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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

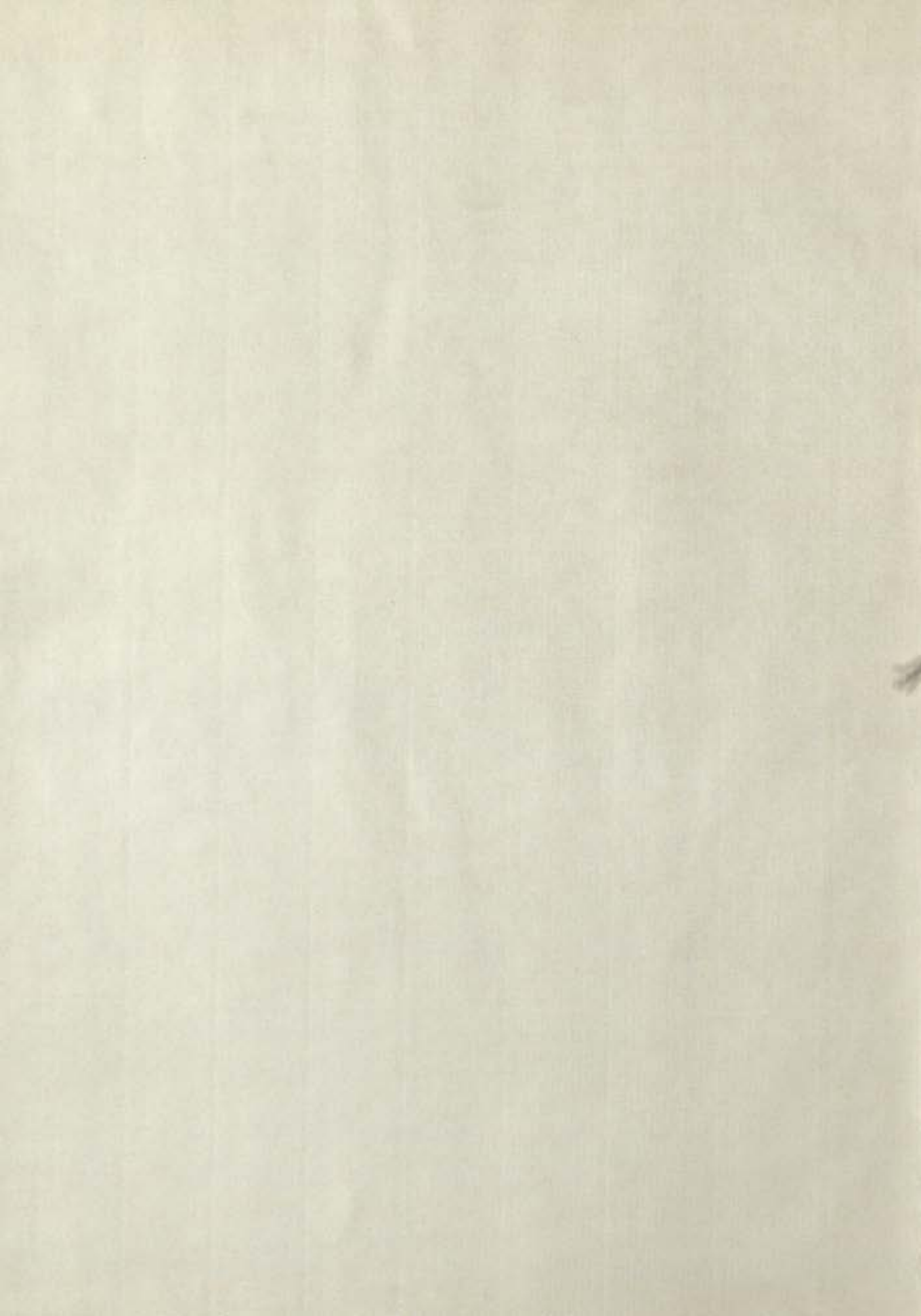
(In continuation of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*)

1970 and 1971



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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
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PREFACE

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

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

K.V. RAMESH
DIRECTOR (EPIGRAPHY)

MYSORE
1-12-1987

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दिनांक...
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1970

A UNIQUE INSCRIPTION OF SULTAN AHMAD OF MALWA FROM PIRANPUR NEAR CHANDERI

BY PROFESSOR S. A. RAHIM

LECTURER, NAGPUR MAHAVIDYALAYA, NAGPUR

Despite the fact that there exists a number of historical works dealing with the history of the Mālwa Sultanate, written both at its capital Māṇḍu and a little later elsewhere, there are considerable gaps in our knowledge of this dynasty. While none of the contemporary records in the former category has seen the light of the day, with the exception of an abridged edition of the *Ma'āthir-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī* of 'Alī Kirmānī, also known as *Shihāb-i-Hakīm*,¹ almost all the important works in the other category are available in print as well as in translation. A few years back, however, in 1965 to be exact, a political and cultural history of Mālwa by Dr. U.N. Day of the Delhi University, originally being the subject for his Degree of the Doctor of Philosophy, was published.² But unfortunately Dr. Day, while utilising the historical works on the subject, failed to consult the latest epigraphical material³ which, as the readers of this series are aware, contains a large number of the inscriptions of the Mālwa Sultāns which have come to light,⁴ and which furnish in some cases, new information about, and in other, supplement our knowledge of, the history of the period. We shall restrict ourself to give only one instance here. A Jaina record of 1424 at Deogarh in Jhānsi District of Uttar Pradesh, gives the name of the reigning king as 'Shah Alambhak' of Māṇḍu, which according to Dr. Day stands for 'Shah Alap Khan'.⁵ But this is not correct. The title *Shāh* 'Ālam can be easily recognised in the phrase 'Shah Alambhak,' and is not the corruption or variant of *Shāh* Alp *Khān*, but it was the title which the latter *alias* Hoshang *Shāh* Ghori appears to have adopted. This is also clear from the title 'Ālam Sāhi' used for Hoshang *Shāh* in the *Kāvya Manohar* of Maheshwar Kavi as is noted by Dr. Day himself.⁶ Dr. Day would have immediately recognised this fact, if he were aware of

¹ This abridgement made by Dr. Nūru'l-Ḥasan of the Delhi University was published in 1968 by the Indo-Persian Society, Delhi.

