Dīn Jānam 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.⁴

This would indicate that at the time of his father's death, Jānam was eighteen to twenty years old. In the elegy in Dakanī-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 *Faqr*'.

³ *Tadhkira-i-Ghaṭhiya* (Ms. in the Library of Amān Dargāh).

⁴ Mu'azzam, *Shajaratul-Atiqiyyā* (Ms. in the Sālār Jang Library, No. 239 of Section Tasawwur wa Akhlāq).

as a fine specimen of poetry too—Shāh Jānam has given the date, month and year of his father's demise. When I had referred to this elegy in my introduction to the *Kalimatu'l-Haqā'iq*, a work on Sufism in Dakani-Urdū prose by Shāh Jānam himself, I had to rely on the manuscript of the elegy then available to me, and had doubtfully read the year of the death دو سو و اس پر اگلے بیسی and the age of Ḥadrat Mirānjī اربع سو.¹

But, later on, I could lay my hands on two other copies of the same elegy, and have been able, on comparing the readings of all three, to finalise the readings of the concerned words. These are respectively دو سو و اس پر اگلے بیسی and اربع تسون. This means that these words respectively stand for '902 with 2 more', and 94. In other words, Shāh Mirānjī 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, Mirānjī 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 Jānam 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.).

Jānam is also the author of a long poem named *Irshād Nāma* composed in A.H. 990 (1582 A.D.), which is the year assigned by the late Maulavī Dr. 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq.² And since the *Kalimatu'l-Haqā'iq* quotes certain lines from the *Irshād 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-Ḥaq, is earlier by a few years, and Jānam appears to have died much later. For, one of the diaries found in the library of Gachchī-Maḥal at Bijapur, in which the dates of the death of several important persons and events are transcribed, contains the chronogrammatic phrase عزیز جان چشتیان جانم for his death which on calculation yields the year A.H. 1006 (1597 A.D.).

If this be the year of the death of Jānam, as appears to be the case, it should also provide the date of the birth of the saint Amīnu'd-Dīn 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 Jānam must have been of a ripe age of more than 120 or 122 years, at the time of the birth of his son.

Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā, according to the will of his father, was brought up by Shāikh Maḥmūd Khūsh-Dahān, Sayyid Dāwal and Sayyid Khudāwand Shāh, who were among the prominent disciples of Jānam.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 (*sijda-i-ta'zīmī*) which was being made to Jānam was continued by Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā

¹ For the details about this elegy, etc., please see Burhānu'd-Dīn Jānam, *Kalimatu'l-Haqā'iq*, ed. Professor M. Akbarud-Dīn Siddiqi (Hyderabad, 1961), p. 5. The complete elegy has since been published in the monthly Urdū magazine *Sabras*, Hyderabad, April 1968 issue.

² Letter to Sakhāwat Mirzā, in *Urdū-i-Muḥaffā*, being a collection of letters of Maulavī 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, (Lahore, 1961).

³ Mu'azzam, *op. cit.*

⁴ Sayyid Dāwal, *Kashf-u'l-Wajūd*, ed. M. Akbarud-Dīn Siddiqi (Hyderabad, 1965).

also. Secondly, the saint could never follow the *Sharī'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 Bijapur king Sikandar 'Adil Shāh, and A'lā was compelled to say prayers.¹

A'lā belonged to the *Chishtī* 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 *Chishtīya* order owes its currency in the Deccan to Mirānī Shamsu'l-Ushshāq. One of his disciples, besides his son, Jānam, was Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn Bābā Sajanjal,³ who is mentioned in several books of the period as a poet of renown. Among the disciples of Jānam were Sayyid Dāwal, Ḥājī Muḥammad Ishāq Madrāsī, Khudāwand Shāh, Shaikh Khān Miyān, Shaikh Maḥmūd Khush-Dahān, Ran Singār Khān and Maḥmūd Baḥrī's father Qādī Baḥru'd-Dīn Qādī-i-Daryā, who were also men of letters. Likewise, among the disciples of Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā, besides his son Ḥaḍrat Bābā Shāh and grandson, 'Alī Pīr, there were such illustrious men as Shāh 'Abdu'l-Qādir well known as Qādir Lingā-Kotāl, Sayyid Shāh Muḥammad Qādirī Nur-i-Daryā, Ma'sūm, Shāh Man-'araf, Shāh Mirān Ḥusainī Mirānī Khudā-Numā (buried in the Kamarakhi-Gumbad at Kārwan-i-Sāhū in Hyderabad), Mirān Sayyid Ḥasan Khudāwand Khudā-Numā (buried at Chincholi in Gulbarga District), Shāh Muḥammadi and Mu'azzam Bijāpūrī.

Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā died on the 24th Ramaḍān in A.H. 1085 and not in A.H. 1086 as stated by Maulavī 'Abdu'l-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 pretensions, was constructed by one of the saint's disciples Afḍal Khān Batanī. 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 Afḍal 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 Afḍal Khān to the Khānqāh.

There are several works to the credit of Amīnu'd-Dīn A'lā, in verse as well as in prose. These are: (1) A panegyric in praise of his father (2) *Muḥib Nāma* (3) *Ramzu's-Sālikin* (4) *Risāla-i-Wujūdiyya* (5) *Risāla-i-Qurbiyya* (6) *Nūrīza* (7) *Irshād Nāma* (in prose). Besides these, there are several lyrics and poems written in *Rekhta* (having half of the couplet in Persian and the other half in Dakanī).

The inscription under study occurs on the Mausoleum, which is locally called Amin-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 hagiological work of the time.

² Incidentally, a poet Ṣādiq belonging to the Qādirī order, wrote a long satire against A'lā, a copy of which is preserved in the above mentioned Gachchi 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.

⁴ *Urdu*, Aurangabad, January (1928), M. 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, *Qadīm Urdu* (Karachi, 1961), pp. 49-53.

from a great distance. The Dargāh building is likewise a fine specimen of 'Ādil Shāhī architecture, and is among the very few buildings of Bijapur which are octagonal and not square.¹

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 *Thulth* 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 raised elephant-trunk (a prominent feature of the 'Ādil 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 hemistich 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 invocations 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 hemistiches 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 invocations 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 Joḡ-Gumbad, but the Amin-Dargāh, 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 *nūn* either executed in their usual curved fashion of the *Thulth* style or at times in the *Riqā'* 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 Dakanī-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 it¹ or dismissed it by saying that it contains only the Quranic text.² However, Maulavī 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq of revered memory had published readings of five couplets or ten hemistiches (from which my reading differs in a few places)³, 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 *ghazal* and has also stated the number of its couplets, viz. fifteen. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the author of these verses. The late Maulavī Sāhib was inclined to attribute their authorship to the saint himself, whose name occurs as a *radīf* throughout the poem.⁴ 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 *ghazal* 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.⁵

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 *ghazal* in its proper form separately.

¹ Dr. M. Nāgim who edited a large number of inscriptions of Bijapur including the one set up at the gate of the enclosure of the Amin-Dargāh 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, Bashīru'd-Din Aḥmad, *Wāq'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr*, part II (Agra, 1915), p. 100.

³ M. 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ It was also first brought to light by Maulavī 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq in the *Journal Urdū*, (April 1938), and was subsequently published by Dr. G. Yazdani in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1935-36, pp. 51, pl. XXXIV a. Later on, Dr. M. A. Chaghatai gave its revised reading in his *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1942), p. 81, pl. XXXVI c.

TEXT

Plates XVI-XVIII

A. Right side (Plate XVIa).

(a) Bottom-most horizontal panel :

بنیاد نہاد عشق بازے جز درد بلا نبود مقصود

(b) Horizontal panels, above a,

(1) Side circles : یا امین مدد

(2) Middle circle : یا حاجت روا

(c) Three vertical panels :

(۱) دل بحر میں غواص ہو روح صد فکے کاجین امین

(۲) در بے بہا تس صدف میں جان نور تون سا جین امین

(۳) کرگیان کی عرفان تون سنبھال سینپے چیر کر

(d) Horizontal panel, above c,

(1) Side circles : یا صاحب کرامات

(2) Middle circle : یا امین مدد

(e) Above d,

موقی مزین ہات لے عرفان انگون پرکار امین

(f) Above e,

(1) Right circle : یا شمس العشاق

(2) Middle circle : یا معشوق ربانے

(3) Left circle : یا افتاب المہتاب

(g) Three vertical panels, above f :

(۱) سو ہے منور نور تون تس حال جو ظاہر طلوع

(۲) کرتا حضور حق اوچت ہدیہ ایس تب تون امین

(۳) مقبول حق از حق ہوا پاکہ چراکس جا دھرے

(h) Horizontal panel above g,

(1) Side circles : یا حاجت روا

(2) Middle circle : یا امین مدد

(i) Above h :

راضی رضا حق ہو فدا تھان ذوق نا دوجا امین

INSCRIPTION ON THE AMIN-DARGĀH, BIJAPUR
(PLATES XVI - XVIII)

(b—pp. 84-5)

(a—p. 84)



(j) Above i (Plate XVIb),

(1) Right circle : یا عاشق شہباز

(2) Middle circle : یا امین مدد

(3) Left circle : یا بلند پرواز

(k) Vertical panels, above j :

(۱) اس ذوق کے تمثیل کون کس موک سون کیا گر کہوں

(۲) ناهر کسے زہرہ تھان نا او کوئی سکيا امین

(۳) حق وصل سون بھو بھانہ ہے تس بھاکنے قتل اللسان

(l) Horizontal panel above k,

(1) Right circle : یا نور نورے

(2) Middle circle : یا امین مدد

(3) Left circle : یا سرسری

(m) Above l :

کہن کہن منزہ روپہ ہے بھوجگ اجنبہ کن امین

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

اللہ کافی - اللہ محمد علی - اللہ شافی

(o) Two small domes, each .

یا اللہ

(p) Big dome :

اے انا اللہ

B. Top side.

i. Right Section (Plate XVIIa).

(a) Right vertical panel,

(1) Top circle : امام علی المرتضیٰ

(2) Middle circle : امام محمد الباقر

(3) Bottom circle : امام محمد تقی

(b) Horizontal panels to the left of a :

(۱) وصل بحر امواج میں ہادے ہدایت جس اپن

(۲) ورنہ شفا اغلب تھان باریک وہ تاریک امین

(۳) لیکن عروج ایتاھے سن غواص دلکے سمع تون

(c) To left of b,

(1) Top circle : امام حسن المجتبیٰ صابر

(2) Middle circle : امام جعفر الصادق

(3) Bottom circle : امام علی النقی

ii. Middle Section (*Plate XVIIb*).

(a) Centre : لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله تعالى شانه

(b) Corners,

(1) Top right : قال رسول الله و به ؟ الشفاء

(2) Top left : صلى الله عليه و اله و صحبه و سلم

(3) Bottom right : ثما اسرى الى السماء الدنيا

(4) Bottom left : ادل على مكنون العرش

iii. Left Section (*Plate XVIIc*) :

(a) Right vertical panel,

(1) Top circle : امام حسين الشهيد كربلا

(2) Middle circle : امام موسى الكاظم

(3) Bottom circle : امام حسن العسكري

(b) Horizontal panels to the left of a :

(۱) امواج نفسانے سوغیر الله تهین ناڈر امین

(۲) مطلوب ہے اسان تب اشکال نہ مشکیل توج

(۳) جا ڈوب کر اوپار جا بیچار تون کرنا امین

(c) To left of b,

(1) Top circle : امام زین العابدین

(2) Middle circle : امام موسی الرضا

(3) Bottom circle : امام محمد المهدی

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 معافی - الله محمد علی - الله باقی

(d) Below c :

بیجا بود وسواس سب پردا اے تجھ اس منے

(a—pp. 85-6)



(b—p. 86)



(c—p. 86)



SCALE : 1

(e) Below d,

- (1) Right circle : انا من نورالله
- (2) Middle circle : يا امين مدد
- (3) Left circle : وکل شے من نورے

(f) Vertical panels below e :

- (۱) مردان حق تن نام ہے جن یم اپیں بیتھا امین
- (۲) شاہید ہو دل انگسوں دانا دلاور زور تر
- (۳) پیرے معلم خاص تھے امداد لی حق سون امین

(g) Below f,

- (1) Right circle : يا بنده نواز
- (2) Middle circle : يا امين مدد
- (3) Left circle : يا گیسو دراز

(h) Below g :

برهان کیرے فیض سون غوتا لیا ان دھونڈھنے

(i) Below h (Plate XVIIIb),

- (1) Right circle : يا غياث العاشقين
- (2) Middle circle : يا امين مدد
- (3) Left circle : يا تاج الموحدين

(j) Three vertical panels below i :

- (۱) پایا جو تھا تجھ قدر در اب رہ اہیمن ہو امین
- (۲) برهان بن میران کیرے درگاہ کے سب خاکے پر
- (۳) قربان تن بل جان من دیکر کھان کیتا امین

(k) Below j,

- (1) Right circle : يا افتاب المہتاب
- (2) Middle circle : يا معشوق ربانے
- (3) Left circle : يا شمس العشاق

(l) Below k,

خط غلامی منجہ سما آسیر اس دربار کا

(m) Below l,

- (1) Right circle : يا ہادے دہر

(2) Middle circle : یا امین مدد

(3) Left circle : یا ساقی کوثر

(n) Vertical panels below m :

(۱) آزادگے کوئیں تھے مین منجہ تھی پایا امین

(۲) ابیات خالی پنج دہ تمت کیا ای غزل مین

(۳) مفہوم کرسٹار ہو نا عیب جو ہونا امین

(o) Below n,

(1) Side circles : یا امین مدد

(2) Middle circle : یا حاجت روا

(p) Below o,

بنیاد نہاد عشق بازے جز درد بلا نبود مقصود

کتبہ حسین ۱۰۸۸

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 Amīn ! Help !

(2) O fulfiller of needs !

(d)¹ (1) O performer of miracles !

(2) O Amīn ! Help !

(f) (1) O Shamsu'l-'Ushshāq (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 Amīn ! Help !

(j) (1) O 'Āshiq-i-Shahbāz (lit. lover-falcon) !³

(2) O Amīn ! Help !

(3) O Baland-parwāz (lit. high-soaring) !⁴

(l) (1) O light of My light !

(2) O Amīn ! 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 Amīnu'd-Dīn's grandfather.

³ This was the epithet of the celebrated Daccan saint Ḥadrat Khwāja Banda-nawāz Gaisūd-darār (d. A.H. 825) of Gulbarga and also of Amīnu'd-Dīn himself.

⁴ This was also the epithet of the Gulbarga saint as well as of Amīnu'd-Dīn.

Inscription on the Amin-Dargāh, Bijapur—*concl'd.*

(a—pp. 86-7)

(b—pp. 87-8)



(n) Allāh sufficeth ! Allāh, Muḥammad, 'Alī ! Allāh is the Healer !

(o) O Allāh !

(p) Verily, I am Allāh ! ¹

B. (i)

(a) (1) Imām 'Alī al-Murtaḍā.

(2) Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir.

(3) Imām Muḥammad a't-Taḳī.

(c) (1) Imām Ḥasan al-Mujtabā, the patient.

(2) Imām Ja'far a'g-Ṣādiq.

(3) Imām 'Alī a'n-Naḳī.

(ii)

(a) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh. Lofty be His Glory !

(b) (1) The Prophet of Allāh,.....has said,

(2) may Allāh'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) Imām Ḥusain a'ḡh-Shahīd (at) Karbalā.

(2) Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

(3) Imām Ḥasan al-'Askarī.

(c) (1) Imām Zainu'l-'Ābidīn.

(2) Imām Mūsā a'r-Riḍā.

(3) Imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī.

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

(c) Allāh is my Forgiver ! Allāh, Muḥammad 'Alī. Allāh is everlasting !

(e) (1) I am from the light of Allāh !

(2) O Amīn ! Help !

(3) And everything is from my light !

(g) (1) O Banda-nawāz (lit. cherisher of slaves) ! ²

(2) O Amīn ! Help !

(3) Yā Gaisū-darāz (lit. long-haired one) ! ²

(i) (1) O asylum of lovers !

(2) O Amīn ! Help !

(3) O crown of monotheists !

¹ Qur'ān, 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-'Ushshāq (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 Husain. 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 :—

- (۱) دل بحر میں غواص دو روح صد فکے کاجین امین
 در بے بہا تس صدف میں جان نورتون ساجین امین
 (۲) گرگیان کی عرفان تون سنبھال سینپے چیرکر
 موتی مزین ہات لے عرفان انگون پرکار امین
 (۳) سوئے منور نور تون تس حال جو ظاہر طلوع
 کرنا حضور حق اوچت ہدیہ اِس تب تون امین
 (۴) مقبول حق از حق ہوا پاگہ چراکس جا دھرے
 داضی رضا حق ہو فدا تھان ذوق نا دوجا امین
 (۵) اس ذوقکے تمثیل کون کس موک سون کیا گر کہوں
 ناہر کسے زہرہ تھان نا او کوئی سکیا امین
 (۶) حق وصل سون بھو بہانۂ ہے تس بھانکے قتل اللسان
 کہن کہن منزہ روپہ ہے بھوجکے اچنبہ کن امین

¹ A stream in Paradise.

² 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq, *op. cit.*, has در باہ در .

³ *Ibid.* has نور جان تو .

⁴ *Ibid.* has سون .

⁵ *Ibid.* omits this word.

⁶ *Ibid.* has کدسکتا .

- (۷) وصل بحر امواج میں ہادے ہدایت جس ایس
 ورنہ شفا اغلب تھان باریکے رہ تاریکے امین
- (۸) لیکن عروج ایسا ہے سن غواص دلکے سمع توں
 امواج نفسانے سو غیر اللہ نہیں نا ڈر امین
- (۹) مطلوب ہے آسان تب اشکال نہ مشکیل توج
 جا ڈوب کر اوپار جا بیچار توں کرنا امین
- (۱۰) بیجا بود وسواس سب پردا اے تجہ اس منے
 مردان حق تن نام ہے جن یم این بیٹھا امین
- (۱۱) شاہید ہو دل انگسوں دانا دلاور زورتر
 پیرے معلم خاص تھے امداد لی حق سون امین
- (۱۲) برہان کیرے فیض سون غوتا لیا ان دھونڈھنے
 پایا جو تھا تجہ قدر در اب رہ اہمین ہو امین
- (۱۳) برہان بن میران کیرے درگاہ کے سب خاک پر
 قربان تن بل جان من دیکر کھان کیتا امین
- (۱۴) خط غلامی منجہ سما آسیر اس دربار کا
 آزادگے کونین تھے میں منجہ تھی پایا امین
- (۱۵) ایات خالی پنج دہ تمت کیا ای غزل میں
 مفہوم کر ستار ہو نا عیب جو ہونا امین

TRANSLATION

(1) O Amīn ! 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 Amīn ! 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.

^۱ Ibid. has بیچارو.

^۲ Ibid. has میں.

^۳ Ibid. has اوس بیٹھا.

^۴ Ibid. reads خامی.

^۵ Ibid. reads بیکے.

(3) O Amīn ! 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 Amīn ! 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 Amīn ! 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 Amīn ! 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 Amīn ! 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 Amīn !

(9) O Amīn ! 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 Amīn ! 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 Amīn !

(12) Through the bounty of Burhān,¹ you have dived deep to seek Him, and you have found the pearl befitting you. Now live in tranquility, O Amīn !

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

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

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

¹ Reference to the saint's father Shāh Burhānu'd-Dīn Jānam.

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ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the Series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1969

EDITED BY

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Superintending Epigraphist
Arabic and Persian Inscriptions
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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 Jahāngir from the Patnā 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 Kāghdih-Maḥalla 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 Shaiḫ Farid 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 Patnā 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.)

⁴ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 83.

⁵ It has been published in *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 42.

Kalima, and above it, an invocation to Allāh 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 Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad, i.e. emperor Jahāngīr, while the one at the left end contains the phrase 'the Sāhibā (consort?) of Shaiḫ Farīd Bukhārī', 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.

یا حافظ

ابا بکر عمر عثمان علی خان [خوان recte] لا اله الا [الله محمد رسول الله امام معظم
محمد [احمد recte] مالک شافع بدان

(b) Right side.

در عهد نور الدین محمد

(c) Left side.

صاحبہ (?) شیخ فرید بخارے سنہ ۱۰۱۵

TRANSLATION

(a) O Protector!

There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

Recite (the names of) Abā Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī; know (the names of) Imām M^r'azzam (i.e. Imām Abū Ḥanīfa), Muḥammad (Aḥmad Ḥanbal), Mālik and Shāfi'ī.

(b) In the reign of Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad (Jahāngīr).

(c) Sāhibā(?) (consort) of Shaiḫ Farīd Bukhārī. 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 Shaiḫ Farīd Bukhārī.

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 Bukhārī-Masjid referred to above.³ The mosque is a massive three-domed structure very similar in design to the Ḥabīb Khān's mosque, of Shāh Jahān's reign, also at Bihārsharif. 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 *Yā Ḥafiz* which has not come out in the estampage.

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

³ *ARI*, 1955-56, No. D, 81, where it is stated to be 'on the façade'.

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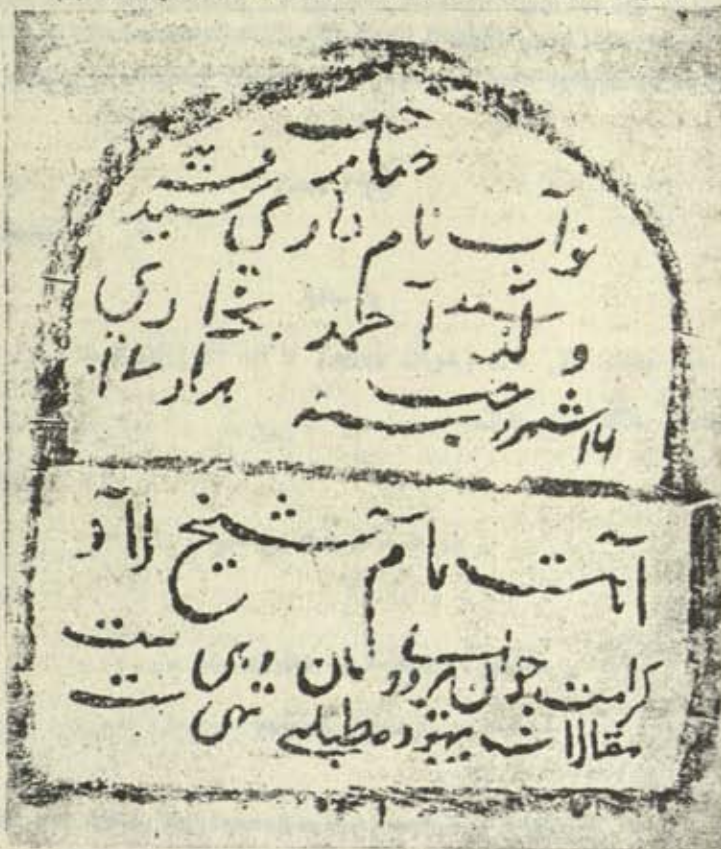
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PLATE I

JAHĀNGĪR'S RECORDS FROM BIHĀR

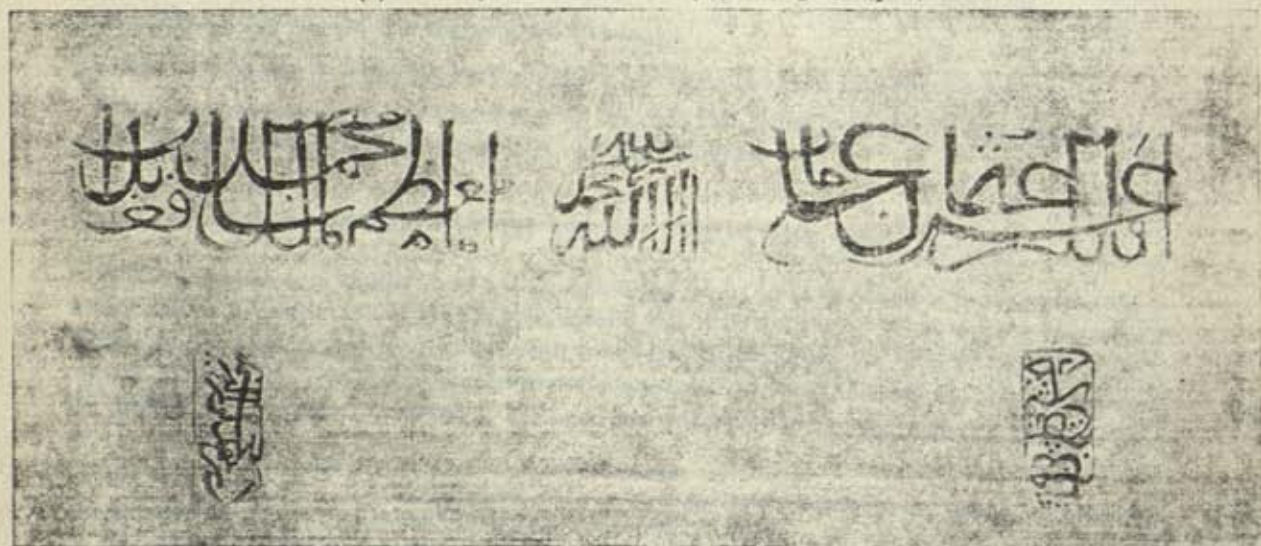
(PLATES I—III)

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



SCALE : 24

(b) Record, dated A. H. 1015 (?), same place (p. 2)



SCALE : 15

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 Farid, son of Sayyid Aḥmad 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 *Nasta'liq* characters of no particular merit, and has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I (a)

(۱) صاحبه

(۲) نواب نام داری سید فرید

(۳) ولد سید احمد بخاری

(۴) ۱۶ شهر رجب سنه هزار ۱۷

(۵) اهتمام شیخ لاد

(۶) کرامت جوان مردے و جان دہی ست

(۷) مقالات بیہودہ طبلے تہی ست

TRANSLATION

(1) Sāhibā (wife of) the renowned Nawwāb, Sayyid Farid,

(2) son of Sayyid Aḥmad 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 Aḥmad, 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 Murtaḍā 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 recluses who merely indulged in empty speculation.

² See note 2 on the next page.—Ed.

supervision of Shaiḵh 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 Tughrā. The text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

(a) In the corners.

یا حافظا

(b) In the centre.

۱۰۰۰—۱۰

شیخ فرید بخاری

۲۰۸۰ بن احمد

(c) Below (b), at right.

صناعتہ شیخ فرید بخاری

نواب مرتضیٰ خان

(d) Below (b), at left.

باہتمام

شیخ (?) لاد

TRANSLATION

(a) O Protector !

(b) 1000. 10. Shaiḵh Farīd Bukhārī, son of Aḥmad. 2080.

(c) 410. Designed by (?)² Shaiḵh Farīd Bukhārī (entitled) Nawwāb Murtaḍā Khān.

(d) Supervised by Shaiḵh (?) Lād.

Of the three persons mentioned in this as well as in the previous two epigraphs, Shaiḵh Farīd Bukhārī is a well-known nobleman of Akbar and Jahāngīr. He was assigned to the eastern provinces, in 1583, as a deputy of Wazīr Khān. While on a mission, as an emissary, to the famous Afghān chieftain of Orissā, Qutlū Nūḥānī, he nearly lost his life due to the treachery of the latter. Subsequently, he was Bakhshī and Dīwan-i-Tan for sometime. It was under Jahāngīr from whom he received the title of Murtaḍā Khān in recognition of his varied meritorious services, that he

¹ The numerical value of Shaiḵh Farīd Bukhārī, 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 صاحبہ as in the other allied records.—Ed.

reached the pinnacle of his career. After serving as the viceroy of Gujarat¹ and Punjab, he died in A.H. 1025 (1616 A.D.), and was buried in the family graveyard in Delhi.²

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 Ahmadābād, Delhi and Lāhore. He also founded the township of Faridābād near Delhi.

It is to be noted that Shaikh Farid was not personally present in Bihār during the period when these three inscriptions mentioning him were set up. The beginning of his connection with Bihar might have occurred when, as stated above, he was deputed in the region during Akbar's reign, and he might have received a *jāgīr* 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 Mehdāwān also in Patnā district, in which the deceased Shaikh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān commonly known as Mīr Wā'iz is referred to as a son of Sayyid Aḥmad Bukhārī;³ 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. 1022, FROM SASĀRĀM

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 Chandan Pīr's shrine in Sasārām, District Shāhābād. 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.⁴ 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 'Alī Akbar in the reign of Jahāngīr in 1613-14, during the governorship of Ṣafdar Khān. It is now difficult to locate the mosque and the well.⁵

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.*; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 633-41; H. Blochmann, Eng. tr. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 454-58; *List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments (LMH)*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1919), p. 60, etc.

² For his epitaph, see *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (PASB)*, 1873, p. 197; *LMH*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1922), p. 153; Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāq'at-i-Dārū'l-Hukūmat-i-Dihli*, vol. III (Agra, 1919), pp. 151-52; H. E. 'Alī Asghar Hikmat, *Naqsh-i-Pārsī bar aḥfār-i-Hind* (Tehran, A. H. 1337 shamsī), p. 113. The text quoted in Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āthār-i-Sanādīd* (Delhi, 1965), p. 265, has A. H. 1023 for the year of death, which is a mistake. That he expired in A.H. 1025 is also stated by Jahāngīr, *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Aligarh, 1864), p. 159.

³ Published, along with the other inscriptions of Akbar in Bihar, in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Special Issue, 1963, Professor S. H. Askari Felicitation Volume, pp. 119-33. (This has been listed in *ARIE*, 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 Shāhid Hill.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good type. The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate II (c)

(۱) بدور شاه نور الدین جهانگیر زمان خان سرور صفدر القاب
 (۲) علی اکبر چه و مسجد بنا کرد که تالب تشنگان گردند سیراب
 (۳) چو تاریخش طلب کردم خرد گشت ز بهر طاعت رزاق و وهاب
 سنه ۱۰۲۲

TRANSLATION

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

(2) 'Alī 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'āthiru'l-Umarā*, Safdar Khān was the title conferred along with the *tuyūl* in Bihār upon Mirzā Lashkarī, son of Sayyid Yūsuf Khān Ridawī, by Jahāngīr in the early part of his reign.² He is stated to have received an increase in *manṣab* in the 5th regnal year,³ and was transferred to Kashmir in the 8th regnal year to replace its viceroy Hāshim Khān.⁴

The precise official post of Safdar Khān in Bihār is not mentioned anywhere, but his high *manṣab* 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 1613,⁵ 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 Afḍal Khān (son of Abu'l-Faḍl) in the 3rd regnal year and the latter held the said, charge upto the two-thirds of the 7th regnal year (about the 1st December 1612), when he was succeeded by Zafar Khān.⁶ 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.⁷

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

¹ Blochmann, in *PASB*, 1876, p. 11, takes 'Khān-i-Sarwar' as the name proper of Safdar Khān, which is incorrect.

² In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he received the title of Saf-shikan 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 Dhū'l-Qa'da 1022 (16th December 1613).

⁵ Jahāngīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80-81, 97, 98, 118.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

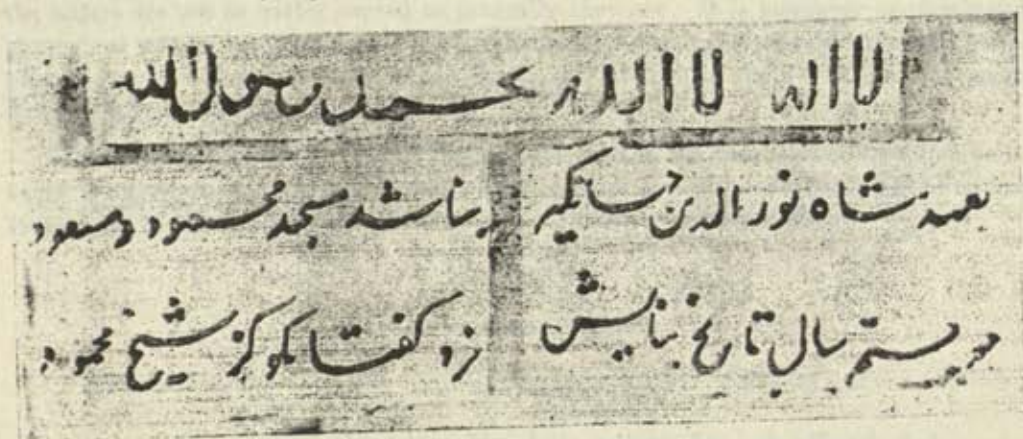
⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 1022 (?), from Kahalgāon (p. 7)



SCALE : 3

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



SCALE : 3

(c) Inscription, dated A. H. 1022, from Sasārām (p. 6)



SCALE : 14

still the governor,¹ 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 'Alī 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 'Alī Akbar constructed a mosque, palace, caravansara and a bridge during A.H. 1021-23. In all probability, he and 'Alī Akbar of the epigraph under study are one and the same person. The inscription under reference, found not far from Sasārām, the findspot of the inscription under study, would also suggest that 'Alī Akbar was posted in some official capacity or held a *jāgīr* in the neighbourhood.²

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1022(?), FROM KAHALGĀON

This epigraph was discovered by me in 1959 during an exploration tour of Bhagalpur district.³ 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 Kahalgāon. 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 *Nasta'liq*. 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 Muḥammad during the governorship of Nawwāb Zafar Khān and under the supervision of Nūr Muḥammad Gīlānī in 1613. It has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate II (a)

(۱) الله اكبر

(۲) اين قلع باسم حضرت محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم

(۳) در عمل نواب ظفر خان باهتمام بنده نور محمد گیلانی بنیادشد

(۴) تحریر فی التاریخ شهر صفر ۱۰۲۲

¹ He was transferred from Bihār in about April 1617 (*ibid.*, p. 185).

² Jahāngīr mentions an official 'Mir 'Alī Akbar' twice in his account of his 4th and 5th regnal years—one 'Alī Akbar, (*ibid.*, pp. 78, 88) and one 'Alī 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 'Alī 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, Jahāngīr 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, Bhāgalpur District, on 10 January 1963. Its date was doubtfully read and communicated to Shri Singh, as A.H. 1199, Šafar, 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 Zafar Khān, governor of Bihār under Jahāngīr 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 of¹ 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 Ṣafar 1022 (March-April 1613).

Zafar Khān, the governor, during whose tenure the inscription was set up, is a renowned Mughal 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 Jahāngir's reign, or to be exact on or about the 17th Shawwāl 1021 (1st December 1612). In this first appointment of his as a viceroy, Zafar Khān came upto Jahāngir's expectations which the latter had given expression to while making the appointment in response to the former's wishes.² He showed great initiative and ability, for he was the first Mughal viceroy of Bihār—leaving aside the brief military campaign of Shāhbāz Khān—to invest Kokrādes̄h (the present Chotā Nāgpur area) which was yet unreduced. Ibrāhīm Khān (later on Faṭḥ Jang), the succeeding Mughal governor, had only completed what had been begun by Zafar Khān.

The account of Zafar Khān's expedition against Kokrādes̄h, which is an important event in the provincial history of Bihār under Jahāngir, is not mentioned by contemporary or later Mughal historians, some of whom like the authors of the *Pādshāh Nāma* and the *‘Ālamgīr Nāma* give a full account of the subsequent expeditions, in the region, of Ibrāhīm Khān, Shā'ista Khān and Dā'ūd Khān.³ But Mirzā Nathan, in his valuable memoir, viz. the *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī*, 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 Kokrādes̄h. It seems that in attacking Kokrādes̄h, 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 Mungr was to take charge of that office; if there be no man of this position at Mungr, then the Subahdār of Bihar should go to Bengal."⁴ Accordingly, in 1613, on the death of Islām Khān, the famous governor of Bengāl and the founder of the capital at Dacca (Jahāngirnagar), Zafar Khān who was then engaged in the expedition against Kokrādes̄h, hastened to Jahāngirnagar and reported the matter to the emperor. But the emperor who had, in the meantime, received reports from the Dīwān,

¹ The dedication of a fort to the Prophet, though not quite unknown, is rather uncommon.

² Jahāngir, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

³ Jahāngir, while referring to the conquest of the region—'Kokhra'—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 (Jahāngir, *op. cit.*, p. 154). Jahāngir also gives a brief description of the region.—Ed.

⁴ M. I. Borah, Eng. tr. *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibī*, vol. I (Gauhati, 1936), p. 257.

Bakhshī and news-writers of Bihār that Zafar Khān was on the verge of defeating the Rājā of Kokrādes̄h and could have secured from him diamonds weighing 32 *mithqāl*s 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 *Dīwān* and the Bakhshī 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 Jahāngir, who ordered his recall from Bihār in his 10th regnal year—or on or about the 12th Rabi' 1 (1st April 1615) to be exact—does not assign any reason for it, but from the above account of Mīrzā Nathan the real reason can be easily guessed.³

As regards Nūr Muḥammad Gilanī 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 .A.H. 1026, FROM GAYĀ

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

The text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate III (a)

- (۱) در ایام سلطنت شهنشاه اعظم مالک رقاب امم صاحب الجود
 (۲) و الکرم الموصوف بالعدل و الاحسان ابوالمظفر نورالدین جهانگیر بادشاه
 (۳) ابن اکبر بادشاه خلدالله ملکه بنای این مسجد بيمين توجه ولايت پناه شيخ بر مزید
 (۴) سعی فخر الوزرا خلاصه طاها و یاسین مجمع الکمالات میرک حسین البخشی الخوافی
 (۵) در سنه ۱۲ جلوس جهانگیری موافق سنه ۱۰۲۶ هجری اتمام پذیرفت

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. 258.

² *Ibid.*, p. 262.

³ For biographical details, see H. Beveridge, Eng. tr. *Akbar Nāma* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 710; Jahāngir, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 53, 60, 61, 70, 76, 107, 113, 139, 512; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 755-56; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 588-89; Borah, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-58, 262-63; etc.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 7.

(2) and kindness, one who is renowned for justice and benevolence, Abu'l-Muzaffar-Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr Bādshāh,

(3) son of Akbar Bādshāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, the construction of this mosque, by the grace of the attention of the asylum of sanctity, Shaiikh Barmazīd,

(4) (and) by the efforts of the pride of the Vazīrs, the essence of Tāhā and Yāsīn,¹ the compendium of perfection, Mirak Husain al-Khwāfi, the Bakhshī,

(5) was completed in the 12th year of Jahāngīr's accession, corresponding to A. H. 1026 (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 Tughlugh.² It is, as in the case of the epigraph of Safdar Khān (No. IV, *supra*), the only memento on stone of Mirak Husain who was the Bakhshī of Bihār. It is difficult to say what connection with Gayā—a *maḥāl* 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 Mirak Husain was an official of importance under Jahāngīr, having been appointed Bakhshī and *Wāqī'a-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 Bakhshī under the Mughals, only very prominent events of his career are known.³ Among 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,⁴ and it was during this period that the construction of the mosque took place.

Another important personage mentioned in the epigraph is Shaiikh Barmazīd, who is referred to as a saintly person. He seems to have been held in great reverence by Mirak Husain 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 *Malfūz* of a 17th century saint of Bihār, namely Shāh Ruknu'd-Dīn Shattārī. According to this, Shaiikh Barmazīd was a disciple of Shāh Tāju'd-Dīn hattārī, and Rājā Mān Singh was very much devoted to him. When the Rājā defeated 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Sūr, a Pathān chief of Bihār, he took over all his personal possessions, including a copy of the *Ma'danū'l-Asrār*, a standard work on the principles and practices of the Shattārī order. The manuscript was presented by the Rājā to Shaiikh Barmazīd. Later, when 'Abdu'r-Rahīm 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 Shattārī, an ancestor of Shāh Ruknu'd-Dīn, who advised Shaiikh Barmazīd 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 *mihrāb* in the facade of the domed mausoleum of an unknown saint, situated in Champānagar, a suburb of Bhāgalpur town. The mausoleum, locally

¹ The epithet is used in regard to Sayyids who claim descent from the Prophet.

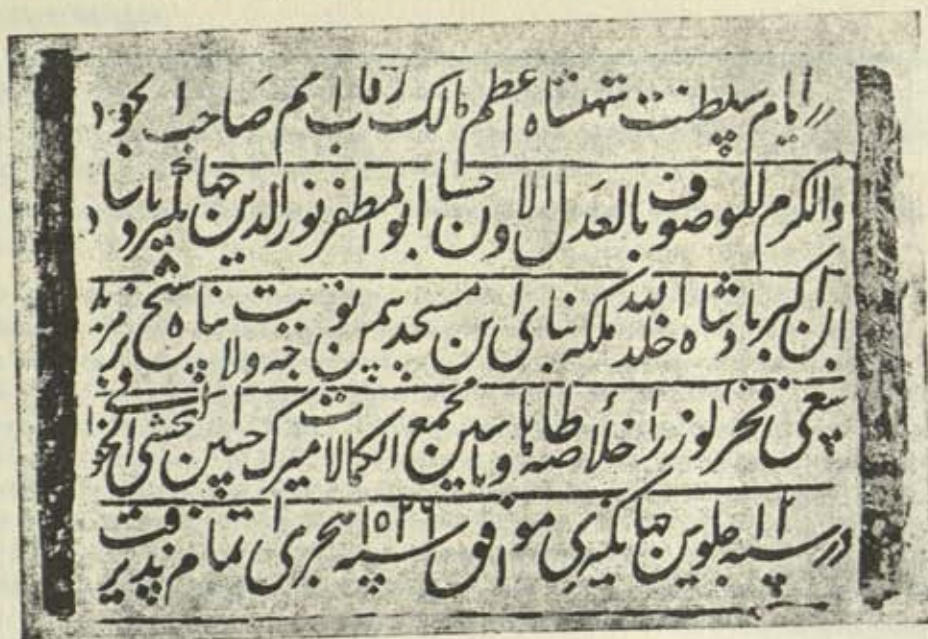
² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII, p. 314. At Kāko in Jahānābād sub-division of Gayā district also, there are a couple of inscriptions (*ARIE*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 5-6).

³ For details of these, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 259-60.

⁴ Jahāngīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 199. I owe the identification of and references to Mirak Husain to Shri A. A. Kādīrī of the office of the Superintending Epigraphist, Nagpur.

PLATE III

(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 *Makhdūm Ṣāhib*,¹ 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 *Champānālā* 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 inscriptional 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 *Khwāja Aḥmad Samarqandī* during his tenure as the *Faujdār* of the *sarkār* of Monghyr in 1622-23. It also states that the *Khwāja* had been posted at Monghyr by the orders of Prince Parviz, son of emperor Jahāngir.

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

TEXT

Plate III (b)

(۱) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

(۲) أَبُو بَكْرٍ صَدِيقُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ عَنْهُ عَمْرُ قَارُوقُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عُمَانُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ

عَلَى كَرَمِ اللَّهِ وَجْهِهِ

(۳) چُونِ اَضْعَفِ عِبَادِ اللَّهِ خَوَاجَه اَحْمَدِ سَمَرْقَنْدِي حَسْبِ الْحُكْمِ نَوَابِ قَلَسِي الْقَابِ شَاهَزَادِ

عَالَمِيَانِ شَاهِ پَرُوِيَزِ جِهَانْگِيرِ

(۴) بِخِدْمَتِ فَوْجِدَارِي سَركَارِ مَنگِيرِ آمَدِه بُوْد بِه بِنَايِ عِمَارَتِ اَيْنِ رُوضَه مَنُورَه تَوْفِيْقِ يَافَتِ

سَنَه ۱۰۳۲ هِزَارِ سِي وَ دُو

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.S.B.*, 1873, p. 200, where it is reported to have been "found by General Cunningham at the Dargah called the *Maskan-i-Barari* or domicile of virtues" where some Sunni 'Makhdum' or saint is buried". Its text was also published in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1894), p. 28.

(2) Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq, may Allāh be pleased with him ; 'Umar Fārūq, may Allāh be pleased with him ; 'Uthmān, may Allāh be pleased with him ; 'Alī, may Allāh illumine his face (with mark of approbation).

(3) When (this) weakest of Allāh's creatures, Khwāja Aḥmad Samarqandī, had, under orders of the Nawwāb of holy titles, the prince of the people of the world, namely Shāh Parvīz (son of) Jahāngīr,

(4) came to (render) the service of the *faujdārī* 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 Parvīz's viceroyalty 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 Aḥmad 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 Faujdār of the the Monghyr *sarkār*.

Monghyr town, which gives the name to the *sarkār*, 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 *sarkār*. 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 *sarkār* 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 Idrīs,² informed me that considerable *jāgīr* lands were attached to the shrine for its upkeep, and that several *sanads* 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 BĀRH

The tablet bearing this inscription which measures 55 by 20 cms. is fixed over the central doorway in the facade of the mosque in Bārh, a sub-divisional headquarters in Patnā district.³ On

¹ For the inscription, dated A. H. 1036 (1626 A. D.), mentioning Parvīz's name and recording the construction of a mosque in Patnā by his subordinate Naẓar Khwāshgi, see *EIAPS* 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.

³ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 71.