² U. N. Day, *Medieval Malwa* (Delhi, 1965).

³ He did consult the epigraphs noticed in the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department of Gwalior State (ABADG)* and also those published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, upto its 1939-40 issue.

⁴ All the inscriptions of the Mālwa Sultāns have been listed in : *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1952-53, Nos. C, 62-65, 70 ; *ibid.*, 1954-55, No. C, 9 ; *ibid.*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 42-46, 48-50, 58, 63, 89, 91 ; *ibid.*, 1962-63, Nos. D, 50, 53, 54, 60-62, 65 ; *ibid.*, 1963-64, Nos. D, 111, 127-28, 147, 386 ; *ibid.*, 1964-65, No. D, 79 ; *ibid.*, 1965-66, Nos. D, 115, 126, 134-35 ; *ibid.*, 1966-67, Nos. D, 58, 61, 63, 71, 80 ; and *ibid.*, 1970-71, Nos. D, 70, 73.

⁵ Day, *op. cit.*, p. 63, f.n.1.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 424, f.n.1.

the fact that his Māṇḍu inscription clearly mentions Alp Kī ān as having been entitled *Shāh-i Ālam*.¹ Incidentally, the same king finds mention as 'Shāh Alim' in a Sanskrit record dated V. S. 1485 (1428 A. D.), from Naderi in Guna district, also noted by Dr. Day,² who could not still connect him with Hoshang Shāh, probably because he accepted the wrong identification of Shāh Alim with the 'Sayyid king of Delhi' given in the source, despite the clear date.³

The inscription under study is one more such instance which, being as it is a unique record of a rival king in the Mālwa territories during the last days of the Sultanate, underscores the need of extensive search of epigraphs on one hand and proper utilisation of their evidence, on the other. The present inscription may be termed as an outstanding discovery of recent times, as it represents the unique inscription of a scion of the ruling Khalji family of Mālwa, who had, as will be seen presently, succeeded his father in wielding independent authority at Chanderi, which is hardly a couple of kilometres from the finds spot of this record. The narrative in most of the historical records generally referred to by scholars of history about the father's having declared his independent rule at Chanderi under the name Sultān Muḥammad Shāh and about his son Sultān Aḥmad Shāh is not very clear, particularly in regard to dates as also the extent of his rule. It is surprising that some of our historians, particularly, Dr. Day, should have totally ignored the son, though the earliest authority does mention the fact as we shall soon see.⁴ Our inscription also, giving as it does a specific date, can be said to fill a lacunae in the history of Mālwa of the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

The tablet bearing this interesting inscription is fixed into the left side of a step-well locally called Gachaw-Bāori, situated to the north-west of the village of Pirānpur, situated about four kilometres east of Chanderi.⁵ An impression thereof was taken along with those of other epigraphs from the place when I visited it in January 1962, but the impression being unsatisfactory, sufficient details could not be made out at that time.⁶ In a subsequent visit in November 1966, a fresh impression was prepared and efforts were also made to read it on the stone. But due not less to the somewhat indifferent and unusual way of execution than to the damaged nature of the epigraph, the text has not come out in the impression as well as it should. Nevertheless, it is definitely far better than the earlier one and as a result, the epigraph could be deciphered, I am happy to say, almost completely and correctly. I must, however, admit that in a couple of places, more particularly in the last line, I am not certain about the reading of a couple of words.

The square tablet, measuring 50 cm. a side, contains a text of twelve lines, which but for the first and the last two lines, are in verse. The first line comprises, instead of the *Basmala*, another religious formulae, offering praise to Allāh and salutation to His Prophet, and the last two give particulars of the scribe, the mason, etc.

¹ *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1964, p. 51. Dr. Day perhaps was misled by the incomplete and faulty reading of this epigraph which was first published in *EIM*, 1909-10, p. 24; its revised reading in *ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 10, was even more confusing though the portion indicating *Shāh-i-Ālam* as the title of the king was correctly read. The correct name and date of the king were clearly indicated in *ARIE*, 1962-63 No. D, 50.

² Day, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

³ *ABADG*, for V.S. 1981, No. 24.

⁴ It must be noted that even a modern writer as the compiler of the Gwālior State Gazetteer has noted the fact that Bābur after conquering Chanderi made over the fort to its legitimate sovereign Aḥmad Khān, son of Shāhib Khān. But his statement that the latter's *alias* was Maḥmūd III and that he was a son of Maḥmūd II are not correct (C. E. Luard & others, *Central India State Gazetteer Series*, Vol. I, part I, Lucknow, 1906, p. 211).

⁵ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 71.

⁶ For another epigraph from Pirānpur, belonging to Qhiyāshu'd-Dīn Khalji's time, see *ibid.*, 1961-62, No. D, 63. It was published in *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 75, pl. XXIII b.

The tablet having been exposed to inclemencies of weather, the writing is considerably damaged; the calligraphy too, though not poor, is not fine either, and the engraving is indifferent. And though, the text has even then been almost fully deciphered, the poor quality of verse and the faulty syntax and grammar have rendered the meaning in a couple of places not perfectly clear.