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 Shaiikh Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd, during the reign of Jahāngir, 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)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) بعهد شاه نورالدين جهانگیر بنا شد مسجد محمود و مسعود

(۳) چو جستم سال تاريخ بنایش خرد گفتا بگوکز شيخ محمود

TRANSLATION

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

(2) In the reign of the king, Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngir, 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 Shaiikh 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 Shaiikh Maḥmūd as the builder, but in the corresponding hemistich of the first verse the name of (Shaiikh) 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 Manerī saints. It also appears from an Old Court Proceedings³ dated 1839, that Shaiikh Mas'ūd was granted 728 *bighas* of rent-free land in *mauzas* Syedpur Chunaria and Syedpur Barsāwān in *pargana* Ghiyāspur (comprising parts of the present Bārḥ sub-division) in the reign of Jahāngir. When resumption proceedings were started regarding these lands, the successors of Shaiikh Mas'ūd stated that since the original grant, several other confirmatory *farmāns* and *sanads*, including a *farmān* of Shāh Jahān dated the 7th *Khurdād* of the 3rd regnal year and a *sanad* of the famous Vazīr 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*, 1955-56, 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 Patnā for making available to me the Court Proceedings and a copy of the genealogy.

Shaikh Maḥmūd 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.¹ 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*, 1955-56, 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 Jahāngīr 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.¹ In this article, I propose to study nine inscriptions of Shāh Jahān copied in the past few years from various places of the Mālwa region which has now been merged in the present state of Madhya Pradesh. These range in their dates from 1631 to 1657.

Mālwa is the name generally given to the territory lying between the great Vindhya on the south, which forms a point just south of Gwālior on the north, the ridge running from south to north and starting from Bhilsā, on the east, and Rājputānā on the west.² The region rose to considerable prominence in the beginning of the eleventh century under the illustrious Paramāra rulers. The first Muslim inroad into the region seems to have been made in 1233 under Iltutmish. But it was effectively occupied, under 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, whose commander 'Ainu'l-Mulk annexed it to the Delhi Sultanate. The last of the imperial governors under the succeeding Tughluq dynasty³ was Dilāwar Khān Ghori who later became independant and founded the kingdom of Mālwa, which was, according to emperor Bābur, the fourth most important kingdom of Hindustān. Bābur occupied part of Mālwa in 1526, and about a decade later, his son and successor Humāyūn, attacked Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt and drove him out of Mālwa, defeating him successively at Mandasor and Māndu. Sher Shāh, the founder of the Sūr dynasty, obtained possession of various places of the region, namely Gwālior, Māndu, Sārangpur, Bhilsā, and Rāisen, and appointed Shujā'al Khān as viceroy.⁴ As an independent province under Akbar, its boundaries extended to Bāndhaw (Rewā) in the east, Mārwar on the north, Baglānā on the south and Gujarāt and Ajmer on the west. Mālwa commanded special importance from its position on the great route along which Mughal armies marched from Delhi to Deccan.⁵

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1040, FROM SĀRANGPUR

The earliest record of this group is from Sārangpur.⁶ Situated on the east bank of the Kālī Sind river in 23°34' and 76°29', Sārangpur was under Sārang Singh Khichī in 1298 and it was from him that it received its present name. In 1526 it was wrested from Maḥmūd Khaljī of Mālwa by Rānā Sāngā of Chitor, but during the confusion caused by the invasion of Bābur, it soon fell to Mallū Khān whose attempts to assume independence were foiled by Sher Shāh, and was placed by

¹ *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1968, pp. 51-68.

² *Imperial Gazetteer (IG)* (Oxford, 1908), vol. IX, pp. 322-23.

³ For the history of the Mālwa Sultāns, see Dr. U. N. Day, *Medieval Malwa* (Delhi, 1965).

⁴ For a description and brief history of Mālwa, please see *IG*, vol. IX, pp. 338-40; vol. XVII, pp. 103-04.

⁵ For Abu'l-Faḍl's description of the Mālwa gūba, see *A'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), pp. 455-73.

⁶ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1963-64, No. D, 122.

the latter under Shujā'al Khān.¹ 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*.²

The epigraph, engraved on a slab measuring 43 by 43 cms., is fixed on the central *mihrāb* of the Qal'a-kī-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 *Naskh* script. It records the construction of a mosque in 1631 in the reign of Shāh Jahān, by Sayyid Khawāja Sābir, son of Khawāja-i-Ḥisārī, known as Naṣīrī Khān, under the supervision of Khawāja Phūl, and further mentions Ḥāfiẓ Shaiḡh 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.³ He acquitted himself creditably in Mālwa and in Deccan and was subsequently awarded the titles of Khān-i-Daurān Nugrat Jang. He was made viceroy of Mālwa in Dhu'l-Qa'da 1041, while our inscription is dated exactly an year earlier. This would mean that Naṣīrī Khān was connected with Sārangpur even before he became viceroy of Mālwa. It is not unlikely that he had his *jāgīr* at that place.⁴ It may be of interest to know that it was from Sārangpur that Naṣīrī Khān proceeded to chastise Bhagīrath Bhīl in the fort of Khāta-Kherī.⁵ 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.⁶ 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 Khawāja Phūl, who discharged supervisory duties for the construction, I have not been able to identify him. From the text, it 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. Siddīqī, Senior Epigraphical Assistant.

Its text is as under :—

TEXT

Plate IV (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ
(۲) [ال]رسول الله قال النبي عليه السلام من تكلم بكلام

¹ *JG*, vol. XXII, pp. 959-60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96; Abu'l-Faḡl, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

³ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1939), p. 449.

⁴ For details of his career, see *ibid.* and 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vols. I & II (Calcutta, 1867 and 1868), Index under Naṣīrī Khān and Khān Daurān; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Mā'athirū'l-Umarā*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 749-58.

⁵ 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, vol. I, part I, p. 449.

⁶ This has been detailed in court chronicles of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd and others, but we have also an epigraphical record of his conquest of Udgir in 1636, for which see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1929-30, p. 22.

⁷ This is originally, though wrongly, so inscribed. An effort seems to have been made to correct it by scraping off the definite article.

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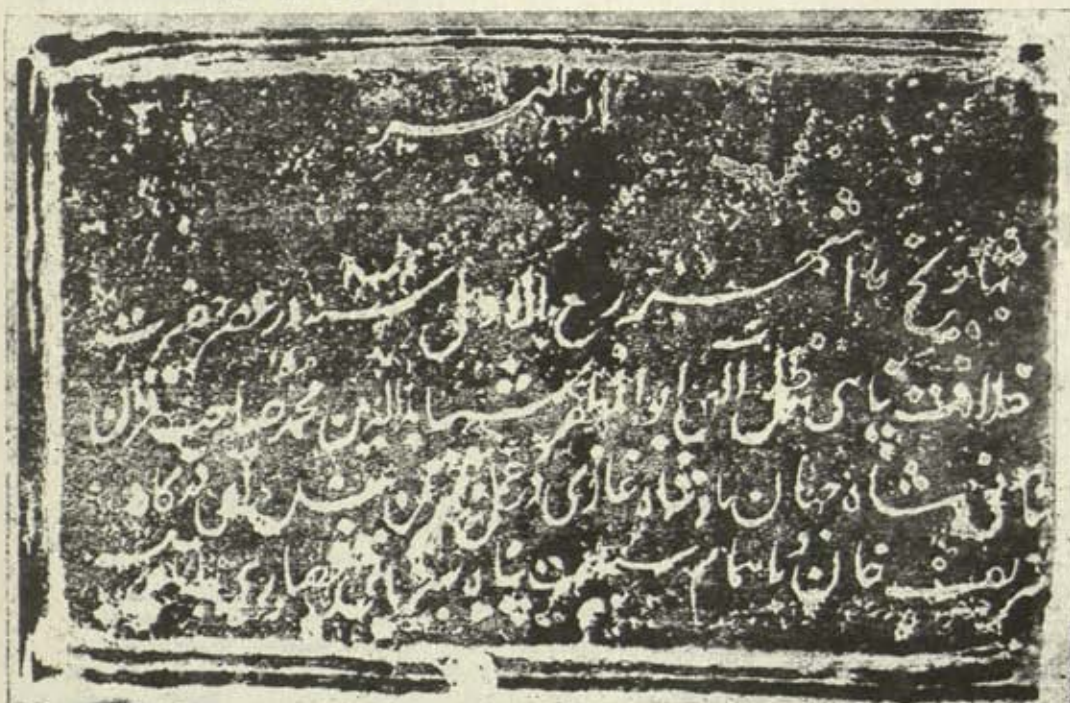
(PLATES IV--VII)

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 1040, from Sārangpur (p. 16)



SCALE : 23

(b) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1044, from Maheshwar (p. 19)



SCALE : 24

- (۳) الدنيا فی المسجد احبط الله تعالى عمله اربعين سنة تمت
 (۴) هذه البقعة الشريفة الميمونة المباركة فی غرة شهر شوال فی
 (۵) زمان سلطنة الملك المعظم و الخاقان المكرم باعث الامن
 (۶) و الامان ماحی آثار البدعت و الظلم و العدوان ابو المظفر
 (۷) صاحب القرآن الثاني شاه جهان بادشاه الغازی البانی
 (۸) سيد السادات و فخر القبایل و الالباء و الاجداد معدن الجود
 (۹) و الشجاعة و الاحسان كامل الحياء و لايمان خواجه صابر ابن حضرت
 (۱۰) خواجه حصاری المشهور بتصیری خان باهتمام خیر الخدام اولاد الرسول
 (۱۱) خواجه بهول تاریخ : بیت :

در نیابد حال پخته هیچ خام ختم شد تاریخ مسجد و السلام

(۱۲) کتبه حافظ شیخ داؤد

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad
 (2) is the Prophet of Allāh. The Prophet, may peace be upon him, has said, "He who talks
 of the affairs of
 (3) the world in the mosque, Allāh 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 Shawwāl, in
 (5) the time of the government of the magnificent king and the respected Khāqān, the estab-
 lisher of peace
 (6) and security, the destroyer of innovation, oppression and tyranny, Abu'l-Muẓaffar
 (7) Ṣāhibu'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, Khawāja Ṣābir, son of
 His Holiness
 (10) Khawāja Hīṣārī, better known as Naṣīrī Khān, under the supervision of the best amongst
 the servants of the progeny of the Prophet (namely)

(11) Khawāja Phūl. 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 Hāfiz Shaikh Dā'ūd.

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 Shawwāl 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 Nimār district, in December 1966, is fixed on the right side of the central *mihrāb* of the mosque locally known Shāhī-Masjid in Maḥalla Jalālpurā near the Bāzār-Chawk.¹ 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 Narbadā river. It was regarded an important frontier post during the time of the Sultāns of Mālwa, and under Akbar, it was the headquarters of a *maḥāl*.² Of the time of the latter, there is an inscription here, in the form of a visitor's record, of the famous Mīr Muḥammad Ma'sūm Nāmī of Bhakkar.³

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 incised on the stone. The style of writing, which is somewhat affected by weather, is fine *Nasta'liq*. Incidentally, there is a curious mistake in the spelling of the title of the emperor. The epigraph refers to the reign of Shāh Jahān, and to the governorship of Sharif Khān and records the completion of some edifice—the mosque, if the tablet is *in situ*, which however, is not certain—through the efforts of Mīr Bāqī Ḥisārī 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 Khān, the governor of the region, who is almost if not completely, ignored by contemporary historians. This Sharif Khān is not to be confused with his far more celebrated name-sake Sharif Khān Anīru'l-Umarā, as the latter had expired a few years before the date of the record under study.⁴ It is also difficult to say if he is identical with Sharif Khān who is mentioned in contemporary chronicles in connection with the award of increase in rank on several occasions.⁵ 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 Khān's tenure of governorship of Mālwa or of the *sarkār* of Māndu⁶ 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, Khān Daurān had been continuing as viceroy of the region⁷ and moreover, if Sharif Khān 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 Mīr Bāqī Ḥisārī, a Sayyid, cannot be satisfactorily established. He must have been associated with Maheshwar in some administrative capacity or the other.

¹ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 115.

² Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

³ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 115. It has been published by Professor Dr. B. D. Vermā in *Sardesai Commemoration Volume* (Bombay, 1938), pp. 265-67.

⁴ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), p. 153.

⁵ Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, vol. I, part I, pp. 119, 253, 477, 542.

⁶ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

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)

(۱) الله اكبر

(۲) بتاريخ ۱۷ شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۰۴۴ در عصر حضرت

(۳) خلافت پناهی ظل الهی ابو المظفر شهاب الدین (sic.) محمد صاحب قرآن

(۴) ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی در عمل کمترین بنده این درگاه

(۵) شریف خان و باهتمام سیادت پناه میر باقی حصاری باتمام رسید

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Great.

(2) On the 17th of the month of Rabī'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-Muzaffar Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāhib Qirān-i-

(4) Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, 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) Mir Bāqī Hīṣārī, (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. Siddiqī, is fixed over the gate called Nadi-Darwāza, leading to the river Sipri.¹ Ujjain, regarded as one of the seven cities of India sacred to the Hindus, was taken by Iltutmish in 1235 and since then it continued under Muslim rule till the eighteenth century. Under Akbar it was made the chief town of the Mālwa province.²

The inscriptional tablet measures 65 by 30 cms. and contains four lines of Persian verse and prose which is carved in relief in *Nasta'liq*. 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-Darwāza on which it appears — was constructed under the supervision of Sidī 'Azīz 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 Mālwa, though at the time of the record he was on active service in Deccan and elsewhere. Sidī 'Azīz, who was

¹ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 150. For other inscriptions of Ujjain, see *ibid.*, Nos. D, 147-49, 151-57.

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)

- (۱) بعهد دولت شاه جهان آن خسرو اسلام
که شد چون مهر عالم فیض یاب از نور اسلامش
(۲) مرتب گشت در ایامش این دروازه پرفیض
الهی تا جهان باشد بود اندر جهان نامش
(۳) چو از سرتا قدم پرفیض آمد این در رحمت
محلی فیض ناک از بهر آن شد سال اتعاش
(۴) در عمل خاندوران بهادر و باهتمام سیدی عزیز مرتب شد سنه ۱۰۴۹

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. Raḥīm in Kanjia, now a small village in Khurai Tahsil of Saugar 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 *sarkār*, and had a stone fort.¹

The inscriptional tablet which measures 82 by 45 cms. is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the 'Idgāh' and is inscribed with a four-line text in Persian, executed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* script. The record states that in the time of emperor Shāh Jahān, when the *pargana* Karanjia was included in the *jāgīr* of Nawwāb Sayyid Saḍdar Khān, the 'Idgāh was constructed in 1640 by 'Abd'l-Wāsi' Badakhshī, who is described in the text as 'the servant of the saintly persons'.

¹ Abu'l-Faḡl, *op.cit.*, p. 461.

² *ARIE*. 1960-61, No. D, 79.

The text of the inscription is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate V(b)

- (۱) در زمان دولت صاحب قران ثانی شاه جهان
 (۲) پادشاه غازی که پرگنه کرنجیه بجایگزین نواب سیادت
 (۳) و نقابت پناه صفدر خان مقرر و مسلم بود مسجد عیدین
 (۴) باهتمام خادم الفقراء عبد الواسع بدخشی باتمام رسید بتاريخ ۲۷ ذی الحجه سنه ۱۰۴۹

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of Sāhib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān
 (2-3) Bādshāh Ghāzī, when the *pargana* of Karanjia was included in the *jāgīr* 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 'Abdu'l-Wāsi' Badakhshī 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, Karanjia, 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 *jāgīr* 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 *tuglā* of Sironj (now in the adjoining Vidisha district), which, looking from the geographical position, seems to have included Karanjia 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 Irān as the royal ambassador.¹

The present inscription supplies the interesting information that though Safdar Khān like Khān-i-Daurān, served elsewhere, he continued to enjoy his *jāgīr* in central India. This is an interesting piece of information regarding the Mughal administration of *jāgīrs*.

The other person 'Abdu'l-Wāsi' under whose supervision the 'Idgāh was completed is nowhere mentioned in the historical records available to me. His *nisba* Badakhshī 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 Kanjia is set up over the central *mihrāb* of a mosque called Qal'a-kī-Masjid.² It measures 1.28 m. by 35 cms. and contains four lines of Persian

¹ For details of his career, see Shāh Nawāz 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 'Abdu'l-Hamid, *op. cit.* and Muham-mad Sālih, *op. cit.*

² *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 83,

verse and prose inscribed in ordinary *Nasta'liq* which purport that the mosque was constructed by Chaudhari Safdar in 1642. It also records the fact that Nawwāb Safdar was the fief-holder of the place.

The builder of the mosque, Chaudhari Safdar 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 V(c)

(۱) بدور شهنشاه شاه جهان بین	که از عدل او هست گیتی چو گلشن
(۲) مساجد چنان گشته چون باغ جنت	بت دیر خانه فتاده چو گلخن
(۳) زمانی بجایگزین نواب صفدر	که آثار دین گشته مثل جو روشن
سنه یکم هزار و پنجاه یک بود	(۴) که در ماه ذو الحج تاریخ نه شد
ختم الله بالخیر (sic.) و الظفر	بنا کننده مسجد چودهری صفدر

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 fief was held by Nawwāb Safdar, 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 Safdar.

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1053, FROM BHIKANGĀON

The sixth epigraph was copied by me from Bhikangāon, a Tahsil headquarters in the West Nimār district. In Akbar's period, Bhikangāon 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 'Idgāh 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 *Nasta'liq*. 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-Jahān* in the original.

² Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

³ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 109.

(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 1049, from Ujjain (p. 20)

بجہ دولت شاہ جهان الیٰ خسر وی اسکا اگر کہ تہ چوں مہر عالم فیض بان از نور
 شکست دریا بست این دروازہ فیض الہی تا جان تہ بود اندر جان
 چو سوار سرقہ ام پر فیض الہی این درخت سیح فیض ناک از بہر جان ناک
 در عا خانہ وزان بہادر و با تمام سیدی و عزت و شہرت

SCALE : 23

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 1049, from Kanjia (p. 21)

وزیران دولت چاہستہ ان ثانی شاہ جهان
 بادشاہ غازی کہ پر کنہ کر بخیر بیا کہ نواب سیادت
 دما بت پناہ صفہ رخاں متر و سلم بود مشہد عیدین
 بہنام خادم التواضع الراج بہ شین بہنام رسید تیغ بہادری

SCALE : 16

(c) Epigraph, dated A. H. 1051, same place (p. 22)

بجہ دولت شاہ جهان الیٰ خسر وی اسکا اگر کہ تہ چوں مہر عالم فیض بان از نور
 شکست دریا بست این دروازہ فیض الہی تا جان تہ بود اندر جان
 چو سوار سرقہ ام پر فیض الہی این درخت سیح فیض ناک از بہر جان ناک
 در عا خانہ وزان بہادر و با تمام سیدی و عزت و شہرت

SCALE : 11

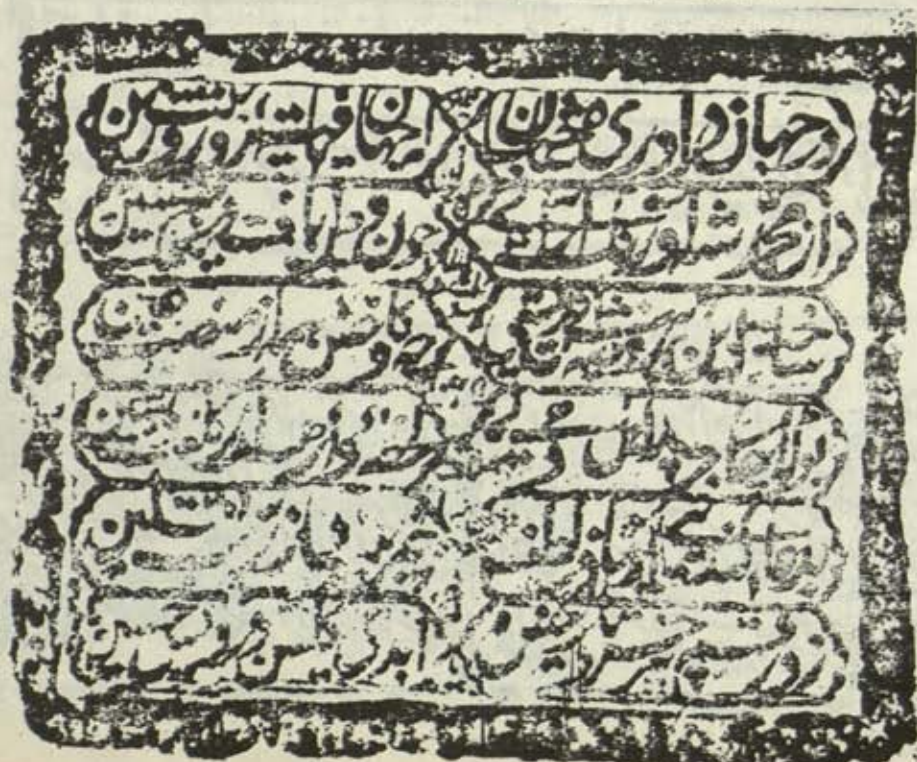
PLATE VI

(a) Record, dated A. H. 1053, from Bhikangāon (p. 23)



SCALE : 15

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 1065, from Khargone (p. 25)



SCALE 17

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 sizeable Muslim population, necessitating a prayer-house.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI(a)

(a) Main text.

یا رب	یا حی	(۱) یا رب
	(۲) سبحان ربی الاعلیٰ	
جهان شاه تاجبخش خسرو	(۳) در زمان شهاب ملت و دین	
شان عالی پادشاه تقد آن	(۴) شه اورنگ زیب دین پرورد	
مکان مسجد درین خجسته	(۵) ازبوی رونق مسلمانی	
مشکل اهل قبله شد آسان	(۶) زین بنا چون بلطف آن شه دین	
۱۰۵۳ منان لطف واسع	(۷) هاتفی گفت بهر تاریخش	

(b) In the centre of the last two lines.

کتبه حسین شیرازی

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,

¹ There is another inscription in the same mosque, to be found on the central *mīhrāb*. 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).

² Reference 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 Husain Shīrāzī.

The style of writing is of a fairly high order and the scribe Husain 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*¹ 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 Narbadā. 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.²

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, Husain who received the place in fief 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 fief—*waḥān*—of Husain, 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 Husain is mentioned in the record as having received the fief from Prince Aurangzeb. Now we have, at least from available records, only one Husain who enjoyed the confidence of Aurangzeb in his princehood, and that is Mir Husain Khwāfi, 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 shān's regnal year 28 was over, Mir Husain 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 *faujḍārī* of Hoshangābād and Handiā.³ 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 Husain of our record.⁴

The text of this record consists of six verses in Persian engraved in relief in tolerably good *Nasta'liq* 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 Ramaḍān who may have been either the supervisor of the work or the scribe of the epigraph.

The quality of verse is fairly good.

¹ *IG*, vol. XV, pp. 251-52; Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, p. 464; 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 834.

² *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 111.

³ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 798.

⁴ For a full account of his career, see *ibid.*, pp. 798-815.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate VI(b)

(۱) در جهان داوری شاه جهان	یا هو	که جهان یافت ازو زینت و زین
(۲) از محمد شه اورنگ آدله	شیخ رمضان	چون وطن یافت درین ملک حسین
(۳) ساخت این روضه زینش اندیشی	چه و کاخس همه از منصب عین
(۴) بوکه اینجا برسد اهل دله	۱۰۶۵	لحظه وا رهد از کلفت وشین
(۵) بدعائے کند ارشاد ز لطف	خیر بیناد ز رب ثقلین
(۶) زد رقم پیر خرد تاریخش	یا هو	ابدی گلشن درویش حسین

TRANSLATION

(1) O He ! In the time of the government of Shāh Jahān, from whom the world has borrowed beauty and decoration ;

(2) when Husain received fief (*waṭan*) in this region from Muḥammad, the throne-adorning monarch (i.e. prince Muḥammad Aurangzeb) ;

(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 darwish-like Husain*.

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 Vidishā 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.¹ In Akbar's time, it was one of the *maḥāls* of the Chanderi *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Mālwa and was granted in *jāgīr* by the emperor to Gharīb 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.

¹ IG, vol. XXIII, pp. 38-39.

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.¹ 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 *Nasta'liq*. 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 *Nasta'liq* 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 Ṣālīḥ Ṣiddīqī, who is stated to have held the office of the governorship (*ni āmat*) of the province of Mālwa.

Its text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate VII(b)

- (۱) بحکم حدیث نبوی علیہ من الصلوات افضلها من بنی لله مسجدا فی الدنیا بنی الله له
 (۲) بیتا فی الجنة در عهد خلافة شهاب الدین محمد صاحبقران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی
 (از) بنده
 (۳) محمد صالح صدیقی که خدمت [نظا]مة صوبه مالوه داشت فی شهر سنه یکمزار و
 نصت و هفت هجری این
 (۴) بقعه فیض بنیاد شد و بحساب جمل این دو تاریخ گفته شد :
 بقعه فیض معبد مشایخ راقمه نظامی

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 Ṣāḥib Qirān-i-Thānī Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, (by) the humble servant,

(3) Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ Ṣiddīqī who was holding the post of the viceroy (*ni āmat*) of the *sūba* (province) of Mālwa, 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 Nizāmī.

The two chronograms when worked out yield the above date which is also stated in words.

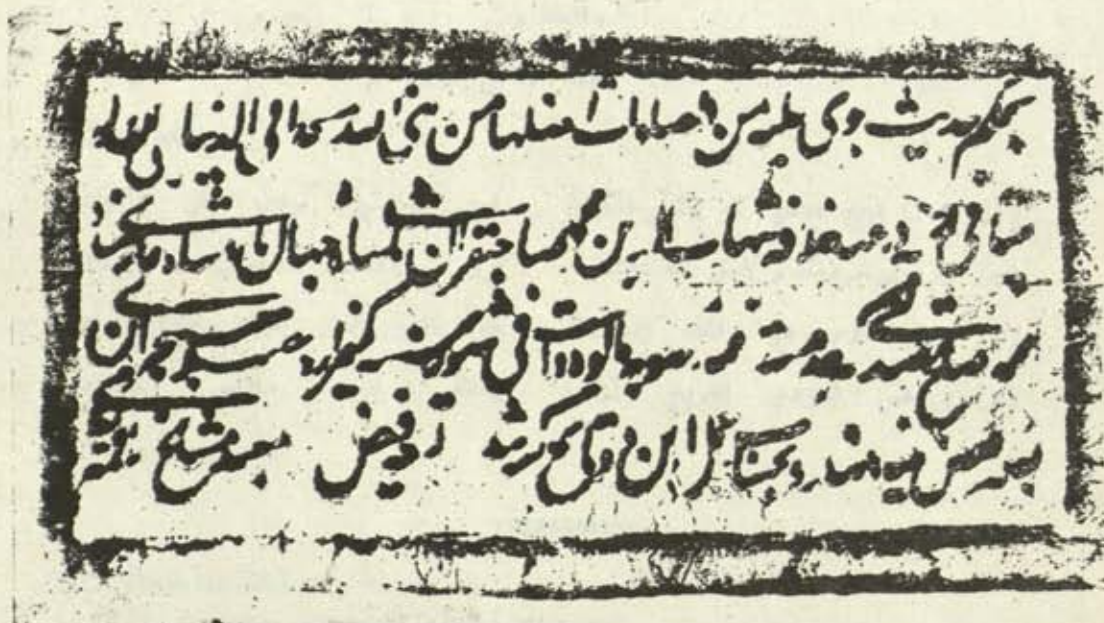
¹ *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 135.

(a) Epitaph, dated A. H. 1068, from Sironj (p. 27)



SCALE : 125

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 1067, same place (p. 26)



SCALE : 13

The other inscription from Sironj and the last one of the present group is from what is locally known as the Dargāh of Shaiikh Ṣālīḥ. 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.¹ The record comprises four Persian couplets purporting that Shaiikh Ṣālīḥ died while performing his 'Ishā' (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 Ṣālīḥ of the previous epigraph. The text was both composed and inscribed by Nizāmī, who is also same as the one who wrote the last mentioned epigraph. From this epigraph, it would appear that Nizāmī 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 *Nasta'liq* 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 :

قايده و

داعمه نظامي

(b) Main text.

(۱)	همان شيخ صالح كه پيش فلک	قرو داشتی کردن از انقياد
(۲)	وزیری خردمند و کامل که داشت	برو پادشاه جهان اعتماد
(۳)	بروز دوم در وفات رسول	چو اندر نماز عشا جان بداد
(۴)	پزوهش نمودم بتاريخ آن	بگفتا خرد منزلش خلل باد

سنة ۱۰۶۸

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) He is merciful.

(2) The composer and writer of this is Nizāmī.

(b) (1) Verily, Shaiikh Ṣālīḥ, 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 world¹ 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.* Rabi' 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 Shaiḫ Ṣāliḥ died in the night of 2nd Rabi' 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—*nā'im* of the Mālwa province at the time of the construction of the mosque, *i.e.* in 1656-57. The other, Nizāmī, 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 Shaiḫ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Siddiqī, 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 Ṣāliḥ entitled Sipahdār Khān, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Tarkhān and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khawāfi entitled Mu'tamad Khān. The identification of the first two with Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ of our records is out of question as they died either earlier or later than the latter.² 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 Samugrah, 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.

² See Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 427-29; vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 580-82.

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 Marāṭhwādā regions of Mahārāshṭra. These range in their dates from 1597-98 to 1704-05, covering the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān 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 SHĀHGADH

The tablet bearing the earliest of these records which is unfortunately fragmentary, is fixed on the east wall of the Kālī-Masjid at Shāhgadh, in Aurangābād 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'liq* characters, of which the first and the last respectively contain part of the formula Allāhu Akbar and part of the date i.e. Ilāhī 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 Wafādār Khān 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 Ilāhī Era—year 42—which is inscribed in figure on the surviving tablet. The text also provides this important information that Sultān Murād after having conquered Deccan, had planned to make the findspot of the epigraph, i.e. Shāhgadh, 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 Murād, is fragmentary, since the possibility of its having contained some additional information cannot be ruled out. The students of history know, incidentally, that when Abu'l-Faḍl came to Shāhgadh, he had camped at the fort there.² Subsequent to the peace treaty concluded with Ahmadnagar on the 13th Insfandārmuz Ilāhī 40 (21st February 1596), the region of Berār was annexed to the Mughal empire, and it was there, at Mehkar, that the Prince had camped after raising the siege of the Nizām Shāhī 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

¹ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1966-67, No. D, 144.

² Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, vol. III (Calcutta 1887), pp. 718-19.

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 Bālāpur 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 : —

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) [الله اکبر]

..... (۲)

.....

چو فتح دکن کرد سلطان مراد

باقباله آن شاه کشور ستان

..... (۳)

.....

که تا از پی ضبط و تسخیر ملک

شود پای تخت دکن این مکان

..... (۴)

.....

¹ For details, please refer to Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, pp. 701-03, 711-15, 717-19, etc. Dr. Rādhay 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 Arabica and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1963, p. 52 (pl. XV c).

³ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, pp. 715, 718.

چو تاریخ او جستم از پیر عقل
 بگفتا بنای وفادار خان
 (۵) [مطابق] سنه ۴۲ الهی

TRANSLATION

(1) [Allāh is] great.

(2)

When Sultān 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 Shā'bān 1005 to 12th Shā'bān 1006, the construction must have taken place between 1st Muḥarram and 12th Shā'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 'Alāu'd-Dīn' at Nandurbār, in West Khāndesh district.² 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 Luṭfu'llāh, son of Khusraw Khān of Thaṭṭā, 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. Rahīm, then Epigraphical Assistant.

² For an account of Nandurbār and its history, etc., please see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XII (Bombay, 1880), pp. 457-59.

The builder, Luṭfu'llāh Bahā'ī Khān, was a notable grandee of Jahāngīr's reign. His father Khusraw Khān better known as Khusraw Khān Chirgis was the hereditary prime-minister of the Sind ruler Mīrzā Jānī Baig, and enjoyed the reputation of being a great statesman of his time.¹ 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.² He lies buried at Ajmer, where he had died as recorded in his epitaph³ in A.H. 1023 (1614-15 A.D.) about a year after he was brought there to the court by 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, under Jahāngīr's orders.⁴

As regards the son Luṭfu'llāh, unfortunately no definite information is available, except that in some circles the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī was attributed to his machinations.⁵ Jahāngīr mentions one Luṭfu'llāh as having been granted a *māngab* in April 1620 and an increase two years later. He is also stated to have been among the noblemen and officials who accompanied Prince Parvīz to chastise the rebellious Shāh Jahān in Deccan.⁶ 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. Luṭfu'llāh 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.⁷ 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)

- (۱) در زمان خلافت جهانگیر بادشاه غازی
 (۲) بنده درگاه لطف الله عرف بهائیکان ابن
 (۳) خسرو خان تنہی این عمارت را بنا نہادہ
 (۴) در تاریخ غره ماہ ذالحجہ سنہ ۱۰۳۲ باتمام رسانید

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of the caliphate of the victorious king Jahāngīr,
 (2) the slave of the court, Luṭfu'llāh *alias* Bahā'ī Khān, son of

¹ For details, see Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, pp. 602-03, 608, 609, 634; Jahāngīr, *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Aligarh, 1864), pp. 109-11, 304, 358; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'aṭṭirū'l-Umarā*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 309, 346-47, 438, 486; H. Blochmann, Eng. tr. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī* (Calcutta, 1927), p. 392.

² Jahāngīr, *op. cit.*, p. 358; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

³ *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, p. 51 (& f.n.2).

⁴ Jahāngīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 117.

⁵ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 347, who is the only authority to mention this, places the Mīrzā'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).

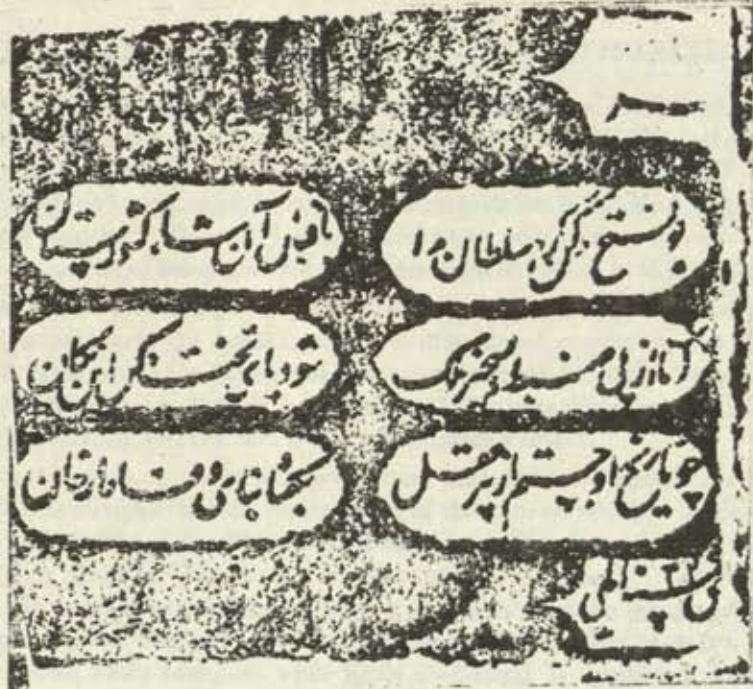
⁶ Jahāngīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 358, 361.

⁷ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, p. 684.

MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHĀRĀSHTRA

(PLATES VIII—XII)

(a) Inscription of Akbar, dated A. H. 1006, from Shāhgaḥ (p. 30)



SCALE : 15

(b) Record of Jahāngīr, dated A. H. 1032, from Nandurbār (p. 32)



SCALE : 23

- (3) Khusraw Khān Tatthī (i.e. of Thattā), 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 Tāluk-headquarters in Aurangābād district.¹ 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 'Aqīdat Khān who held the post of Bakhshī, in 1622-23. The work is further reported to have been executed by the mason Yāsīn Jaunpūri, while Khālf a't-Tabrizī 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'zam 'Azīz Koka and his ward Prince Parviz. He was appointed Bakhshī of Deccan in October 1617 and almost a year later, on the recommendations of Khān-i-Khānān, he was granted the *mansab* 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 'Adil Shāhī general against Malik 'Ambar under royal orders, but was taken captive and sent to Daulatābād 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*, 1966-67, No. D, 152.

² For a scholarly note by Professor S.H. Hodjwālā about the identification of Zafarnagar with Jafarābād, see *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XXXIV (1920), p. 348.

³ C.R. Singhal, *Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India*, (Bombay, 1953), pp. 35-36.

⁴ Muhammad Sālib, *Amal-i-Sālib*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1923), p. 159; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 191-92.

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, 199, 246, 258, 344, 374, 380, 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.¹ But very few people, however, know that he was the father of Muḥammad Ḥusain Tabrizī, the author of the famous lexicon, the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*.

The epigraph has been read as under : —

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

(a) Four corners.

الله

(b) Main text.

- (۱) در زمان دولت بندگان حضرت ظل‌اللهی خلافت پناهی سلیمان مکنی نورالدین محمد
 (۲) جهانگیر بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه و عدله و احسانه و حسب الحکم
 (۳) بندگان حضرت قدسی القابی جهانبانی کشورستانی شاه جهان خلد عمره
 (۴) و باهتمام بنده درگاه ابراهیم حسین المخاطب عقیدت خان بخشی ۱۰۳۲
 (۵) [کتبه العبد(?) خلف التبریزی معمار یسین(?) جونپوری]

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 Bādshāh Ghāzī, 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 (?) Jaunpūrī (executed the work).

¹ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1949-50, p. 13 (pl. vii b); *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 116 (pl. XXX a); *ibid.*, 1962, p. 75 (pl. XXIV b).

(a) Inscription of Jahāngir, dated A. H. 1032, from Jafarābād (p. 34)



SCALE : 11

(b) Record of Shāh Jahān, dated A. H. 1040, same place (p. 35)



SCALE : 21

(c) Inscription of Shāh Jahān, dated A. H. 1056, from Ausā (p. 38)



SCALE : 24

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 Lambī-Bāro, situated near the above-mentioned Bich-kī-Masjid in the Jafarābād fort.¹ It seems to have been first mentioned in the gazetteer of the Aurangābād district,² and its brief notice given there was the subject of comments by Professor S. H. Hoḍiwālā.³ 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'liq characters and records the completion of a step-well constructed by the orders of Shāh Jahān, the Ṣāhib-i-Qirān (lit. Lord of Conjunction), and under the supervision of Mustafā Khān Turkman in 1630.

This Mustafā Khān Turkman was originally a grandee of Jahāngīr's court. He seems to have served at Paithan from which he was transferred in 1623, and was later on sent along with other nobles to join the 'Adil 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 Turkman Khān. In April-May 1630, he was honoured with the privilege of drum and was sent to Deccan.⁴ He is stated to have died in A. H. 1043 (1633-34 A.D.), in harness, as Thānadār of Zafarnagar.⁵ 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).⁶ 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 Zafarnagar only, which must have been as its Thānadār. Incidentally, in 1633-34 he was directed to escort a convoy of provisions from Zafarnagar to Daulatābād which was then being besieged by Mahābat Khān.

The text of the epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

(۱) الله أكبر

(۲) فرمان شاه جهان

(۳) صاحبقران باهتمام

(۴) مصطفی خان ترکمان

(۵) سنه ۳ جلوس مطابق

¹ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 154.

² *Aurangabad District Gazetteer* (Bombay, 1884), p. 847.

³ *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XXXIV (1920), pp. 240-49.

⁴ 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-Nāma*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1867), pt. i, pp. 121, 300; Muhammad Ṣalīb, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 267, 371; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 385.

⁵ 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 298; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*

⁶ 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pt. i, pp. 505-06; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*

(٦) سنه هزار و چهل باولی تمام

(٧) شد

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is Great.

(2) By the order of Shāh Jahān

(3) Sāhib-i-Qirān (lit. Lord of Conjunction), under the supervision of

(4) Mustafā Khān Turkman

(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 Chānd Shāhib, not far from the ruins of the Shāhgadh fort.¹ 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 *Nasta'liq* style, and bears a close resemblance with the calligraphy of the inscriptions of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpur (1580-1626).²

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-Mūsawī.

I have failed to trace any reference to Ibrāhīm al-Mūsawī 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 Thānadār 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)

(١) در ایام دولت و قوام صولت بندگان پادشاه گیتی پناه

(٢) سلیمان بارگاه مهر سپهر سلطنت و کامکاری اختر

(٣) برج ابهت و جهاننداری صاحب قران ثانی شهاب الدین

(٤) محمد شاه جهان پادشاه غازی بسعی و اهتمام بنده فدوی

¹ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 146.

² Dr. M. Nāgim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49 (Delhi, 1936), pls. I (No. 3251), VI (No. 3248), X (No. 463), etc.

(٥) ابراهيم الموسوى ابن قلعه عظيم الشان و مقام امن و امان

(٦) باتمام رسيد بتاريخ غره شهر شعبان المعظم سنة ١٠٣٩

TRANSLATION

(1) In the days of the government and mighty awe of His Majesty the king, the asylum of the world,

(2) the possessor of Solomon-like audience-hall, the sun of the firmament of sovereignty and victory, the star of

(3) the Sign of magnificence and monarchy, the Lord of (auspicious) Conjunction, Shihābu'd-Dīn

(4) Muḥammad Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, through the efforts and under the supervision of the humble slave,

(5) Ibrāhīm al-Mūsawī, this magnificent fort and abode of peace and security

(6) was completed on the date, the 1st of the month of the magnificent Sha'bān of the year 1049 (17th November 1639).

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-Bāoli at Ausā in Osmānābād district.¹ The inscriptional slab measuring 43 by 34 cms. contains a short text, inscribed in four lines in ordinary *Nasta'liq* 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 Nadhar Baig, was initially in the service of 'Abdu'llāh Khān Fīrūz 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 *mansabdārs* 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 Khawāja Barkhūrdār. He was

¹ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 176. Some more inscriptions from this place have been listed in *ibid.*, Nos. D, 169-75, 177-79.

² 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pt. II, p. 136; Muḥammad Sālih, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 155; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1883), p. 196.

summoned to the royal court and was sent to Ahmadābād in Gujarat, 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 Bālkondā is stated to have been included in his *tuyūl*.³

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX(c)

(۱) سنه ۱۰۵۶ هـ
(۲) در عهد صاحب قران نا
(۳) غازه
(۴) ساخت این باولی را اوزبک خان

TRANSLATION

- (1) Year (A.H.) 1056 (1646-47 A.D.).
(2) In the reign of Sāhib-i-Qirān-i-Thānī (lit. the second Lord of Conjunction, i.e. Shāh Jahān)
(3-4) Ghāzī, 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 (*haud*)—what seems to have been originally a step-well—situated near the house of Shri 'Abdu'r-Razzāq 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 *Nasta'liq* characters of excellent quality and records that in the reign of emperor Aurangzeb, one Rindak, a member of the Naqshbandī order, constructed the well for public use in 1663-64. It also mentions Khawja Barkhurdār 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.

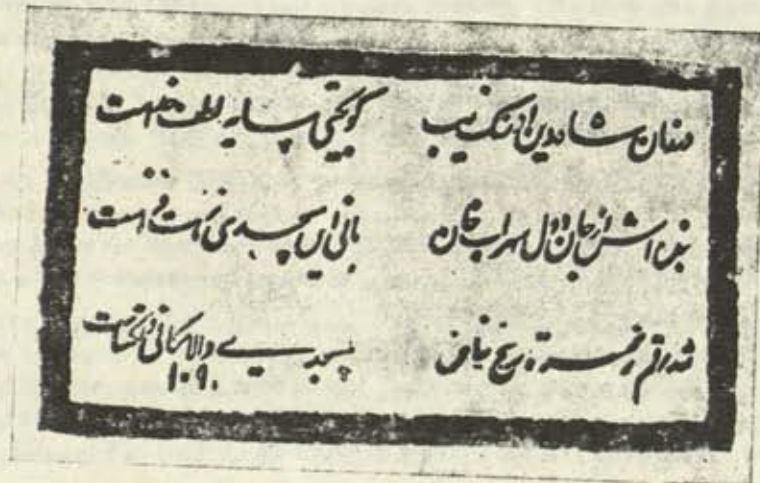
¹ 'Abdu'l-Hamid, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pt. i, pp. 138, 225, 307; *ibid.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 302, 417, 726; Muhammad Sālib, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 336, 427; *ibid.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1939), p. 194; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 196.

² Sayyid Najib Ashraf Nadvi, ed. *Ruq'at-i-'Ālamgīr*, vol. I (Āzamgarh, 1929), pp. 119, 127, 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴ *RIE* 1966-67, No. D, 177.