The first three couplets of the metrical text which is contained in lines 2-9 refer to the construction of the step-well and eulogise, in poetical strain, the fine quality of its water. The fourth couplet contains in the first hemistich, the name of the reigning 'Sultān of the land, Aḥmad son of Muḥammad' and in the second, refers to the Khalji kings at the 'Maṇḍū fort', but the connection between these two parts is not easy to establish due to the mediocre text and manner of engraving. What is probably meant is that the king belonged to the stock of the Khalji kings who ruled at Maṇḍū. The next verse mentions Bhārati Chand(ra), the official Majmū'dār at the village and Maliku'sh-Sharq Faḍlā. The sixth verse quotes the date to the exact day, viz. 1st Dhu'l-Qa'da 926 (13th October 1520). In the seventh verse occurs the poetic name Mashriqī, who is stated to have composed the metrical text comprising seven verses, 'each verse of which is an ocean full of lustrous pearls'—an utterly absurd claim, for the quality of the verse as stated earlier is just mediocre. The next verse, composed in a separate metre, is imprecatory.

The first of the last two lines of the epigraph which are in prose, records the name of the scribe Muḥammad Shā'bān Afghānī, who was, we are told, an old retainer of Khān-i-A'zam Afḡal Khānī. The last line could not be satisfactorily deciphered. According to my reading, it states that this well meant for public use was constructed at the instance of B(?)ayāg Dās unbeliever, by the mason attached to him, namely Rāmdās, son of Lakhman.

The style of writing of the epigraph is Nasḫ which is basically of a tolerably good quality. But it is the way in which the letters have been executed that imparts a somewhat untidy appearance to the writing. It seems that the letters were originally intended to be brought out in relief, as is indicated by their outlines marked out on the stone, but for some reason or the other, the portion of the slab surrounding these was not chiselled off.¹ In some parts, particularly in lines 9, 10 and 11, some of the letters look as if they have been incised on stone.

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

TEXT

Plate I(b)

- (۱) نحمدہ و نصلى
 (۲) مپاس و شکر بی منت خدای فضل سبحانی
 مرتب گشت این بائین بکرم نام یزدانی
 (۳) بعینش چشمه کوثر بپایش مسلیل آس
 مزاجش شیر وز شکر مصفی شهد هم دانی
 (۴) بنوشد گر کسی آبی بخواند وصف صد بابی
 بگوید نیست این آبی مگر در چشمه کنعانی

¹ There is at least one more similarly engraved record at Chandeti, which was set up four years later, in the time of Ibrāhīm Lodi (*EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pl. XXXI c).

- (۵) بعد حضرت سلطان بر احمد بن محمد کان
 شهنشاهان خلجی از ان هندو قلعه سلطانی
- (۶) بموضع (۹) این بهار تهنیچندست مجموعدار این درکه
 بملک الشرق (۹) فضلی جهانگیری است علوانی
- (۷) مہی ذی القعدہ در غره سنس را بیست و شش دیگر
 بنهصد عام ربط آمد بیوم یومها ثانی
- (۸) مشرقی هفت بیتی را مسلم گفت در مدحش
 کہ در هر بیت دریائی است پر لولوی عمانی
- (۹) هر که درین باین نظر بدکند
 چشم شود کور شکم درد کند
- (۱۰) کاتب الحروف العبد الفقیر محمد شعبان افغانی متعلق قدیم خان اعظم افضل خانی
- (۱۱) بفرمایش بیادگاس (۹) کافر تعمیر این باین موقوف رامداس لکھمن معمار متعلق بیادگاس (۹)
 در ماه ذی القعدہ سنہ ...

TRANSLATION

- (1) We praise Him and send salutations (on His Prophet).
- (2) Thanks and gratefulness are due for the bounty of God and Divine excellence (that) this step-well was constructed through the grace (lit. generosity) of the name of God.
- (3) In its well is the fountain of Kauthar,¹ at its steps, its water is like the Salsabil,² its composition is milk and sugar—you may even know it to be pure honey.
- (4) If any body drinks its water, he would recite hundred chapters in its praise (lit. description) (and) would say, 'This (sort of) water is not to be found anywhere except perhaps in the fountain of Canaan.'
- (5) (This took place) in the reign of His Majesty the king of the land, Aḥmad son of Muḥammad, who is (descended?) from Khaljī emperors reigning at Mandū Fort.
- (6) At this place (?) Bhārati Chand is the Majmū' dār from this court, (who) is attached to (7)* Maliku'sh-Sharq Faḍlā, the world-conquerer.
- (7) The month was Dhū'l-Qa'da, on the first day, (and) the year was twenty and six above nine hundred, on the day which was Monday (1 Dhū'l-Qa'da 926=13 October 1520).

¹ Name of a stream in Paradise.

² Name of another stream in Paradise.

* 'Ulwān according to F. Steingass, *A comprehensive Persian English Dictionary* (London, 1957), p. 864, is 'prefacing or writing a title page to a book'.