(a) Aurangzeb's record, dated A. H. 1091, from Ausā (p. 41)



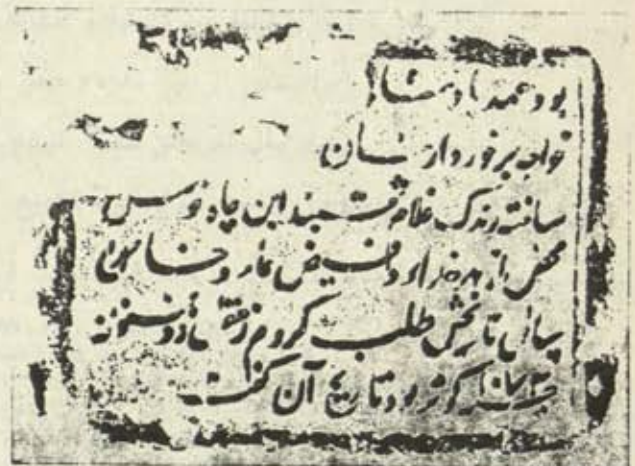
SCALE : 19

(b) Shāh Jahān's record, dated A. H. 1049, from Shāhgaḥ (p. 36)



SCALE : 18

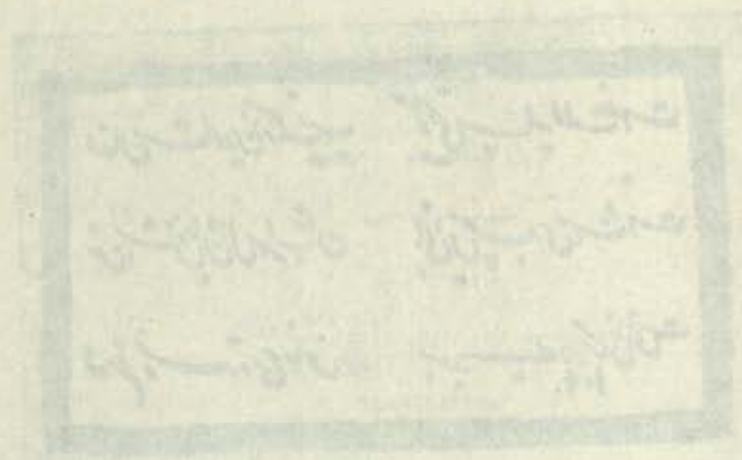
(c) Epigraph of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1074, same place (p. 39)



SCALE : 17

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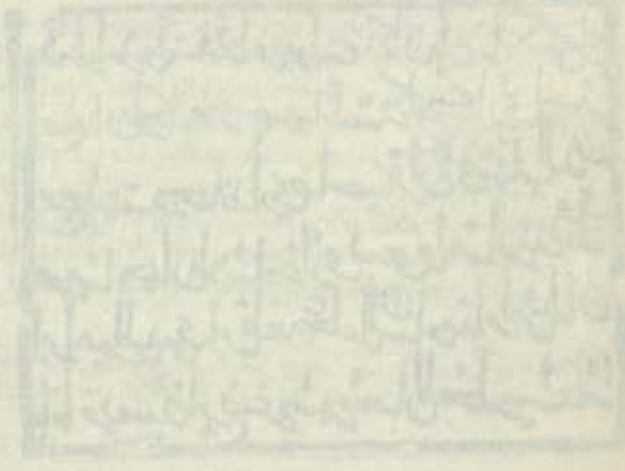
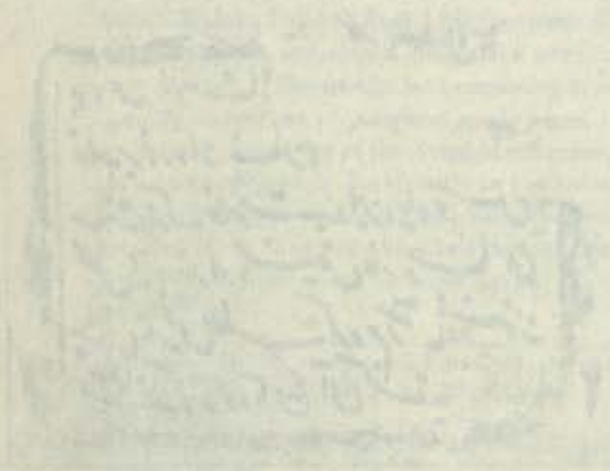
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The University of Chicago Press is pleased to announce the publication of the fifth volume of the series, *The History of the United States*, by the late Professor of History, Dr. [Name].

Of the persons mentioned in the epigraph, Khawāja Barkhūrdār, cannot be specifically identified from the scanty references available in historical works. It is difficult to say if he is identical with Khawāja Barkhūrdār, a brother of the famous 'Abdu'llāh Khān Firūz Jang. The latter was awarded in July 1608 the title of Bahādūr Khān and increase in rank in February 1610,¹ 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 Khawāja Barkhūrdār, the son-in-law of Khān-i-Khānān Mahābat Khān who was granted a rank of 1500 personal and 800 horse.² It is probably the same Khawāja Barkhūrdār who was despatched, along with others, to chastise Shāhji in January 1636.³ But whether he lived till the date of our record to be identical with Khawāja Barkhūrdār mentioned therein, it is again difficult to say.

But our Barkhūrdār Khān may perhaps be identified, with some amount of certainty, with Barkhūrdār 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 Khān, but it has been found that not very strict discrimination is exercised in the use of the words Baig and Khān.

We have, however, definite information about Khawāja Barkhūrdār's career as Thānadār of Ausā. He is stated to have succeeded Uzbek Khān in the thānadārī on 3rd October 1654 with the rank of 2000 personal and 2000 horse.⁴ Our record which incidentally indicates that the title of Khān was conferred upon Khawāja Barkhūrdār, provides a later date in his career. Evidently, he continued to hold the gal'adārī of Ausā till 1663-64 in which the well was constructed.

About the other person, the builder, namely Rindak, who is described as the 'slave of Naqsh-band',⁵ I have not been able to find any information.

The epigraph has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate X(c)

- (۱) بود عهد بادشا [دین پناه اورنگ زیب]
 (۲) خواجه برخوردار خان
 (۳) ساخته رندک غلام تشبند این چاه خوش
 (۴) محض از بهر خدای و فیض عام و خاص را
 (۵) سال تاریخش طلب کردم ز عقل ذوفنون
 (۶) چشمه کوثر بود تاریخ آن گفتا [مرا]

۱۰۷۳

¹ Jahāngir, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 78.

² 'Abdu'l-Hamid, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pt. ii, p. 309; *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 735.

³ 'Abdu'l-Hamid, *op. cit.*, p. 136; Muhammad Šālib, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 155.

⁴ Muhammad Šālib, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 194. Some more details are contained in the letters of Aurangzeb, despatched by him when viceroy of Deccan to Shāh Jahān. From these it is clear that Aurangzeb had a good opinion of Khawāja Barkhūrdār; as a matter of fact, the Ausā 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) Khawāja Barkhūrdār Khān
 (3) When Rindak, the slave of the Naqshband (a follower of the Naqshbandī 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 Kauthar*".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 inscriptional slab measuring 56 by 32 cms., and fixed above the central *mihrāb* of the Jāmi' -Masjid,² contains a three-line text in Persian verse which is carved in relief in fairly good *Nasta'liq* letters. It records the construction of a mosque in 1680-81, during the reign of emperor Aurangzeb by an official Suhrāb Khān 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 Suhrāb Khān are not forthcoming, he is not entirely unknown to contemporary chroniclers. In December 1658, he was the Faujdār of Bālāpur in Berār. Here he continued till May 1665, when he was transferred to Udgir as Qal'adār, *vice* Bahrām Khān.⁵ It is probable that he replaced Khawāja Barkhūrdār the Qal'adār of Ausā (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 Mīr Tūzuk *vice* Salāh Khān.⁷ Thereafter, he was deputy to the Chief of the Artillery Salābat Khān.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 Bashīru'd-Dīn Ahmad, who published an eye reading in his *Wāq'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijāpūr* (Hyderabad, 1915), 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 (RADN)* for the year 1933-34, at p. 2 and f.n.1. The reading, in both cases, is not free from mistakes.

³ *RADN*, 1933-34, p. 2 and f.n.1.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1966-67, Nos. D, 169-70; *RADN*, 1933-34, p. 2, f.n.1.

⁵ Muhammad Kāzīm, *Ālamgīr Nāma* (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 454, 885.

⁶ Sāqī Mustā'id Khān, *Ma'āthir-i-Ālamgīrī* (Calcutta, 1871), pp. 251-52.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁸ Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 743.

⁹ Mustā'id Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

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

TEXT

Plate X(a)

(۱) در زمان شاه دین اورنگزیب کو بگیتی سایه لطف خداست
 (۲) بنده اش از جان و دل سهراب خان بانی این مسجدی از همت فزاست
 (۳) شد رقم [۱] ز بهر تاریخ بناس مسجدی والا مکانی دلکشاست

۱۰۹۱

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the religion-supporting king Aurangzeb, who is the shadow of the kindness of God, in the world,

(2) Suhrāb Khān, 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 SHĀHGADH

The slab bearing this inscription appears on the Paṭṭan Gate of the city-wall of Shāhgadh¹ and measures 62 by 43 cms. It is inscribed with a five-line text in Persian, the style of writing being *Nasta'liq* 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 Khwāja Zafarullāh Naqshbandī 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)

(۱) در عصر بادشاه دین پناه محمد اورنگ زیب
 (۲) بادشاه عالمگیر غازی در عمل فوجداری

¹ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 148.

(۳) سیادت پناه خواجه ظفر الله نقشبندی

(۴) هاشم خلف خواجه معزالیه آباد ساخت

(۵) سنه یکم هزار یکصد و شش هجری مطابق سی و نه جلوس والا

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the religion-supporting king Muḥammad Aurangzeb

(2) Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī, during the time of the *faujdarī* of

(3) the asylum of chiefship (*i.e.* Sayyid) Khwāja Zafarullāh Naqshbandī

(4) (the place ?) was populated by Hāshim son of the aforesaid Khwāja,

(5) in the year one thousand (and) one hundred and six after the Migration, corresponding to thirtyninth year of the exalted accession (29th regnal year, A. H. 1106=1695 A.D.).

X. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1109, FROM DHĀRUR

The fourth epigraph of Aurangzeb's reign is from a well situated near the Nūr-Bāgh at Dhārur in Bir district.¹ The inscriptional slab measures 46 by 32 cms. and contains a text of four lines in Persian, carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters of no particular merit. The record states that in the reign of the emperor, a spring (*chashma*) *i.e.* a well was constructed by Murād son of Muḥammad Kabīr in 1697, during the 41st regnal year. Nothing is known about the builder who may have been an official.

The text has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

(۱) بدور حضرت اورنگزیب عالمگیر

(۲) این چشمه بنا کرد مراد ابن محمد کبیر

(۳) در سنه چهل و یک از جلوس مقدس معلی

(۴) مطابق سنه یکم هزار یکصد و نه هجری

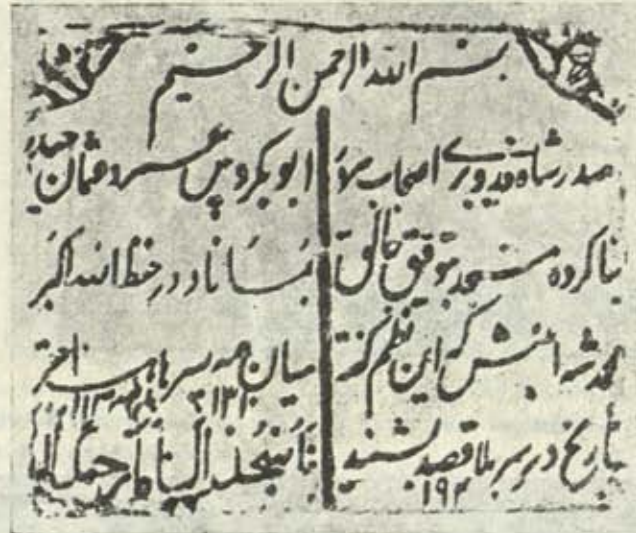
TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of His Majesty Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr,

(2) this spring (*i.e.* well) was constructed by Murād, son of Muḥammad Kabīr,

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 194.

(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1116, from Bir (p. 47)



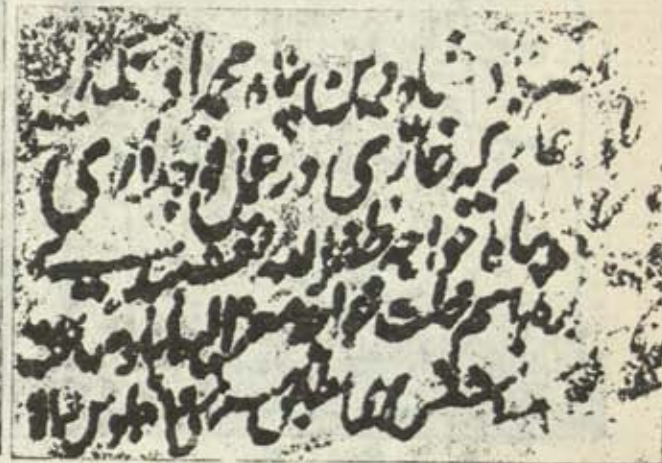
SCALE : 11

(b) Epigraph of the same king, dated A.H. 1109, from Dhārur (p. 42)



SCALE : 19

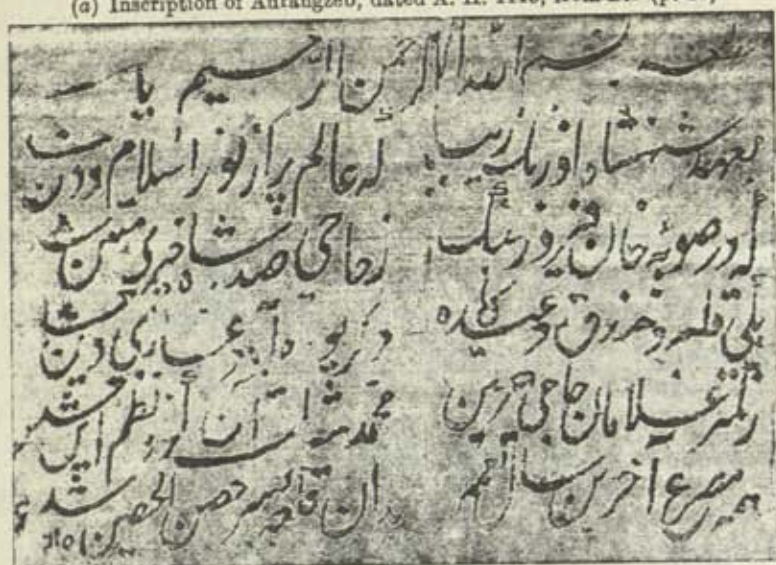
(c) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1106, from Shāhgaḥ (p. 41)



SCALE : 14

PLATE XII

(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A. H. 1115, from Bir (p. 46)



SCALE : 12

(b) Epigraph of the same king, same date, from Gondégāon (p. 44)

(c) Another record of Aurangzeb, same date, same place (p. 43)



SCALE : 25



SCALE : 26

(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 GONDEGĀON

The tablet bearing the fifth epigraph of Aurangzeb is fixed on the south wall of the Jāmi'-Masjid at Gondegāon in Nāsik district.¹ 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 Shāhpūr *alias* Gondegāon in the *pargana* Wan, at the time when he was the Faujdār of *pargana* Chāndor, constructed over a period of twelve years, a *Gadhī*, a *Havelī*, 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 Gondegāon was designated as Shāhpur, 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)

(۱) یا حی یا قیوم

(۲) در عهد خلافت مرتبت محی الدین محمد اورنگزیب بہادر عالمگیر بادشاہ غازی

(۳) احقر الانام سید مجہلی ولد سید حیدر مقدم موضع شامپور عرف گوندی کانوں

(۴) عملہ پرکنہ ون در زمانہ فوجداری پرکنہ چاندور بعرض دوازدہ سال

(۵) گدھی و حویلی و باغیا و ہذا مسجد و چاہ پیرایہ اتمام داد

(۶) واقعہ بتاریخ دہم (۹) ماہ ربیع الثانی سنہ یکہزار و یکصد و پانزدہ ہجری

TRANSLATION

(1) O Living! O Everlasting!

(2) In the reign having the status of Caliphate, of Muhyiu'd-Din Muḥammad Aurangzeb Bahādur 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh Ghāzī,

¹ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 170.

(3) the humblest of men, Sayyid Majhle, son of Sayyid Haidar, Muçaddim of the village (*mauda'*) of *Shāhpūr* alias *Gondegāon*,

(4) situated in the *pargana* Wan, in the time of (his) *faujdārī* of *Chāndor*, in the period of twelve years,

(5) completed a *Gaḏhī*, a *Havelī*, gardens, this mosque and a well.

(6) This took place on the 10th Rabi' 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 Rabi' II 1115=13th August 1703).

XII. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION OF THE SAME DATE FROM GONDEGĀON

One more record of Aurangzeb appears on the Jani'-Masjid of *Gondegāon*.¹ 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 *Nasta'liq* 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 'Ālamgīr. 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 XH(b)

(۱) هو الاحد

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۳) بود بنای مبارک بدور عالم گیر

(۴) شده سرای تبارک بشاهپور تعمیر

(۵) ندا ز خانه قدسی پاتنبیاء آمد

(۶) بنای مسجد مجله بگو زحق تقدیر

۱۱۱۵

¹ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 171.

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 Jāmi' mosque at Bir.¹ Its text consists of five Persian couplets inscribed in as many lines, preceded in one more line by the *Bismi'llāh*. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good order.²

It may be pointed out that this epigraph is not included in the exhaustive study of Bir inscriptions by the late Dr. Ghulām Yazdānī, which includes two from the Jāmi' mosque itself.³ Very likely, the epigraph was brought to its present place after Dr. Yazdānī's study appeared in 1921.

This record like a couple of more records from Bir,⁴ records the populating of the suburb, called after the name of Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān Firūz Jang, the viceroy of Deccan under Aurangzeb, by the Khān's deputy Hājī Sadr Shāh. The two records under reference, one each in Marāṭhī and Persian, refer only to the populating of the suburb called Ghāziu'd-Dīn-nagar; according to the Persian epigraph, the work was accomplished in the regnal year 47 *i.e.* Ramaḍān 1113—Sha'bān 1114 (January 1702—January 1703). The present inscription gives further information, namely that apart from the Ghāzi-Dīnpūra, Hājī Sadr Shāh was also responsible for the construction of a fort, its moat and an 'Idgāh, which were completed in 1704-05.⁵ 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 Hājī, but who was in reality, as we know from other records composed by him, the Hājī's son.⁶ There are at Bir two more inscriptions composed by him.⁷ 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 Jāmi' 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. Yazdānī 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.

⁴ *EIM*, 1921-22, p. 14 (pl. IX c), p. 19 (pl. III b).

⁵ For a few more inscriptions mentioning Hājī Sadr Shāh, see *ibid.*, p. 16 (Pl. II), p. 21 (pl. IV b), pp. 23-24 (pl. V).

⁶ *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 78; Inscription No. XIV, *infra*.

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 Jājmau in Uttar Pradesh, Burhānpur in Central India and Bir in Deccan.¹ These inscriptions show that he was almost an hereditary servant of his chief Ghāzīn'ud-Dīn Khān, whose father Qilich Khān he had served according to the Jājmau 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)

.....یا	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم	(۱) قطعه
که عالم پراز نور اسلام و دین شد	بعهد شهنشاه اورنگ زیب	(۲)
ز حاجی صدر شاه خیری متین شد	که در صوبه خان فیروز جنگ	(۳)
دگر پوره آباد غازی دین شد	یکی قلعه و خندق و عیدگاه	(۴)
محمد شه است آن کزو نظم این شد	ز کمتر غلامان حاجی حرمین	(۵)
بدان قلعه بپر حصن الحصین شد	همه مصرعه آخرین سال تعمیر	(۶)

۱۱۱۵

TRANSLATION

- (1) *Qit'a* (Fragment). O..... In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Beneficent.
- (2) In the reign of the emperor Aurangzeb, when the world was illuminated by the light of Islām and religion,
- (3) when during the governorship of the *gūba* (province) of Khān Firūz Jang, some dependable good deeds were performed by Hājī Sadr Shāh. (Of these)
- (4) one (was) the fort, the moat and the 'Idgāh, (and) the other, populating of the *pūra-Ghāzī Dīn*.
- (5) Muḥammad Shāh, 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 Bīr has become an impregnable fort.*

(A.H.) 1115 (1703-04 A.D.).

¹ For the Burhānpur and Jājmau inscriptions, see *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 78 and *ARIE*, 1961-62, 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 Hājī 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 Maḥalla-Sadr. It contains a text of five lines consisting of four Persian verses, engraved in *Nasta'liq* 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 Muḥammad Shāh, 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 Shāh 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)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) صدر شاه فدوی بر اصحاب سرور ابو بکر و پس عمر و عثمان و حیدر

(۳) بنا کرده مسجد بتوفیق خالق بماناد در حفظ الله اکبر

(۴) محمد شه ابش که این نظم گفته میان همه پسرها هست احقر

۱۳۱۰ بلا قصد ۱۹۴ ۱۱۱۶

(۵) بتاریخ در سر بلا قصد بشنید فاسجد الینا فارحمک اکثر

۱۹۴

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, 'Uthmān and Ḥaidar (i.e. 'Alī),

(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 Shāh, who composed this verse is the humblest among all his sons. 1310 without *qasḍ* (i.e.) 194=(A.H.) 1116 (1704-05 A.D.).

(5) For the date (of construction) he heard, in secret, spontaneously (lit. without *qasḍ*³ i.e. intention), "Prostrate before Us and He shall show you ample mercy".⁴

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 182. It also seems to have escaped Dr. Yazdāni's notice.

² In this year a bastion was constructed by the Hājī. 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 hemistich, to wit 1310, the word *Qasḍ* 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 *qasid*, 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

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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 Bari Khātu, Kāthotī and Lohārpurā in Nāgaur district, Bayānā in Bharatpur district and Āmber in Jaipur district. There are quite a few inscriptions of Mir Muḥammad Ma'gūm 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 epigraphs 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. Ṣiddīqī 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 BARI KHĀṬU

The findspot of the first inscription is Bari Khātu, situated in the Jāel Tahsil of the Nāgaur district.² The inscriptional tablet is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the *Shāhī Jāmi'*-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 *Nasḫ* 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

¹ These have been listed in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1955-56, No. D, 120; 1958-59, No. D, 173; 1961-62, Nos. D, 230-31, 233-34; 1964-65, No. D, 333; 1965-66, Nos. D, 361-64; 1966-67, Nos. D, 199, 234.

² Bari Khātu seems to have been an important place in the early Sultanate period. Dr. M. A. Chaghtā'i was the first to draw attention of the scholars to the rich epigraphical material of Nāgaur and Bari Khātu 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 Iltutmish 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 be found. Quite a few of these records have been published by Dr. Chaghtā'i in the journal *Urdū*, Karachi, January 1968.

³ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 197. Its text was published in Chaghtā'i, *op. cit.*, p. 164, No. 16.

⁴ The mosque is described in some details in Ziyā'u'd-Din Desāi, *Mosques of India* (Delhi, 1971), p. 28.

read as Islām Baig and that of the mason as Rurji. The text is stated to have been written by one **Fakhrū** d-Dīn 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 Mamlūk 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)

- (۱) تجدید این بناء مستحق ثناء در عهد خلافت حضرت پادشاه
 (۲) عالیجاه در صدف عظام(?) جلال الدین محمد
 (۳) اکبر بادشاه خلد الله تعالی (sic.) ملکه و سلطانہ باہتمام
 (۴) کمترین بند[ہ] درگاه بیگ اسلام بناء درجی
 (۵) فی تاریخ شهر شعبان المعظم سنہ ثمان و ستین و تسعمایہ
 (۶) دست خط فقیر فخر الدین

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, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad
 (3) Akbar Bādshāh, may the Exalted Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, under the superintendence of
 (4) the humble servant of the court Baig Islām (Islām Baig ?), the mason (?) being (?) Rurji (?)
 (5) in the month of magnificent Shā'bān of the year (A.H.) eight and sixty and nine hundred (Shā'bān 968=April-May 1561).
 (6) (In the) handwriting of the humble **Fakhrū**d-Dīn.

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 973, FROM BAYĀNĀ

The second record comes from Bayānā, 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 Khānqāh of Shāikh Sa'du'llāh.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 Khānqāh of Shāikh Sa'du'llāh,

¹ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 121.

The metre in the second Fragment is faulty.

INSCRIPTIONS OF AKBAR FROM RĀJASTHĀN

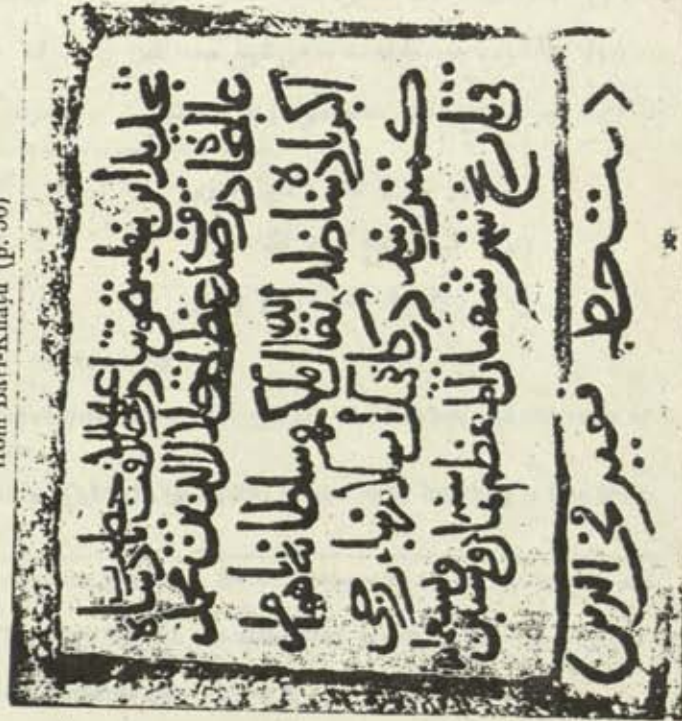
(PLATES XIII—XV)

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 973, from Bayānā (p. 51)



SCALE : 35

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 968,
from Bari-Khāfu (p. 50)



SCALE : 15



SCALE : 35

(c) Inscription, dated A. H. 983,
from Tijārā (p. 57)



SCALE : 27



THE STATE OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
JANUARY 18, 1880



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 for¹. 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 *Shaiikh* 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 *Shaiikh* Muḥammad Ghauth of Gwālior. A reference to his having constructed a *Khānqāh* for the students and *gūfis* 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, *Shaiikh* Sa'du'llāh died in A. H. 989 (1581-82 A. D.) and was buried in the *Khānqāh*.² Badāyūnī also mentions one *Shaiikh* Sa'du'llāh, son of *Shaiikh* Budh, a powerful nobleman of Bayāna, whose brother was his friend.³ 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.

(۱) بدوران جلال الدین محمد اکبر غازی	که او با عدل و احسان در ولایت آمده والی
(۲) بنا کرده چو کعبه خاتقاهی شیخ سعد الله	که قصر عالی او از قصور افراخته خالی
(۳) چو تاریخ بنای خاتقاهش از خرد جستم	خرد گفتا که تاریخش چو کعبه خاتقه عالی
(۴) در زمان شه اکبر غازی	کو بملک شاهنشہ آمد
(۵) کرد شیخ سعد الله مرکز	خاتقاه چون کعبه آمد
(۶) چون شمرد تاریخ بنایش	خاتقاه 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) *Shaiikh* 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.

² 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, *Muntaḥhabu't-Tawārīkh*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1869), p. 108.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1867), p. 99.

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, "Its date is : (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) *Shaiikh* Sa'du'llāh 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'du'llāh is ready.* (A.H. 1002=1593-94 A.D.).¹

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 968, FROM NĀGAUR

The third of these epigraphs² is from Nāgaūr. 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.³ The writing is badly damaged, but the text is more or less legible. Comprising five Persian couplets, inscribed in as many lines in *Nasta'liq* characters of no particular merit, it refers to the reign of emperor Akbar and to the governorship of Hājī Budāgh Khān, and records the construction of the pulpit of a mosque (*minbar*) by *Shaiikh* Sulaimān—"the object of veneration of the high and the low"—on the 4th Ramaḍān in the year 962 *after the death of the Prophet*.⁴ This works out to 4th Ramaḍān 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.⁵ 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)

(۱) شد بنا این منبری در مسجدی عالی مقام	در زمان شه جلال الدین محمد نیکنام
(۲) در زمان عهد خانی عادل حاجی بداغ	کز طفیل او شده گری همه مردم نظام
(۳) روز جمعه چهارمی تاریخ از ماه خدای	ساعتی میمون گذشته بود شایان شد تمام
(۴) از طفیل لطف رب العالمین آخر رسید	بانیش شیخ سلیمان مقتدای خاص و عام
(۵) سالش از فوت رسول الله از روی حساب	از الف کم بود لام و بی که شد معبر تمام

¹ See I, n. 2 on p. 49.

² These have been listed in *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 120; 1958-59, No. D, 173; 1961-62, Nos. D, 230-31, 233-34; 1964-65, No. D, 333; 1965-66, Nos. D, 361-64; 1966-67, Nos. D, 199, 234.

³ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 233. The impression of this record was received from the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda; 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 Madina indicated by the term *Hijra*.

⁵ In the course of my visit to Nāgaūr, a fresh impression could not be prepared as the tablet was reported to have been buried deep in a heap of stones.—Ed.

TRANSLATION

(1) This pulpit (*minbar*) of the exalted mosque was made during the reign of the king, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad (Akbar) of good name (and)

(2) in the time of the just Khān, Hājī Budāgh, 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)¹ 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 *alf* (1000) minus *lām* (30), *wāw* (6) and *bī* (2) (*i.e.* 1000 minus 38 being the numerical value of the letters *lām wāw* and *bī*) (*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 Rabi' 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. Hājī Budāgh of the epigraph appears to be identical with Shāh Budāgh Khān, an eminent nobleman under Akbar, who is reported to have been alive at least upto A.H. 984. True, the name as quoted in the text does not append the prefix Shāh to his name, but it may be taken to have been replaced by the honorific Hājī, meaning one who has performed Hajj or pilgrimage to the Ka'ba in Mecca. We know that Shāh Budāgh Khān had performed the Hajj in A. H. 962 (1555 A.D.).² But it is perhaps from the present inscription that Budāgh Khān's posting in Rājputānā, 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 Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī. The other records mentioning him have been already published earlier in this series, where some details about him are recorded.³

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 inscriptional slab is fixed over the *mihrāb* of a mosque⁴. Measuring 147 by 58 cms. it contains a five-line text in Persian prose and verse, executed in *Nasta'liq* characters of a fairly high order,

¹ According to a Tradition "Sha'bān is my month and Ramaḍān that of Allāh".

² For details of his career, see Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1877), pp. 29, 298, 325, 363; Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), pp. 261, 266, 269; Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 50, 70, 81, 102; *ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 23, 24, 26, 194, 237, 737; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Mu'atṭharul-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 536-39; H. Blochmann, Eng. tr. *A'in-i-Akbarī* (Calcutta, 1927), p. 402, No. 52.

³ *EIAPS*, 1968, pp. 34-40, where references to all the epigraphs mentioning him—two from Nāgaur and one from Delhi—will also be found. An inscription also from Nāgaur, mentioning his son, is studied in this article (Inscription No. VII).

⁴ *ARIE* 1966-67, No. D, 216.

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 Amīr Kishmī, the *Yasāwul* 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 Amīr Kishmī 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 Amīr Kishmī held the post of *Yasāwul* or Master of Ceremonies to the emperor. It may be reasonably surmised that he was closely associated with Kaṭhoti, 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 Amīr Kishmī 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 Amīr.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(c)

(۱) الله ولي توفيق

(۲) بنای این مسجد عالی در ایام خلافت حضرت پادشاه دین پناه مولی ملوک العرب

و العجم شاهنشاه المعظم المظفر من

(۳) عند الله جلال الدين محمد اكبر پادشاه خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و افاض على العالمين

بره و احسانه و بقر موده و اهتمام

(۴) جناب امارت مآب سعادت اكتساب امير كشمی يساول حضرت الخاقان صورت اتمام

يافت در تاريخ سنه سبع و سبعين و تسعماية

(۵) من الهجرة النبويه عليه الصلوة و التحية قبه (؟) بيت عمارت يافت اين مسجد زعون

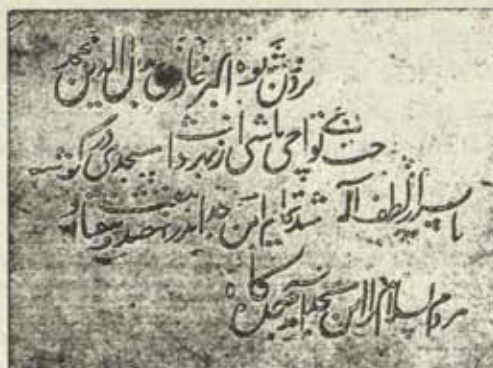
لطف الرحمان ضعيف بنده نيک بخت کارفرمان

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh. And (His) guidance is for me.

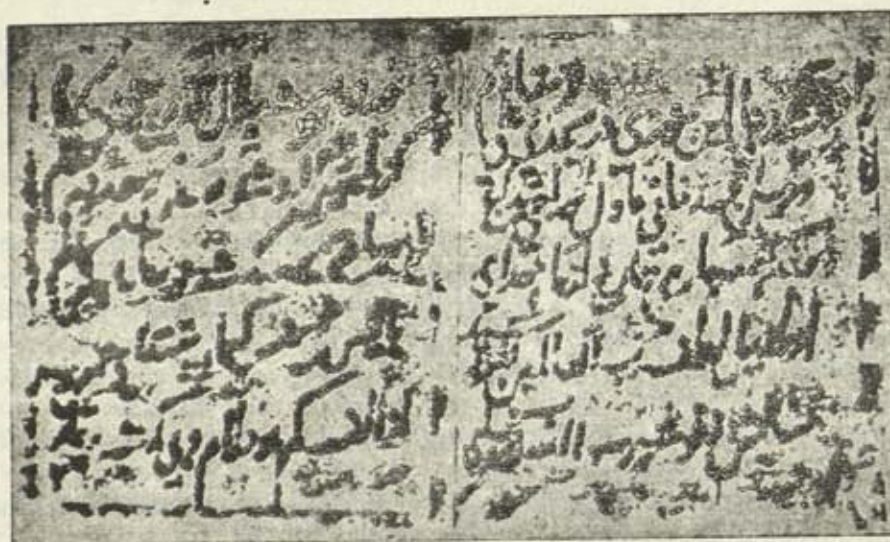
(2) The construction of this exalted mosque, in the days of the caliphate of His Majesty the king, the shelter of religion, the lord of the Kings of Arabia and Persia, the magnificent emperor, one who is victorious

(a) Record, dated A. H. 977, from Āmber (p. 56)



SCALE : .08

(b) Epigraph, of the same date, from Nāgaūr (p. 52)

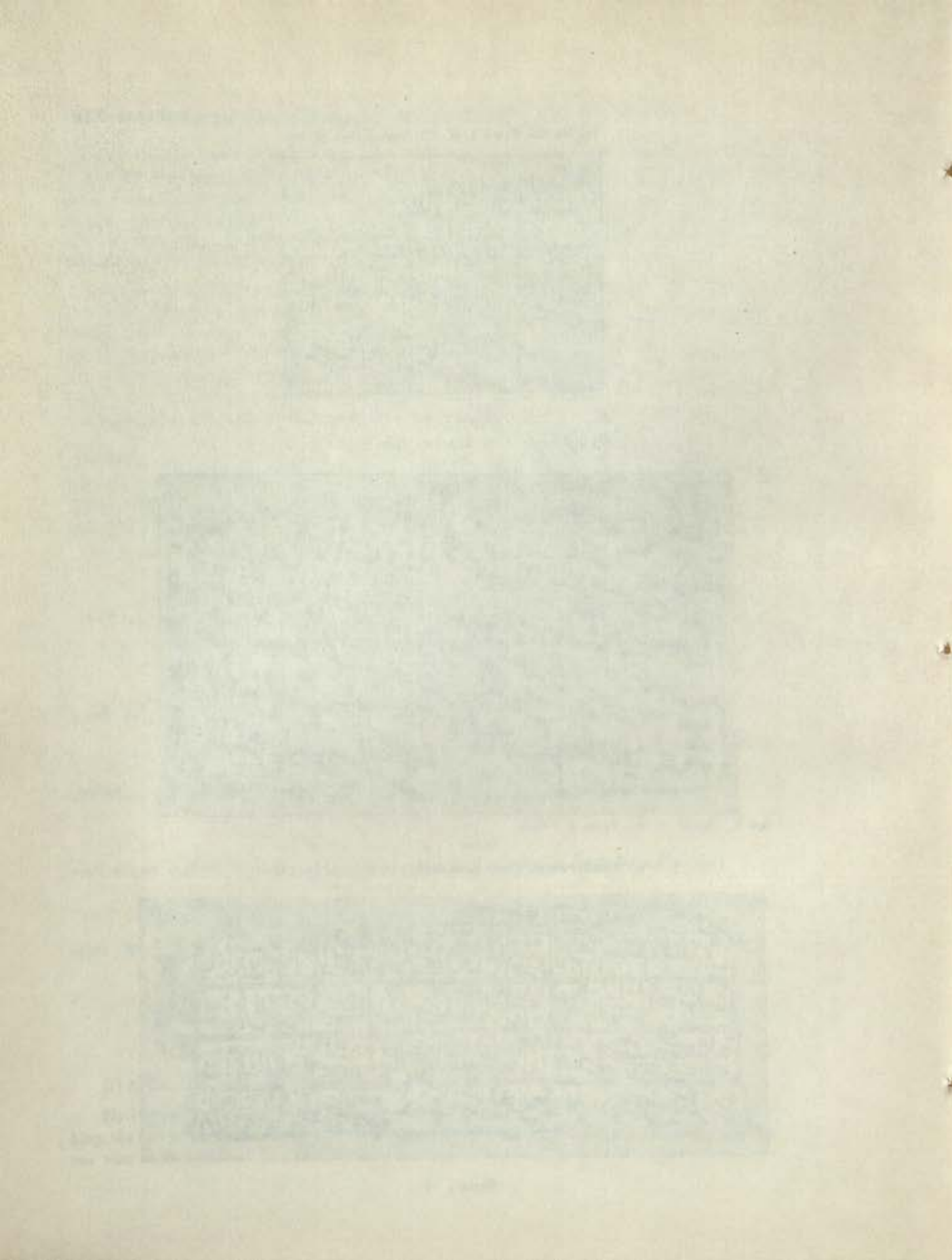


SCALE : .23

(c) Another record of the same date, from Kaṭhoti (p. 54)



SCALE : .1



(3) near Allāh, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh, may Allāh 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 Amīr Kishmī, the *yasāwul* (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 (Allāh); its supervisor was the humble creature Nikbakht.

Before we pass on to the next inscription, it may be worthwhile to note that Kaṭhoti is mentioned in historical works as one of the halting places of the Mughal forces sent in pursuit of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mirzā, a couple of years after the date of this record.¹

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 977, FROM ĀMBER

The fifth epigraph is from Āmber, a Tahsil head quarters in Jaipur district and the first capital of the Kachhwāha 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 Āmber 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 Āmber by an official whose name or nick-name was very probably Ḥājī but whose designation *Tawāchī Bāshī* (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, Ḥājī Tawāchī-Bāshī. Since Āmber was at this period the capital of one of the three great Rajput states—the seat of the Kachhwāha chiefs, later on of Jaipur, there is no question of its being under direct Mughal control. The Tawāchī-Bāshī 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 Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 150.

² *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 136. It may be of interest to note that Badāyūnī (*op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 236) had camped here on his way to Fatehpur-Sikri in Rabi'ul-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)

(۱) [چون بحکم نافذ شاهنشہ] گردون شکوه اکبر غازی جلال الدین محمد (۲) [بادشاہ]
 [سا]خت [حا]جے تواچی باشی از بہر ثواب مسجدی در گوشہ (۳) امیر از لطف الہ
 شد تمام این مسجد اندر نہصد و ہفتاد و ہفت مردم اسلام را این مسجد آمد مجدہ گہ

TRANSLATION

(1) [By the effective order of the emperor] of sky-like majesty, the *Ghāzī*, Akbar, *Jalāl'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad*

(2) *Bādshāh*,

a mosque was built by [*Hā*]i *Tawāḥi-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, *Naskh* 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 *Shāikh 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 "شد بنا بہر نماز جمعہ از بہر ثواب".

³ *ARIE*, 1965-55, No. D. 314.

⁴ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 506-08, No. 171; *Abu'l-Faḍl*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 485; *Nizāmu'd-Dīn*, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

⁵ *Abu'l-Faḍl*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 98.

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.).¹ 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)

(۱) بدور اکبر غازی شهنشاه نهاده مسجد عالی بنائے
 (۲) جناب اهل دول میان مبارک عجب عالی بنائی پر صفائے
 (۳) چو تاریخش طلب کردم خرد گفتم شده تاریخ او خیر بقائے

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Akbar, the Ghāzī, 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. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 997, FROM NĀGAUR

The seventh record is from Nāgaūr. It is inscribed above the central *mihrāb* of a mosque situated near the Tomb of Shaikh Bāyazīd in Mahalla Suhrawardiyya.² 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'liq*, 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 Gakkhar who had expired about three decades earlier.³ He is also unlikely to be identical with Kamāl Khān, 'the descendant of Sultān 'Alāu'd-Dīn' who was present in Bābur's army pitted against Rānā Sāngā.⁴ Among others, Sayyid Kamāl, son of Sayyid Hāmid Bukhārī of Gujarat continued to be in Akbar's service after his father's death in A.H. 993 and lived to serve under

¹ Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 109-10.

² *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 219.

³ Nizāmud-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁴ Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 107.

Jahāngīr.¹ One Kamāl, a Sayyid of Shīrāz, originally a servant of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī, ultimately became a *ḡadr* which post he held until his death in about A.H. 1004.² 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 *ḡadr* 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 Shah here may be part of the name of Khān Shāh i.e. Khānshah, in which case the builder would be Kamāi, son of Khānshah, 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 Shāikh 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)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (۱) کمال خان شه با وفای عالی جا | که هست سایه ذاتش پناه اهل الله |
| (۲) نمود بهر رضای خدا و قول رسول | بنای خیر در ایام دولت اکبر شاه |
| (۳) بخاندان ولی شیخ بایزید زمان | که هست خانه اسلام زو به پشت و پناه |
| (۴) خوش است مسجد مرغوب فیض بخش عمیم | که شد طواف که زایران بیت الله |
| (۵) درون مسجد پیوسته فیض می بارد | از آن ست سال بنایش ز فیض دین اله |

TRANSLATION

(1) Kamāl Khān, the Shah (lit. king) or Kamāl (son of) Khānshah, 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,

(3) inside the Khānqāh (Hospice) of the saint, the Shāikh, 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.

² Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 343.

³ The reference is to the famous Tradition so commonly occurring in mosque inscriptions.

(a) Epigraph, dated A. H. 1000, from Tijārā (p. 59)



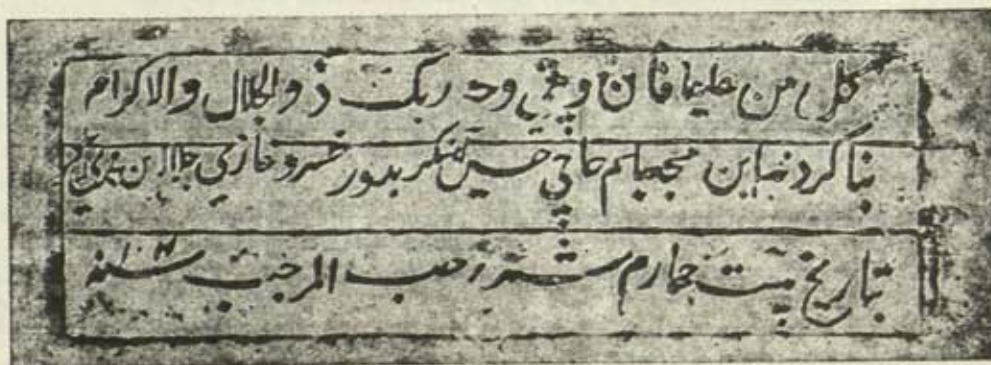
SCALE : 28

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 997, from Nāgaūr (p. 58)

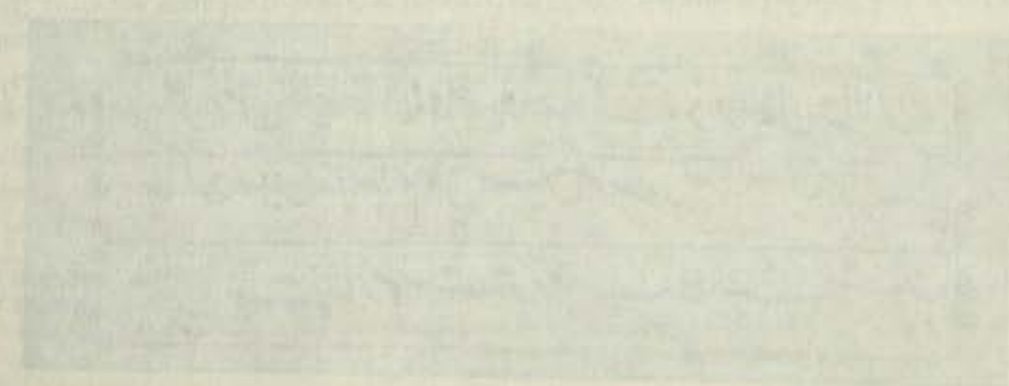
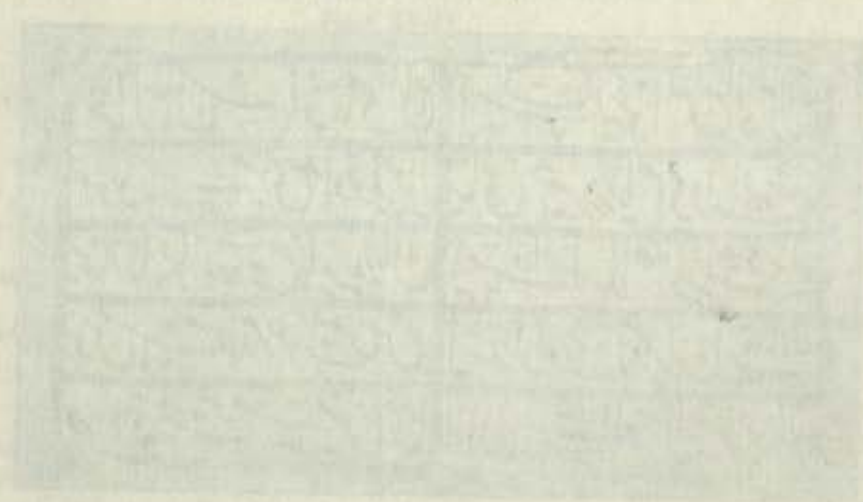


SCALE : 16

(c) Record, dated A. H. 1011, from Lohārpurā (p. 60)



SCALE : 1/24



VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1000, FROM TIJĀRĀ

The last but one epigraph of this article is again from Tijārā. It appears over the central *mihrāb* of the mosque of Qāḍī Karam Ḥusainī in Maḥalla Qāḍīwādā.¹ It assigns the erection of a mosque to Miyān 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 *Naskh* and *Nasta'liq* of indifferent type.