SŪR RECORD FROM BIHAR

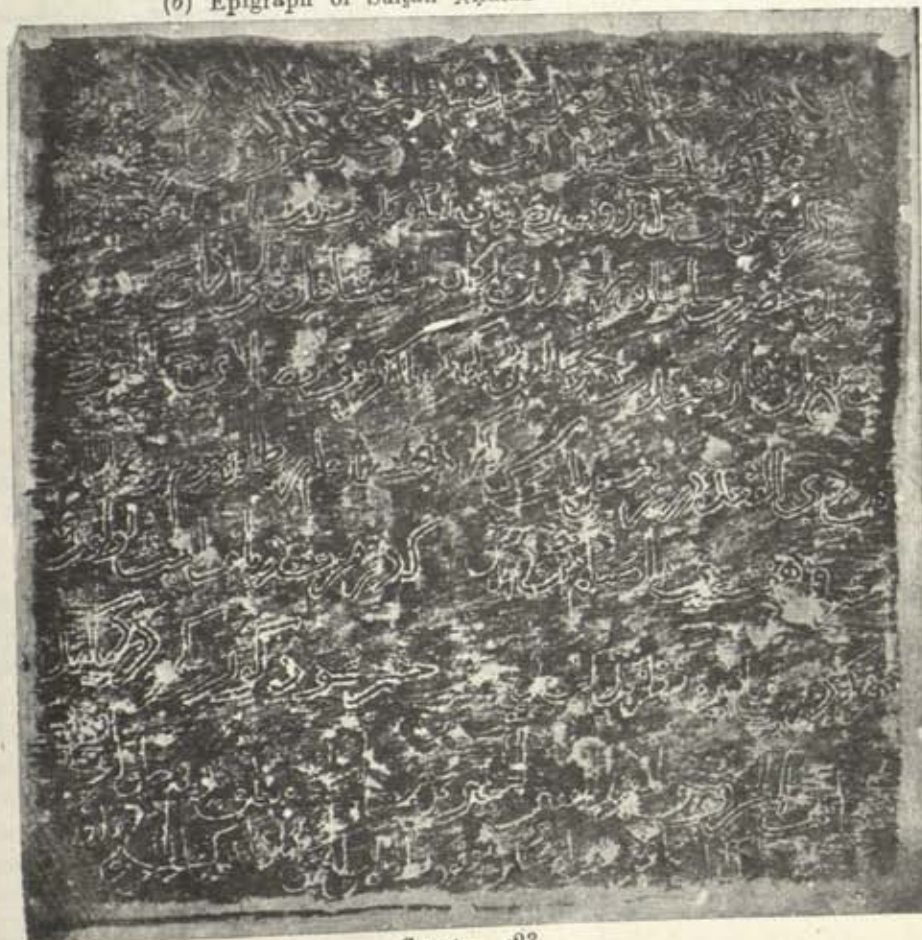
- (a) Inscription of Muḥammad Sūr, dated
A. H. 962, from Bihārsharif (p. 10)



SCALE: .23

MĀLWĀ SULTANATE RECORD FROM MADHYA PRADESH

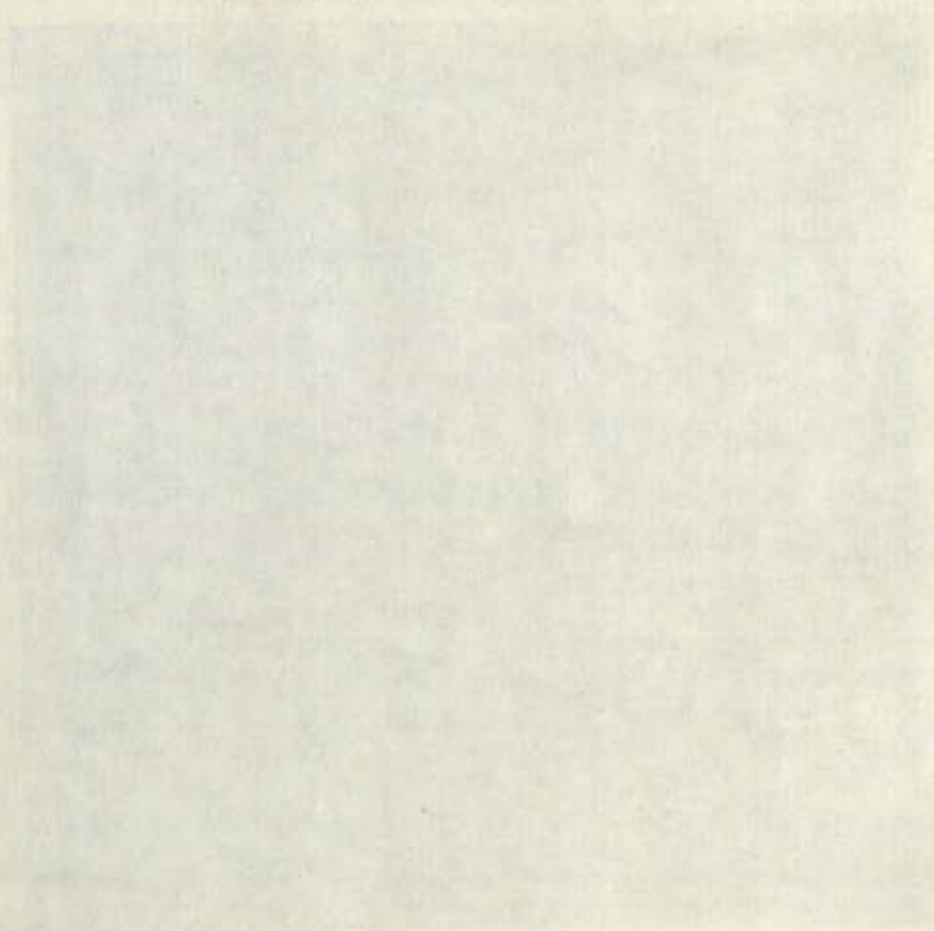
- (b) Epigraph of Sulṭān Aḥmad from Pirānpur (p. 3)



SCALE: .23

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST



(8) Mashriqī composed seven complete couplets in its praise, in each of which there is an ocean full of the Oman pearls.

(9) Whoever casts an evil eye on this step-well, may his eye be blind and his stomach ache.

(10) The writer of these words is the poor and insignificant creature Muḥammad Shā'bān Afghānī, an old retainer of Khān-i-A'zam Afḡal Khānī.