The builder Miyān Mubārak has been already mentioned in a previous inscription of this study (No. VI).

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) بدور شه اکبر دین پناه بناگشت این مسجدی خوبتر

(۳) چو میان مبارک نهاد این اسامی دهد در جنان حق اورا اجر

(۴) بگفتا خرد سال تاریخ او که سال الف بود و ماه صفر

(۵) سنه ۱۰۰۰

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 Miyān 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 Šafar.*"

(5) Year (A.H.) 1000 Šafar 1000=(November-December 1591).

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1011, FROM LOHĀRPURĀ

The last record of this article comes from Lohārpurā in Tahsil and District Nāgaour. It is inscribed on a tablet measuring 60 by 22 cms. which is fixed on the *mihrāb* of a mosque locally called Chhoṭī-Masjid.² 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 Ḥājī Ḥusain Āhangar (lit. blacksmith) in 1602 during the time of emperor Akbar. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good order.

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 315.

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 Lohārpurā 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 Lohārpurā 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(c)

(۱) کل من علیها فان و یبقی وجه ربک ذوالجلال و الاکرام

(۲) بنا کردند این مسجد باسم حاجی حسین آهنگر

بدور خسرو غازی جلالدین محمدی اکبر

(۳) بتاریخ بیست چهارم شهر رجب المرجب سنه ۱۰۱۱

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 Muḥammad-i-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.¹ 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, Amrohā in the west, Bareilly in the north and Kālpi 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, *jāgīr*-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 *Nasḥ*, *Thulṭh* 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 Maulvī Muḥammad Shu'āib of the Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, Agra, who copied this epigraph in the early years of this century had found the epigraphical tablet at Āzampur,² a place not very far from its present findspot Sherpur, in the Morādābād district.³ Now a very small and decayed village in the Hasanpur Tahsil, Āzampur 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.⁴ In Akbar's time, Āzampur was an important *pargana* in the *sarkār* of Sambhal,⁵ and it was given in fief, in the early part of his reign, to his relative Mīrzā Sulṭān Muḥammad and his sons.⁶

¹ *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)* 1961, pp. 45-48; *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 41-52; *ibid.*, 1964, pp. 1-20; *ibid.*, 1965, pp. 11-18.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, United Provinces, Agra (ARASIUP)*, 1911-12, p. 68, No. E, 21.

³ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1964-65, No. D, 384.

⁴ *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (DGUP)*, volume XVI, Morādābād (Allahabad, 1911), p. 194, where a brief description of the buildings will be found.

⁵ Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī (AA)*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), pp. 370, 521.

⁶ *DGUP*, vol. XVI, p. 194. As is well-known, these very Mīrzās 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 inscriptional tablet of red sandstone is now lying loose in the local Jāmi' mosque.¹ According to Maulānā Shu'aib, it originally belonged to the ruined Jāmi' mosque of Āzampur, but was lately removed by the local Muslims and fixed on a side wall of a small mosque named Qāḍion-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 Jāmi' mosque.² Anyway, during Shri Śiddiqī's visit to Āzampur 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 *Nasḥ* 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 Jāmi' mosque was constructed in 1555-56 during the reign of emperor Akbar by Kamālū'llāh 'Ālam, son of Sulaimān, under the superintendence of Khwāja Jumman. The name Kamālū'd-Dīn, son of Ādam, 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)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ

(۲) بِنَا اِیْنَ مَسْجِدَ مُوزَوْنَ وَ دَایِقِ مِیْسَرِ شَدَّ بَعَوْنَ اللّٰهُ فَاِیْقِ

(۳) زَهْجَرَتِ شَسْتِ مَهْ نَهْصِدْ بَدَ اَزْاَلِ كِهْ شَدَّ اَتَامِ اِیْنَ جَامِعِ بَخُوشْاَلِ

(۴) بَعَهْدِ دَوْلَتِ سُلْطَانِ مَظْفَرِ جَلَالِ الدِّیْنِ مُحَمَّدِ شَاهِ اَكْبَرِ

(۵) مَبْنِیْ اِیْنَ بِنَاءِ قَصْرِ سُبْحَانَ كَمَالِ اللّٰهِ عَالَمِ بِنِ سَلِیْمَانَ

(۶) وَ صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلٰی خَیْرِ خَلْقِهِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَ آلِهِ اَجْمَعِیْنَ

(۷) كَارْفَرْمَاءِ خَوَاجَهْ جَمَنِ كَمَالِ الدِّیْنِ بِنِ اَدَمِ

TRANSLATION

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

(2) The construction of this symmetrical and wonderful mosque was made possible through the help of Allāh the Most Superior.

¹ *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 384.

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 AKBAR FROM UTTAR PRADESH
(PLATES XVI—XXII)

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 963,
from Sherpur (p. 62)



SCALE : 15

(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 970,
from Kālpi (p. 66)



SCALE : 33

(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 Sultān, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the king.

(5) The builder of this mansion of the Most Glorified (Allāh) (is) Kamālu'llāh 'Ālam, son of Sulaimān.

(6) And may salutation of Allāh be upon the best of the creation (i.e. Prophet) Muḥammad and his progeny, all of them.

(7) The superintendent (of the construction) is Khawāja Jumman. (Written by ?) Kamālu'd-Dīn, 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. Kādirī, 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 Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Mu'min Mirzā under the supervision and architect-ship (*mi'mārī*) of Khawāja 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 Nasḫ characters and reads as under: -

TEXT

Plate XVII (a)

(۱) هو المعبود

(۲) باتمام رسيد عمارت اين مسجد فردوس مثال بعون الله الملك المتعال

(۳) در عهد دولت عاليحضرت شهنشاه عالم فرمان فرماي روى زمين

(۴) ظل الله في العالمين سلطان البحر و البر جلال الدين محمد اكبر

(۵) پادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في زمان حكومت عاليجاه رفعت پناه

(۶) مربي الفقرا ابو الفتح محمد مومن ميرزا احسن الله شانه

¹ Of course, it was briefly referred to in *DGUP*, vol. V, Bulandshahr (Lucknow, 1922), p. 207.

² *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 258. For the history, buildings and inscriptions of Bulandshahr, see *DGUP*, vol. V, pp. 206-07; Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 4-5; *ARIE*, 1962-63, Nos. D, 250-63; *SIAPS*, 1964, pp. 4, 6; *ibid.*, 1966, pp. 1, 16; *ibid.*, 1968, p. 28; etc.

(ع) باهتمام و معماری بنده درگاه باری خواجه احمد الهدیه انصاری

(٨) بتاریخ السابع و العشرون من شهر محرم سنة خمس و ستين و تسعمائة ٩٦٥

TRANSLATION

(1) He is the Diety.

(2) The building of this Paradise-like mosque was completed through the help of the Almighty and the Sublime Allāh,

(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 Allāh in the worlds, monarch of the land and the sea, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar,

(5) Pādshāh Ghāzī, may Allāh 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-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Mu'min Mīrzā, may Allāh add to his dignity,

(7) under the supervision and architect-ship (or masonship) of the servant of the court of the Omnipotent, Khwāja Aḥmad, (son of) Alahdiya Anṣārī,

(8) on the twentyseventh of the month of Muḥarram in the year five and sixty and nine hundred (A.H.) 965 (27th Muḥarram 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 Khwāja Aḥmad might have built it. As to Abu'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad Mu'min Mīrzā, 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 Muḥammad Mu'min, brother of Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Khwāfi, the celebrated official and noble of Akbar.¹ From his *kunya* and also from the appellation Mīrzā 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, Khwāja Aḥmad son of Alahdiya Anṣārī is untraceable.

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 968, FROM ĀGRĀ

This inscription, a new find from Āgrā, was found and copied in 1965 by Shri S. A. Rahīm 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 Maḥalla of the city,² which, Shri Rahīm reports, was recently converted into a hotel.

¹ Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), pp. 509, 772, 782, 787.

² *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 392.

The text of the record consists of two lines in Persian which are executed in relief in beautiful *Thulth* 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 *Faujdār-i-Khāssa*. It reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII(c)

(۱) بنا کرد این مسجد در ایام دولت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملکه

(۲) بنده درگاه اختیار خان فوجدار خاصه ابن شهاب الدین در سال نهصد و شست و

هشت از هجرت

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was built in the reign of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom,

(2) by the servant of the court *Ikhtiyār Khān*, the *Faujdār-i-Khāssa* (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 Faujdār*, one of the five officials who commanded the royal division (*morchal-i-khāssa*) that was pitted against the Lakhoṭa-Gate of the Chitor fort in A.H. 975.¹ 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 Aḥmad Khān*, a Sayyid of Nishāpur (d. A.H. 990), who was Mughal viceroy of Gujarat and Mālwa for many years.²

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 970, FROM KĀLPI

This is an unpublished record from Kālpi in District Jalāun.³ 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.⁴ 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 Siddiqi 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 Nāsir 'Alī Sultān. The language of the inscription, except in the first line containing the religious text, is Persian. The style of writing is *Nasikh* of a fairly good type.

¹ Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*(AN), vol. II (Calcutta, 1879), p. 316.

² For details of his career, see, *Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ma'āthir-i-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; A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports (ASIR)*, vol. XXI (Calcutta, 1885), pp. 131-33; Führer, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13; *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 34-39.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 363.

Its text is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XVI(b)

- (۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ بِتَوْفِيقِ اللَّهِ الْمَلِكِ الْمَنَّانِ
 (۲) در عهد دولت سلطان الاعظم الخاقان محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی
 (۳) بفرموده نواب نامدارے ناصر علی سلطان در ماه ربیع الآخر سنه
 (۴) نهصد و هفتاد بود که عمارت این گنبد تمام شد

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Through the guidance of Allāh the Obliging Lord,

(2) in the reign of the greatest king, the *Khāqān*, Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī,

(3) by the order of the illustrious Nawwāb Nāṣir 'Alī Sulṭān, in the month of Rabi' u'l-*Ākhar*, (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 *Chilla* of Shāh Madār, 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, Nawwāb Nāṣir 'Alī Sulṭān 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 Nawwāb. 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 Nawwāb 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 Etāh district, situated sixteen kilometres southeast of the district headquarters.¹ It was copied in about 1953 by Shri Y.K. Bukhārī 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-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1913-14, p. 32 (Balban's); *ELAPS*, 1967, pp. 38-39 (Sher Shāh's); *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*PASB*), 1874 (Calcutta, 1875), p. 105 (Aurangzeb's); *ARIE*, 1952-53, Nos. C, 131-33; etc.

² *PASB*, 1874, p. 105; E. T. Atkinson, *Statistical Descriptive, And Historical Account of the North Western Provinces of India*, vol. IV (Allahabad, 1876), p. 189.

The inscriptional tablet, measuring 1.33 m. by 66 cms., is fixed in the west wall of the mosque situated near the Imāmbāra,¹ 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 Nizāmu'd-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 perhaps contained 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.² Also we know for the first time from the epigraph that the Khwāja was known by the title Nizāmu'd-Dīn. He was originally a servant of Mirzā 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.³

The text is inscribed in *Thulth* of a fairly good quality and has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIX(b)

- (۱) بنی هذا المسجد المباركة الشريفة في زمان الدولة السلطان الاعظم و الخاقان المكرم
مولى ملوك العرب و العجم حافظ بلاد الله و ناصر
- (۲) عباد الله حامى دين النبى العجائى جلال الدين محمد اكبر باذشاه غازى خلد الله تعالى
ملكه و سلطانه و افاض
- (۳) على العالمين بره و احسانه امر بهذا ايات^۴ مآب امارت پناه صاحب الجود و الاحسان
نظام الدين ابراهيم خان بدخشي شهر شعبان سنه سبعين و تسعمايه
- (۴) غريب كاتب اسماعيل

¹ *ARIE*, 1952-53, No. C, 132.

² The incident as related by Akbar himself, is described in Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, vol. II, pp. 163-65.

³ References to him will be found in Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1878), pp. 314-15; vol. II, pp. 163-64, 44, vol. I, p. 225.

⁴ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 105 reads 'بنی هذه المسجد'.

⁵ *Ibid.*, omits this word.

⁶ *Ibid.* reads 'افاض'.

⁷ The underlined words have not been deciphered in *ilīs*.

⁸ The underlined portion is too obliterated to admit of decipherment. Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 105, omits the word 'غريب' 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 Khāqān, 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, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī, 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 the asylum of nobility, master of generosity and kindness, (namely) Niẓāmu'd Dīn Ibrāhīm Khān Badakhshī, (in the) month of Sha'bān (in the) year (A.H.) seventy and nine hundred (Shā'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,¹ locally known as the Hammām-Darwāza mosque, and were copied by Shri Kādirī 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*.² 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 *Ṣāhib 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)

- (۱) این بنای شریف در ایام دولت صاحبقران اعظم مولا ملوک العرب و المعجم
(۲) حافظ بلاد الله ناصر عباد الله واسطه امن و امان السلطان بن السلطان بن
(۳) السلطان الخاقان بن الخاقان ابو المظفر جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه

غازی اتمام یافت

¹ For the account of the history, buildings and inscriptions of Jaunpur please see Führer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur (SAJ)*, ed. James Burgess (Calcutta, 1889), pp. 4-13; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, vol. II (Bombay, 1942), pp. 43-47; Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, *The Sharqi Monuments of Jaunpur* (Allahabad, 1922); Munṣhī Nazru'd-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i-Jaunpur* in Urdu (Jaunpur, 1922), pp. 8-16; Iqbāl Aḥmad, *Tārīkh-i-Sharq-i-Hind*, in Urdu (Jaunpur, 1963); *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 12 (pl. IV b); etc.

² *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 352. Its reading published in Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p. 114, and Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op.cit.*, p. 376, is faulty.

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 965, from Bulandshahr (p. 63)



SCALE : 2

(b) Epigraph, dated A. H. 975, from Jaunpur (p. 68)



SCALE : 14

TRANSLATION

(1) This noble building (mosque) in the days of the government of the great *Ṣāhib 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*, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī, 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 inscriptional 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,² 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)

گشت محراب عبادت این کنشت	(۱) شکرکز توفیق ہے لایموت
(۲) بانیش را ساخت منزل در بہشت	در جزائے آن خداوند کریم
مسجد نواب محسن خان نوشت	سال تاریخ بنایش 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.).

¹ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 353. Also, Faḡlu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 115 and Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

² According to Faḡlu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 45, the materials 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 Nawab Mohsin Khan.....' Also see Iqbāl Aḥmad, *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 Faḡīhu'd-Dīn and Iqbāl Aḡmad, Mīr Muḡammad Muḡsin had 'died before the completion of the mosque which was done by his son'.¹ 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, Muḡammad Muḡsin 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 *miḡrāb*.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 بناے عالی بتاریخ نهصد و هفتاد و پنج باتمام رسید

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 Muḡsin 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 Muḡsin 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

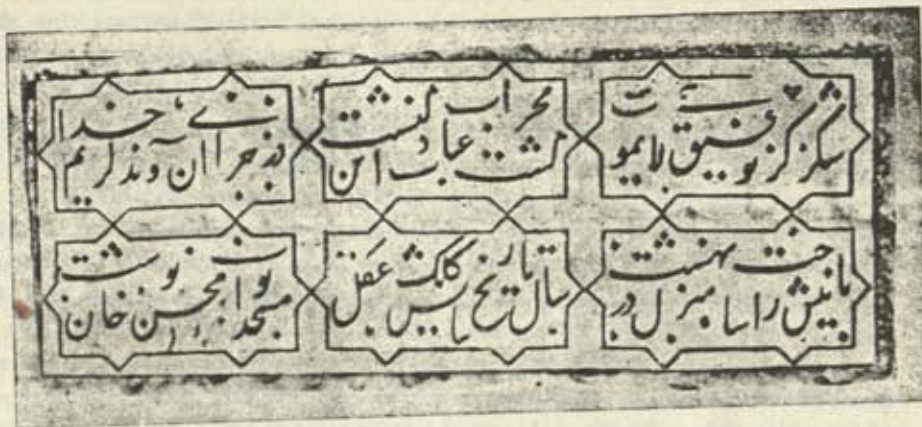
¹ Faḡīhu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Iqbāl Aḡmad, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

² Inscription Nos. IX-X *infra*. As a matter of fact, both Faḡīhu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 118 and Iqbāl Aḡmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 387-88, quote another inscription recording the construction of an edifice by him in A.H. 984.

ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 354. Faḡīhu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 114 and Iqbāl Aḡmad, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

⁴ DGUP, vol. XLIII, Faizabad (Allahabad, 1928), p. 185.

(a) Record, dated A. H. 975, from Jaunpur (p. 69)



SCALE : .08

(b) Another record of the same date, same place (p. 70)



SCALE : .18

(c) Inscription, dated A. H. 968, from Agra (p. 65)



SCALE : .11

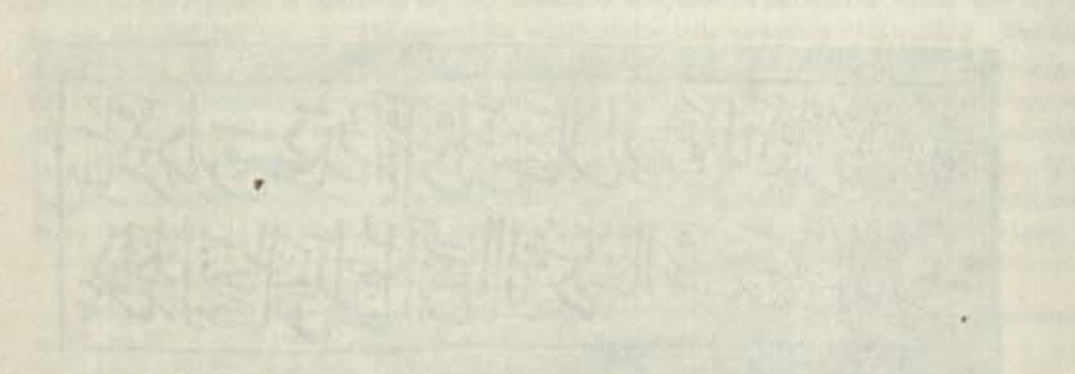
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to-day, when founded, must have been situated, for in Ābu'l- Faḍl's account of the Jaunpur *sarkār*, only *pargana* Sanjhauli is mentioned.¹ Also, the maps show one Mohsinpur as one of the suburbs or very probably by now a locality—of Akbarpur, which 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 taluqdar of Jaunpur' under Mun'im Khān, he had received from emperor Akbar all the property of Lachhman 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-Haveli and his heirs flourished at Jaunpur until recently (and may be found there even now). He is also stated to have been an Afghān, was living first at Burhānpur then with 'Ali Wardī 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-Dīn⁴, 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 Afghān, 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 Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad 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 Abu'l-Faḍl, and also in view of the fact that he was, though a few years after the date of our records, an auxiliary of Mun'im Khān, it is very likely that he is the Nawwāb of our records. There was also one Mīr Muḥsin Dā'i among the nobles of Humāyūn in about A. H. 961⁷, 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 Faizabad 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, *AA*, I, p. 348.

² Dhu'l-Qadar was a tribe of Turka.

³ Faḡīhu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 270, 375.

⁴ Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 270, who gives most of these details quotes a manuscript, *Tajallī-i-Nūr Suwaym*, as his source. But he does not give details about this work.

⁵ Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, vol. II, p. 206. Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān was a Sayyid and not a Dhu'l-Qadar Turk.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. III, (Calcutta, 1886), p. 123.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, 342.

Nawwāb Muḥammad Muḥsin, 'who was in-charge of the old *paṛgana* of Sanjhauli in the time of Akbar.¹ As a mint-town of the Mughals, it is familiar to the students of numismatics under the name Akbarpur-Tāndā. It was very probably established by Akbar in whose reign the town is said to have been founded after his name.²

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 *Nasta'liq* characters, similar to those of the Jaunpur epigraphs. The present epigraph refers to the governorship of Nawwāb 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)

(۱) بدوران نواب عالم پناه	که نبود جهان را جز او موتمن
(۲) محیط سخا منعم کاسکار	مدار زمین و امین زمین
(۳) جهان کرم میر محسن ز صدق	موفق شد از قادر ذوالمنن
(۴) بتوفیق حق ساخت زانسان پله	که شد بسته بر عقل راه سخن
(۵) چو پرسند از وصف و سائس بگو	بود خیر محسن بوجه حسن ۹۷۶

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of the Nawwāb, 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., Allāh),

(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 Nāzīr in Persian verse and executed in *Nasta'liq* characters which records that Zuhūr Ahmad repaired the bridge of Muḥsin in 1894 by the order of (name lost). Both these epigraphs may be seen in the plate.

² The earliest dates to be found on his coins from this mint are A. H. 970 in copper and 970 or 971 in silver. See R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum Lahore*, vol. II (Oxford, 1914), Nos. 602-3, and 249; C. J. Brown, *Catalogue of coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow*, (Oxford, 1920), No. 273.