(11) At the instance of Bayāgdās (i.e. Prayāg Dās) unbeliever, the construction of this step-well endowed for public (at the hand of ?) Rāmdās (son of) Lakhman (attached to ?) Bayāgdās (Prayāg Dās) unbeliever, in the month of Dhū'l-Qa'da, year (?)....

It may not be without significance that this epigraph is also one of the many records of the time of the Mālwa kings found in Gunā district particularly at Chanderi and its neighbourhood, which commemorate the setting up of step-wells. It also supplies new information about the local history of Chanderi as obtained in and about A.H. 926. It happens to be the only source to have preserved the name of a Hindu official of the revenue-collection department, namely Bhārati Chand, who was the Majmū'dār at the place. The record also provides, for the first time, the name of a new Mālwa noble, whose name even would have passed into oblivion but for our record. The Maliku'sh-Sharq's designation or his connection with Chanderi or the court is not specified in the text, but it can be safely assumed that he held a high post at the court, presumably that of a minister, or he may have held his jāgīr in the region. It is therefore surprising that he should be untraceable in historical works. The epigraph also gives the name of the scribe—designer of the text, a piece of information not always met with in epigraphs. He is Muḥammad (son of) Shā'bān, who describes himself as an Afghān and also as an old retainer of Khān-i-A'zam Afḡal Khān. The latter is evidently identical with a nobleman of Mālwa, Maulānā 'Imādu'd-Dīn entitled Afḡal Khān who was concerned in the fratricidal wars between Sultān Maḥmūd and his brother Sultān Muḥammad. He changed sides a couple of times receiving once the highest title of Majlis-i-Karīm from, and was ultimately beheaded by, the former at the instigation of Medini Rāi in about A.H. 918.¹ The similarity of the names of Afḡal Khān and Faḡlā which are derived from the same root, may suggest the possibility of their being the father and the son. The text is stated to have been composed by the pseudo-poet Mashriqī, to trace whom in the historical or other works would be futile. Lastly, the names of the person at whose request the step-well was constructed and of the mason, very probably, attached to him, are also given. If the reading is correct, the former in particular is mentioned with the sobriquet 'unbeliever' generally used for a Hindu, while, it will have been noted that no such sobriquet is used for Bhārati Chand.

But the major importance of this epigraph is that it not only confirms but throws new light on the existence of a sovereign principality, however nominal or short-lived, which was set up by the brother of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd II of Mālwa (1511-1531), son of Nāṣir Shāh Khalji. The latter had, before he died in December 1510, appointed his son Maḥmūd as his successor, his eldest son and heir-apparent Shihābu'd-Dīn having rebelled. The death of Nāṣir Shāh was a signal for further trouble which Maḥmūd Shāh had to face. He had not yet settled down on the throne when news came in about July 1511 that some of the nobles had decided to raise to the throne another brother of his, Sāhib Khān by name. The latter helped by these nobles succeeded a few days later, in besieging the palace of Maḥmūd Shāh who was compelled to escape from the fort and flee towards Ujjain, or Sārangpur, according to some. The nobles raised Sāhib Khān to the

¹ Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Lucknow, 1875), pp. 575-79; Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 268, 272, 274, 276, 279.

throne under the title of Sultān Muḥammad. But his luck did not last long and he had to take to his heels, and having tried his luck in Gujarāt and Berār, he came to Chanderi in about A.H. 919 (1513 A.D.) when Sikandar Lodi of Delhi was prevailed upon to send military help to him. After a few more vicissitudes, he is stated to have been raised to throne once again at Chanderi in A.H. 918 or A.H. 919. But ultimately he is believed to have been ousted from Chanderi by Sultān Maḥmūd and compelled to go over to the army of Sikandar Lodi.¹ After this nothing is known about him, but he seems to have succeeded in regaining Chanderi and ruled there until after the death of Sikandar Lodi in A.H. 923. Incidentally, Nizāmu' d-Dīn Aḥmad and Firishṭa give his name as Sāhib Khān, the former also using the regal title Maḥmūd for him. On the other hand, the Gujarāt historians call him Sultān Muḥammad.² That, whatever his original name, his royal name was Muḥammad as given by the Gujarāt historians is proved beyond any doubt by the present inscription which also calls him Muḥammad.

Sultān Muḥammad is believed by almost all authorities to have ultimately crossed over to the Lodi kingdom in A. H. 920.³ Dr. Day who also subscribes to this view does not give any further information about the rival king at Chanderi after A.H. 920. Nor do we find any mention whatever of this Sultān Muḥammad *alias* Sāhib Khān's son in Dr. Day's work—the latest on the history of Mālwa—leave alone of his having set up independent authority, however nominal, at Chanderi. As a matter of fact, Dr. Day's account, for which he mainly relies on Nizāmu' d-Dīn Aḥmad, fails to throw any light on the political status of the Chanderi region on which the Delhi rulers had always set their covetous eyes. As long as the Mālwa Sultanate was strong enough, Chanderi was left undisturbed, but once it developed weakness, the Lodis tried to wean it from the Mālwa authority. Sultān Maḥmūd ruled over the Mālwa kingdom right upto his death in A.H. 937 (1530-31 A.D.), with the exception of the period of a few months when he left Mālwa in October-November 1517, to be restored to the throne by the Gujarāt Sultān in February of the following year.⁴ But once the Gujarāt forces withdrew, the nobles and governors in outlying provinces became independent, and only a fragment of the large kingdom was left to Sultān Maḥmūd by the end of A.H. 925 (1519 A.D.) according to Dr. Day.⁵ Dr. Day also places the occupation of Chanderi by Medini Rāi at about this time,⁶ but he has not quoted any authority for this timing; this occupation, as we shall soon see, took place not in A.H. 925 (1519 A.D.) but after some time. Nor is the duration of this occupation clear from Dr. Day's narrative. He also seems to make Medini Rāi in charge of Chanderi right from A.H. 925 (1519 A.D.) down to his death and fall of Chanderi some years later.⁷ Now, according to the indisputable contemporary evidence of our epigraph, Sultān Aḥmad was master of Chanderi in A.H. 926 (1519-20 A.D.), and therefore, Medini Rāi could not have been lord there in that year.

¹ The events of about this period are almost identically described except for slight difference in dates by Nizāmu' d-Dīn Aḥmad, Firishṭa, Sikandar, Ḥāji Dabīr and others. For a resume of this, see Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-279, 281-284.

² Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* (Baroda, 1962), pp. 174, 175, 176, 179; Ḥāji Dabīr, *Zafaru'l-Walīh bi-Muḥammad wa-Ālīh* (London, 1910), pp. 97, 98, 100, 212, 213, etc.

³ Dr. Day follows Nizāmu' d-Dīn Aḥmad, when he says that Sāhib Khān 'went to the army of Sikandar Lodi on the other side of the border of Mālwa' (*op. cit.*, p. 284).

⁴ For details, see Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-97.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 312. In the Gwālior State Gazetteer too, Rānā Sāngā is stated to have seized it in 1520 and made it over to Medini Rāi who held it until Bābur captured it on 27 September 1527 (Luard, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-11). Apart from the inscription under study, the Lodi record of A.H. 930 (1524 A.D.) from Chanderi (*EIAPS*, 1944 and 1936 pp. 122-23) also shows that Rānā Sāngā could not have taken it before 1524.

In short, one looks in vain in Dr. Day's otherwise laudable work, for any worthwhile information about Chanderi's political status by the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Naturally Dr. Day could not be expected to be aware of the evidence furnished by the inscription under study, which was brought to light after his work was published. But there are at least two references in historical works that have escaped Dr. Day's notice, which could have been utilised to present a somewhat clear picture on the subject. One of these is to be found in Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad's work itself which has been the main source for Dr. Day's narration of the later Mālwa Sultāns, but it seems to have escaped Dr. Day's notice, as the particular statement occurs in the account of Ibrāhīm Lodī. The other reference, which gives more details, is from about a contemporary source, to wit, the Memoirs of the Mughal emperor Bābur whose statement throws fresh light on the history of Chanderi, and as such, deserves to be quoted below first in full:—

"Formerly Chanderi will have belonged to the Sultāns of Mandāu (Mandū). When Sl. Nāsiru'd-Dīn passed away, one of his sons Sl. Maḥmūd who is now holding Mandū, took possession of it and its neighbouring parts, and another son called Muḥammad Shāh laid hands on Chanderi and put it under Sl. Sikandar (Lūdī)'s protection, who, in his turn took Muḥammad Shāh's side and sent him large forces. Muḥammad Shāh survived Sl. Sikandar and died in Sl. Ibrāhīm's time, leaving a very young son called Aḥmad Shāh whom Sl. Ibrāhīm drove out and replaced by a man of his own. At the time Rānā Sangā led out an army against Sl. Ibrāhīm and Ibrāhīm's begs turned against him at Dūlpūr, Chanderi fell into the Rānā's hands and by him was given to Medini [Mindni] Rāo the greatly-trusted pagan who was now in it with 4 or 5,000 other pagans".¹

Bābur took Chanderi from Medini Rāi in A. H. 935² and gave it, again, to Aḥmad Shāh, according to his own statement.³ Abu'l-Faḍl and Firishta also have referred to the restoration of Chanderi to Aḥmad Shāh by Bābur.⁴

The above account of Bābur clears up the picture to a large extent, and the exact chronology which it lacks can be supplied from epigraphical and historical works. Firstly, the epigraph under study indicates that the history of Chanderi as given by Bābur is fairly correct. Aḥmad Shāh was at least ruler of Chanderi in A. H. 926, the date of the record. From the other reference in Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad's work to which attention has been drawn, Bābur's statement regarding Muḥammad Shāh having survived Sikandar Lodī stands corroborated. According to this, immediately after his accession, Ibrāhīm Lodī lost no time in strengthening various parts of the kingdom and he sent Shaiḥzāda Manjhū to guard the Chanderi fort and act as a Peshwā (Chief Minister) of Muḥammad Shāh.⁵

From the above, it would transpire that Muḥammad Shāh was succeeded by his son Aḥmad Shāh some time between A. H. 924 and A. H. 926. The latter seems to have been supplanted,

¹ Annette Susannah Beveridge, *Bābur-Nāma (Memoirs of Bābur)*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 593.

² Medini Rāi was killed in this battle (*ibid.*, p. 596, fn. 1).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 598.

⁴ Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1877), p. 112; Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. I (Lucknow, 1865), p. 210.

⁵ Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 190. Both call Muḥammad Shāh a grandson of Nāsiru'd-Dīn which is not correct.

⁶ Incidentally, this statement of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad has been wrongly translated by S. A. A. Rizwi (*Uttar Taimur-kāshīn Bhārat*, Aligarh, 1958, p. 236) as indicating that Ibrāhīm Lodī appointed Muḥammad Shāh as the Peshwā. See also Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 189, where he explicitly refers to Shaiḥzāda Manjhū's assignment as that of Vakil.