The values of the letters of the last hemistich, according to the *Ajūd* 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 *mihrāb* of the *Shāhī-Masjid*, situated near the said bridge.¹ 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 Muḥammad Mun'im by Muḥammad 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'.² 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)

در زمان شه جمشید نشان	(۱) شکر کین مسجد و پل ساخته شد
پادشاه همه کون و مکان	شاه دین اکبر غازی که بود
که جهانرا ست از و امن و امان	(۲) خان جم قدر محمد منعم
خان عالی نسب عالی شان	کرد از دولت او این دو بنا
که بود شهره بلطف و احسان	(۳) حسن الوجه محمد محسن
کارساز همه خلق جهان	مهربان همه خلق خدای
تا شد این هردو بنا آبادان	(۴) جهدها کرد فلک در کارش
۹۷۷	
مسجد و پل بود از محسن خان	شده تاریخ از ان از سر جهد

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 Muḥammad Ja'far al-Husaini al-Māzandarāni entitled Sa'ādat 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. 48).

TRANSLATION

(1) Thanks (are due to God) that this mosque and bridge were constructed in the reign of the king having the insignia of Jamshīd,

the king of Faith, Akbar the Ghāzī, who happens to be the monarch of the whole of the universe.

(2) The Khān of Jam-like authority Muḥammad 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 Khān of noble lineage and lofty rank,

(3) Muḥammad Muḥsin, 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 Muḥsin Khān.* (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 Mir Muḥsin, the builder, the epigraphs mention the Jaunpur governor Mun'im Khān, 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 khān Zamān whom Mun'im khān had succeeded in A.H. 975.² The other bridge of that period which exists to-day was constructed by the orders of Mun'im Khān at Jaunpur itself.³ Incidentally both the bridges have been mentioned by the seventeenth-century European travellers Finch and De-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 Kādīrī 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 Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 635-45; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-34.

² Abu'l-Faḍl, vol. II, p. 298; Dr. R. P. Tripathī, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire* (Allahabad, 1956), p. 119; A. L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great* (Agra, 1962), pp. 110-11.

³ Führer, *SAJ*, *op. cit.*, p. 17, where a detailed description of the great bridge and its six inscriptions will be found. Also see Faḡīh'u'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41; 110-114; Iqbāl Ahmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 365-66.

⁴ William Foster, *Early Travels in India* (Oxford, 1921), p. 176; De-Laet, *Empire of the Great Mogal* (Bombay, 1928) p. 65.

The epigraphical tablet measuring 1.45 m. by 43 cms. is fixed above the northern *mihrāb* of a mosque situated on the northern bank of the Gomti near the great bridge.¹ 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 Sultān Muḥammad, the physician and oculist (*hakīm* and *kaḥḥāl*), in 1570-71, at the time when the 'Khān of Khāqān-like position' Ma'sūm Khān was in authority, the reigning monarch being Akbar.

It has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIX(c)

(۱) شد بعد اکبر غازی شد مالک رقاب	این بنا از فیض لطف عام رحمن رحیم
در زمان خان خاقان منزلت معصوم خان	اتکه هست از فیض رحمن هم رحیم و هم کریم
(۲) تا بماند ذکر نام بانی و سال بنا	بر طریقی کان بود مقبول طبع مستقیم
گفت مسکین دید چون ابواب جنت در نظر	مسجد سلطان محمد کوست کحال 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'sūm 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 Sultān Muḥammad who is the kaḥḥāl (lit. oculist) and hakīm (physician) ".

The last hemistich constitutes the chronogram which works out to A.H. 978 (1570-71 A.D.).

Ma'sūm Khān, mentioned in the record as the governor of Jaunpur, is none other than Ma'sūm Khān Faran Khūdī, a wellknown 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'sūm 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'im 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; Faḡīḥu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 109; Iqbāl 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-Faḍl's account seems to indicate that Mun'im Khān 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 Murād.¹ He was permitted to leave on the 22nd Rabi' II of the same year, 'to settle the affairs of the eastern region,'² 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 Ma'gūm Khān Farankhudī must have been appointed in his place at Jaunpur.

Ma'gūm Khān seems to have continued, with or without interruption, at Jaunpur until about 12th Dhū'l-Qa'da 987, on which day he was replaced by Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān.³ In the midst of the commotion created by the rebellion of Ma'gūm Khān 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.⁴

As regards Sulṭān Muḥammad, builder of the mosque and Miskīn, the composer of the poetic Fragment, we have no information. Abu'l-Faḍl mentions quite a few persons of the time of Humāyūn and Akbar who bore the name Sulṭān Muḥammad,⁵ 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 Abu'l-Faḍl, Badāyūnī or Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad.

In a modern work, however, the Hākīm is stated to have been practising at Āgrā whence he was brought to Jaunpur by Mun'im Khān 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.⁶ 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, Abu'l-Faḍl mentions Miskīn Quchīn and Miskīn Tarkhān,⁷ but these also do not appear to be identical with Miskīn, the composer of the epigraph. Nor does the name of Miskīn 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 *mihrāb*.⁸ Its two-line text comprises one Persian Quatrain, inscribed

¹ Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, vol. II, P. 356.

² *Ibid.* It may be mentioned that modern historians like Vincent Smith and A. L. Srivāstava, who have exclusively dealt with the reign of Akbar have not taken notice of this.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 281.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 321, 329-32, 338-348, 370-71, 376, 390. Also Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 246-49 Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

⁵ Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, vol. I, pp. 224, 254, 259, etc.

⁶ Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 377, 492.

⁷ Abu'l-Faḍl, *AN*, vol. II, pp. 185, 362.

⁸ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 356; Faḡlhu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 110; Iqbāl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

في سنة ثمان وعشرين
 من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
 ثمان وعشرين
 من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
 ثمان وعشرين
 من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
 ثمان وعشرين

في سنة ثمان وعشرين
 من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
 ثمان وعشرين
 من شهر ربيع الثاني سنة
 ثمان وعشرين



SCALE : 09

(b) Inscription from Jaunpur (p. 77)



SCALE : 14

in four panels arranged in two lines, and conveys the same purport, namely that the *Hakim* had constructed the mosque in the reign of Akbar.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of no particular merit.

The text runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

(۱) فیضی کہ ز لا الہ الا [اللہ] ست
از فضل محمد رسول اللہ ست

(۲) این مسجد عالی کہ بنا کرد حکیم
آثار زمان عدل اکبر شاه ست

TRANSLATION

(1) The bounty which (a believer enjoys) from 'There is no god but Allāh'¹ is due to the grace of 'Muhammad is the Prophet of Allāh'.²

(2) This lofty mosque which the *Hakim* 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 *Ḥadrat Badru'd-Dīn Shāh Wilāyat* at Budāun. Maulvi *Raḍīu'd-Dīn* was the first to publish its eye-reading in his *Kanzu't-Tārīkh*—an extremely valuable gazetteer of Budāun in Urdu,³ but his reading suffers, quite understandably, from inaccuracies. It was copied by Dr. Z.A. Desāi in 1960.

The text of this inscription runs into two lines of Arabic and is executed in *Thulth* 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 *Mirzā Muḥammad*, son of *Walī 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 Iltutmish* (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 'Idgāh. 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 *Raḍīu'd-Dīn, Kanzu't-Tārīkh* (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, 183-96; *Fährer, op. cit.*, pp. 21-23; etc. Inscriptions of Budāun have been listed in *ARIE*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 221-50 and some of them published in *EIM*, 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. 33-35, 40; etc.

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXI(c)

(۱) فی زمان السلطان العادل جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی
۲. دین عمارۃ الشمسی و الحدیقة میرزا محمد ابن شاه ولی حرره حسین خان سنہ ۹۸۱

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of the just king Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī,

(2) the Shamsī building and the garden were beautified by Mirza Muḥammad son of Wali Shāh. Written by Husain 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 Mirzā Muḥammad, his father Wali Shāh and the scribe Husain Khān can be satisfactorily identified. The possibility that the first mentioned may have been an official of Akbar, posted at Budāun or its neighbourhood, cannot be ruled out. As a matter of fact, Abu'l-Faḍl mentions one Mirzā Muḥammad who held the rank of four hundred.¹ But it is not certain whether he is the one.

XIV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 981, FROM AMROHĀ

This inscription from Amrohā, in Morādābād district, was copied by Shri Kādīrī in 1962,² and is carved on a large slab measuring 36 cms. by 1.53 m. which is built into the south wall of Shaikh Saddo's mosque.³ Its text as supplied by Gangā Parshād, then Deputy Collector, Morādābād, 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 subtraction 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

¹ Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, vol. I, p. 228; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 552 and also p. 399.

² *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 295.

³ Shaikh Saddo 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 *DGUP*, vol. XVI, Moradabad (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 141-70.

The mosque also bears a Mamlūk record, dated A.H. 686, of the time of Kaiqubād (*EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 32-33, where, however, the builder's name is wrongly read as Bel'ambar instead of 'Ambar).



(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 981, from Amrohā, (p. 79)



SCALE : ·11

(b) Epigraph, dated A. H. 987, from Bareilly (p. 83)



SCALE : ·12

(c) Inscription, dated A. H. 981, from Budāon (p. 78)



SCALE : ·18

Ārifī, occur at the end. It states that Sayyid Muḥammad who is described as the glorifier of the religion of Prophet Muḥammad and an Amīr who is the asylum of people, constructed a Jāmi' mosque in Amrohā 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 *Naskh*, is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly good order. The quality of verse is also quite good.

It has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XXI(a)

- (۱) الله اکبر
 مدار ملک و ملل بادشاہ ظل الله
 (۲) بعہد اکبر غازی جلال دوت و دین
 ستارہ بندہ فرمان اوست بے اکراہ
 (۳) زمانہ خادم درگاہ اوست بے تکلیف
 معز دین محمد امیر خلق پناہ
 (۴) بنا نمود در امروہہ مسجد جامع
 کہ وصف او شدہ اوراد خلق پیگہ و گہ
 (۵) سپہر مرتبہ سید محمد عادل
 جواب داد روان مصرعی خوش و دلخواہ
 (۶) دلم چو نکتہ تاریخش از خرد پر سید
 مگوزہای اخیر و بگوی تاریخش
 بناہ میر عدالت پناہ] عالیجاہ

(۸) سنہ ۹۸۱

(۹) قایلہ و کاتبہ

(۱۰) عارفی

TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh is great.
 (2) In the reign of Akbar, the Ghāzī, Jalāl-i-Daulat wa Dīn (lit. the glory of the state and the religion), the pivot of the country and communities, the king who is the Shadow of Allāh—
 (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) Muḥammad, the nobleman in whom the people seek refuge, constructed a Jāmi' mosque in Amroha.
 (5) (He is) Sayyid Muḥammad, 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 *hā* 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 *hā*—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 بنای instead of بنا 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 5, being the value of the last *hā* (*hā*), 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 *hā*, but of all the letters *h*, *a* and *i* which denominate the sound—totaling 16 which has to be deducted.

Sayyid Muḥammad of Amrohā, the builder of the Jāmi' mosque, was the *Mir-i-Adl* (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

'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 Maulvī Muḥammad Shu'aib mentioned above.⁵ It was recopied by Shri Siddiqi 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 Tālib Khān at Āzampur.⁶ Locally called Ḥaẓira, it is situated to the east of the Tomb of the celebrated saint Shāh 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār. The Ḥaẓira 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 *Ayatul-Kursī*, and the other is in Persian prose and verse. But the arrangement of these is somewhat confusing. The religious text is inscribed in *Thulth* and the Persian

¹ *PASB*, 1873, p. 101.

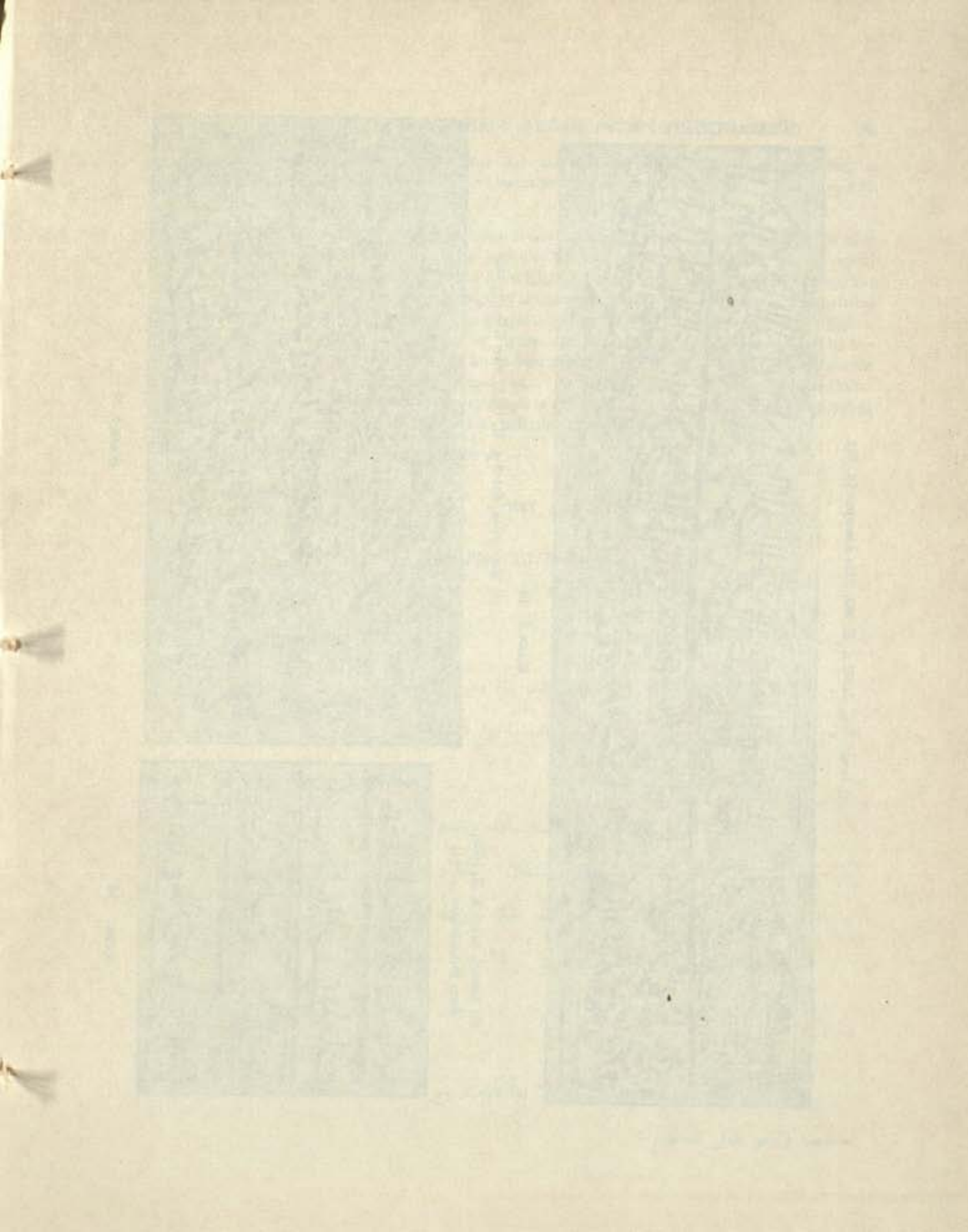
² Badāyūnī, *Muntakhbatu'l-Tawārīkh*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1869), p. 76, gives A. H. 986.

³ Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, vol. I, pp. 226, 234; Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 75, 76; Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁴ Abu'l-Faḍl, *AA*, Vol. I, pp. 228 (No. 251), 229 (No. 297), 230 (Nos. 363-64).

⁵ *AR ISIUP*, 1911 12, p. 68, No. 22 of Appendix E.

⁶ *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 380.



(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 985, from Āzampur (p. 81)



SCALE : .18

(e) Inscription, dated A. H. 1013, from Kālpī (p. 85)



SCALE : .3

(b) Record, dated A. H. 1005, from Bulandshahr (p. 84)



SCALE : .18

portion in *Nasta'liq*, 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 *Ṣāhib Qirān* (see p. 68, *supra*) has been used—and to the tomb as that of *Tālib Khān*. 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 *Khān'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 (*hākīm*)'. A couple of words below this portion cannot be made out. At the end occurs the name 'Abdu'l-Halim 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 اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما في السموات و ما في الارض من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم

(ii) Left side :

- (۱) در عهد خسرو فلک اقتدار سایه عاطفت پروردگار صاحب قران
- (۲) قائم مقام سلیمان سلطان سکندر جاه جلال الدین
- (۳) محمد اکبر بادشاه خلد الله ملکه روضه منوره المفتقر الى الله
- (۴) المنان ذره بمقدار طالب خان نور الله مرقدہ

(b) Lower panel.

(i) Right side :

و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا بما شاء و مع كرسیه السموات و الارض و لا يوده

حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم

(ii) Left side :

(۱) صدوای صد درینج که محسن زمان برقت لیکن از ین سرای فنا در جنان برقت
 (۲) تاریخ فوت او چو طلب کردم از جنان گفتا که وای حاکم محسن جهان برقت
 (۳) از اندو (۴) ۹۸۵ عبد الحلیم

TRANSLATION

(a) i. Part of Throne Verse (*Qur'ān*, 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 Allāh, the *Ṣāhib Qirān*,

(2) successor of King Solomon, the king having the dignity of Alexander, Jalālu'd-Dīn,

(3) Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh, 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 illumine his grave

(b) i. Remainder part of Throne Verse.

ii. (1) Hundreds 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 (*ḥākim*) of the world is gone".

(3) By Indū (?). (A. H.) 985 (1577-78 A.D.). Composed by the slave(?) 'Abdu'l-Ḥalīm.

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-Faḍl'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 1575-76.¹ On two other occasions, *Abu'l-Faḍl* 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 *Khawāja Ibrāhīm Badakhshī*, mentioned in the Sakit inscription (No. V, *supra*).² It is not unlikely that *Tālib Khān* of our record is this person.

About 'Abdu'l-Ḥalīm 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 *Abu'l-Faḍl, AN*, vol. III, p. 118.² *Ibid.*, p. 182.

'Ainu'l-Mulk mentioned in the record and referred for further details about him to his English translation of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*.¹

The epigraphical tablet measures 1.05 m. by 40 cms. and is fixed over the central opening of the facade of the historical *Mirzā'i-Masjid* in the *Mirzā'i-Maḥalla* of the old city.² 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 'Ainu'l-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)

(۱) ساعی کار خیر عین الملک ساخت مسجد بامر اکبر شه
(۲) مومنانرا ست سال تاریخش بجدوا خالصا وجه الله
۹۸۷

TRANSLATION

(1) The striver for (this) act of bounty, 'Ainu'l-Mulk, constructed the mosque by the order of Akbar *Shāh*.

(2) The year of its date is (contained in the instructions) to the believers: *Prostrate yourself exclusively for the sake of Allāh*.

Year (A. H.) 987 (1579-80 A.D.).

The builder is none other than *Hakīm 'Ainu'l-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.³ 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 Bijāpur. 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.

Blochmann speaks of his appointment as Faujdār of Sambhal⁴ which does not seem to be correct. For *Shah Nawāz Khān* who is his main source mentions the place of appointment as 'boundaries (*ḥudūd*) of Sambhal'. The fact is that he was appointed as the Faujdār of Bareilly, and Abu'l-Faḍl specifically thus designates him when he successfully foiled the attempt on the Bareilly fort made by 'Arab Bahādur and other Bengal rebels who had created disturbances in

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XL (1871), p. 261. For the history of Bareilly, see *DGUP*, vol. XIII, Bareilly (Allahabad, 1911), pp. 145-180.

² *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 346. Another Persian inscription over this epigraph records the reconstruction of the mosque by *Ḥaqdād Khān* in 1750-51 (*ibid.*, No. D, 34).

³ For an account of his life and career, see *Shah Nawāz Khān*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 562-63; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 537; *Nizāmu'd-Dīn*, *op. cit.*, p. 395; *Badāyūnī*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 164-65, 230-32.

⁴ Blochmann, *op. cit.*

the confines of Sambhal; this was some time in March 1581.¹ He seems to have continued at Bareilly until October of the same year, when he was made the *Ṣadr* of Bengal.²

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 Buhlāl *Shāh* at Bulandshahr,³ from which town an earlier epigraph of Akbar's reign has been studied above (No. II, *supra*). It was copied by Shri Kādirī.

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 Miyān Buhlūl Bahlīm 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 'Sālār', a servant of Miyān 'Imād Bahlīm.

The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate XXII(b)

- (۱) در عهد جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی
 (۲) عمارت مقبره ازان میان بهلولخان بهلیم
 (۳) مرتب شد شهر ذی الحج مورخاً سنه الف خمس ۱۰۰۵
 (۴) مبلغ هفده هزار پنجاه تنکه کارفرمان سالار نوکر میان عماد بهلیم

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the reign of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī,
 (2) the building of the tomb of Miyān Buhlūl Khān Bahlīm,
 (3) was completed (in the) month of Dhū'l-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 Sālār, a servant (?) of Miyān 'Imād Bahlīm.

It is difficult to identify Miyān Buhlūl Khān Bahlīm who is interred in the tomb. From the honorific epithet Miyān 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. Badāy-ūnī, no doubt, mentions in the list of contemporary learned men, one 'Shaiḫ Buhlūl of Delhi, who was well versed in the science of Tradition,⁴ but he seems to be different. Of the other

¹ Abu'l-Faḡl, *AN*, vol. III, p. 348.

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-Faḡl.

³ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 259.

⁴ Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 113.

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 *tankas* 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 Kālpi, was copied by Shri Siddiqī 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 Madārpurā locality of the town.¹ 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 *Nasta'liq* characters, the calligraphy being on the crudish side and quite inferior to the other inscriptions from Kālpi 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 *Hujra* was built in 1604, in the reign of emperor Akbar by Nawwāb Qulī Khān Hindālī 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'il gilkār (mason).²

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXII(c)

- (۱) این حظیره عالی در عهد دوام دولت جلال الدین محمد اکبر
- (۲) بادشاه غازی رفعت یافته بی نظیر مقبره شاهانه المشهور بحجره نواب قلیخان
- (۳) هندالی بناساخت و یک هزار و دویست هشتاد و پنج هون(?)
- (۴) در باب این حظیره خرج کرده تحریراً فی التاریخ عره رجب سنه ۱۰۱۳ [۱]
- (۵) کارفرما باجی کھتری و استاد کار اسماعیل گلکار این روضه پر انوار باد

TRANSLATION

(1) This lofty *Hazira* (mausoleum), in the everlasting reign of Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar

(2-3) Bādshāh Ghāzī was raised. The matchless magnificent (lit. royal) mausoleum, better known as *Hujra* was built by Nawwāb Qulī Khān Hindālī(?). And (a sum of) one thousand two hundred and eightyfive *hons*.

¹ *ARIK*, 1964-65, No. D, 364.

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 [1]013(?) (13th November 1604).

(5) The supervisor (was) Bājī (?) Khatri and the master-artisan Ismā'il gilkar. May this tomb be illuminated.

As in the case of quite a few persons mentioned in the epigraphs studied in the preceding lines, Nawwāb Qulī 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 *hons*, as against 17050 *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.

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