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not very long after, by Miyān Husain Farmulī, who was given the fief of Chanderi by Ibrāhīm Lodī. But exactly at what date this deposition took place, and how long Miyān Husain enjoyed his new fief, is nowhere mentioned, though the latter's extermination by the *aiḥzādas* of Chanderi, at the instigation and instance of the Lodī monarch has been described in details by some historians.¹ As Miyān Husain's death is reported to have taken place a little before the death of the Bihār governor Daryā Khān Nuḥānī,² this event must have taken place some time in A. H. 927 or 928. (1521-22 A. D.).

In what year did Rānā Sāngā take Chanderi from Ibrāhīm Lodī is also nowhere mentioned,³ nor has the fixing of the date been attempted by any scholar including Prof. A. B. Pāṇḍe, who has worked on the history of the Lodīs. That it could not have been before 9 Ramaḍān 930 (11 July 1524) is clear from an epigraph of Ibrāhīm Lodī from Chanderi which names Sharafu'l-Mulk as the Muqta' of the Chanderi *ḡiq*.⁴ This Sharafu'l-Mulk must have succeeded to part, if not whole, of the Chanderi *jāgīr* of Miyān Husain Farmulī in whose clandestine removal, he had taken an active part at the instigation of Ibrāhīm Lodī himself.⁵

It follows, therefore, that Medini Rāi must have been set up as Rāja of Chanderi only after July 1524 and Almas Shāh was again made king of Chanderi by Bābur in A. H. 934 (1527-28 A. D.) as stated above. We are totally in dark about what happened to Sulṭān Almas Shāh thereafter.

In any case, the inscription under study is extremely valuable as a historical document and due notice should be taken thereof.

Before I close, I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Z. A. Desai, editor of this journal, who not only asked me to select this epigraph for study but also helped me in various ways in the preparation of the article.

¹ Rizu'llāh Mushtāqī, *Wāqī'at-i-Muḡtāqī* in Rizwī, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-70; 'Abdu'llāh, *Tārīkh-i-Dā'adī* (Aligarh, 1954), pp. 92-97. Also see Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Firights, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

² Cf. Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*; Firights, *op. cit.* The exact date of Daryā Khān Nuḥānī's death is not known, but it has been placed by competent scholars in A.H. 928 or A. H. 929 (S. H. 'Askari, 'Bihar in the Time of the Two Lodī Sultāns of Delhi', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XLI, 1955, part III, p. 16).

³ The Gwālior State Gazetteer places the event in 1520 which is manifestly wrong as has been shown above (p. 6, *supra*, fn. 7).

⁴ *ETAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 122-23. The inscription was noticed as early as in about 1928 in the *ARADG*, for the year V. S. 1988, no. 13, where its date is wrongly read as A.H. 902, though it is stated to have been set up in the time of Ibrāhīm Lodī (who came to throne in A.H. 923).

⁵ Mushtāqī, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-60.

A UNIQUE INSCRIPTION OF MUHAMMAD SHAH SUR OF BIHAR

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

This interesting inscription was first identified and brought to light by my esteemed friend Professor S. H. 'Askari of Patnā, the great historian and scholar, who is known to have virtually dedicated himself to historical studies. It is no exaggeration to say that almost all the new Arabic and Persian inscriptions of the province of Bihār found in recent times including those that have been published in this series, owe their discovery entirely due to the indefatigable energy and untiring zeal of the learned professor. It has indeed been a privilege to have been accompanied by him, more than once, in the course of my visits to the province to collect Arabic and Persian inscriptions. These epigraphs have shed considerable new light on the history of Bihār, particularly of the pre-Mughal period¹ and it is no exaggeration to say that epigraphical evidence alone has been forthcoming to give a list of succession of the Tughluqian governors of the province, about which our information was almost nil. Professor 'Askari had published three learned articles, based on the evidence of inscriptions and literary works like the biographies of saints and their Malfūz (Daily Talk), one each dealing with the Turko-Afghan Period, Lodi Period and Early Mughal period.²

The inscription under study was noticed by Professor 'Askari in the above-mentioned first article, where the Roman transcript of its text as deciphered by him was also given. Initially, its impression was prepared for my office in 1954, but the writing being somewhat damaged and the letters having been executed in a somewhat cursive hand and also placed one upon another, the text could not be satisfactorily read. As a result, the king's titles were stated to read *Shamsu'd-Dīn*.³ In January 1956, when I visited Bihārsharif in the company of Professor 'Askari, I took the opportunity to examine it on stone, and had a somewhat better impression thereof obtained. It is from this impression that the epigraph is being edited here.

The tablet bearing the inscription is fixed above the *mihrāb* in the western wall of a building called Imāmbāra situated in the Maḥalla Aziz Ghāṭ of Bihārsharif, a sub-divisional headquarters in Patnā district.⁴ The building was used at that time and, may be, is used even now, to run a small restaurant called Munshi Hotel.

¹ Some idea of this can be had from the studies on the inscriptions of the Tughluqs and of the Sultāns of Bengal, from Bihār, which appeared in the various issues of the *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, as detailed in the foot note 4, below.

² The first and the third of these articles were published in the 1954 and 1957 issues of the *Current Studies*, Magazine of the Patnā College, Patnā, where Professor 'Askari headed the Department of History with great distinction. The second was published in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna*, vol. XLI, part 3 (1965). It is unfortunate that these articles, published as they were in a college magazine having a limited circulation and that too among students of various subjects and calibre, did not attract sufficient notice.

³ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1953-54, No. C, 94.

⁴ *Ibid.* Bihārsharif is famous in Indo-Muslim history as the provincial capital in the pre-Mughal period. A number of inscriptions of the Maḥlak, Tughluq, Sharqi and Lodi kings have been found here. These have been listed in the *ARIE* and almost all of them also published in the various issues of the *Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica* and *EIAPS*. For references to these, see *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 25, f.n. 2. Independent articles on the inscriptions of the Tughluqs and of the Sultāns of Bengal from Bihār have appeared in *ibid.*, pp. 25-44 (where more references will be found) and *ibid.*, 1968, pp. 11-16. Some Sharqi, Lodi and Sūr epigraphs were published in *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 41-44, 50-52; *ibid.*, 1967, pp. 25-32; and *ibid.*, 1968, pp. 25-27. A few Mughal epigraphs were published in *ibid.*, 1966, pp. 35-42 and *ibid.*, 1969, pp. 1-14.

The epigraph comprises a three-line text, of which the first line is devoted to *Basmala* and the remaining two contain the historical record in Persian, which refers itself to the reign of *Naṣru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh Sultān* and assigns the construction of a mosque to *Aḥmad* (son of?) *Tāhir*, son of *Ḍiyā* in 1554-55.

The epigraphical tablet measures 30 by 25 cms., and the style of writing is *Naskh* of quite an ordinary type which is somewhat on crudish side in certain parts. However, an attempt seems to have been made to achieve a certain impressiveness by the parallel arrangement of vertical strokes of some letters and the slanting strokes of parts of other letters particularly in the first line, and the effect could have been quite picturesque if the calligraphy were of a high order.

The reading of a few words in the middle of the second line of the text which could not be deciphered satisfactorily is tentative. These words except one, are not indistinct, but their correct reading could not be established, as they are quite unfamiliar. It would not be surprising if they have been wrongly inscribed in place of some other words.

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) نصر (؟) الدنيا و الدين ابو الحظير محمد شاه سلطان

(۳) بانی مسجد بنده درگاه فکیر خرکها احمد (؟) بن طاهر بن ضیا فی اثنی ستین و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

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

(2) (In the reign of) Naṣru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn 'Abu'l-Muzaffar Muḥammad *Shāh Sultān*,

(3) the builder of the mosque is the servant of the court.....¹ *Aḥmad* son of (?) *Tāhir*, son of *Ḍiyā* in (the year A. H.) two and sixty and nine hundred (A. H. 962-1554-55 A.D.).

Professor 'Askari's eye-reading of this epigraph, despite the fact that it was made under unfavourable conditions, is correct to a fairly good extent. The above reading differs from that of his in two or three places : He reads in line 2 *Zafaru'd-Dunyā* (which looks more like *Naṣru'd-Dunyā*) and *Mīrnagar Harkhā* and *Bunyā* instead of *Fakir Kh* (or *H*) *arkhā* and *Ḍiyā* respectively in line 3.² It will be seen from the illustration that the words are almost quite clear in the

¹ According to the tentative reading given in the text, this phrase reads like *Fakir Kh* (or *H*) *arkhā*. It could have been originally intended for some invocatory phrase.

² 'Askari, 'A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan period', *Current Studies*, Patna, 1954, p. 22.

impression. But it is difficult to explain what they stand for. Likewise, the reading of the name of the builder is also not certain. It has been tentatively read as Aḥmad, son of Tāhir, son of Ḍiyā. The name of Tāhir son of Ḍiyā is quite clear. About the builder, nothing is known from available historical records, but the text mentions him as the servant of the court, that is an official.

But the main importance of the record lies in that it is a unique record of the king mentioned therein. There were, as Professor 'Askari has rightly pointed out, two sovereign rulers bearing this name, to wit, Sulṭan Muḥammad Shāh Sūr surnamed 'Ādil who ruled first at Delhi and later at Chunār (1553-57) and the other, Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of Bengāl including North Bihār (1553-55). The latter who is mentioned in some historical works as Gauṛiya,¹ was the viceroy of Bengāl which then included parts of North Bihār also, and having refused to acknowledge the former, independently ruled as king of Bengāl from 1553. He was ultimately killed at the hands of Himū in December 1555 in a battle fought at Chhapparghāt, near Kā'pi.² His death was avenged by his son and successor to the throne Ghiyāth-u'd-Dīn Bahādur Shāh, who killed Muḥammad 'Ādil in the battle fought in the vicinity of Surajgarh, near Monghyr, in about April 1557.³

Now, as Professor 'Askari has rightly observed, the title of both of them are different from that found in our inscription.⁴ As to the titles of Muḥammad 'Ādil, his coins have Mubārizu'd-Dunyā|wa'd-Dīn,⁵ while none of his three inscriptions found so far, contains any title.⁶ On the other hand, no inscription of Muḥammad Shāh Sūr of Gauṛ was known so far. But his coins issued from Arākān mint in A.H. 962 have clearly Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn.⁷ The inscription in the study bears the date A.H. 962 and also contains the name Muḥammad Shāh, and in addition its findspot, Bihār Sharif is more likely to be at this date under the Afghān ruler of Gauṛ than Muḥammad 'Ādil, who being deprived of the Delhi throne had come down to Chunār. But in that case the title used in the inscription, to wit, Naṣru'd-Dunyā, would be different from the title used in his coins. There is also one possibility namely that the word Naṣr in the title may have been so engraved instead of Shams. The style of writing being somewhat confusing, this would not be wholly impossible.

¹ Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, *Muntahā'ul-'Awā'id*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), p. 432. Firāhta, *Tārīkh-i-Firāhta* (Nawā'ishore, 1864), vol. I, p. 235; Niḡāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Tuḡāṭ-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), p. 241. It is rather surprising that Dr. S.M. Imāmu'd-Dīn in his introduction to *Tārīkh-i-Khān-Jahānī-wa-Maḥṣan-i-Afghānī*, vol. I (Dacca, 1960), p. 402, should write the sobriquet as Kuriah. The correct sobriquet Gauṛiya is used by these historians to distinguish him from other nobles bearing his name, as he was ruler of Gauṛ in Bengāl.

² R. C. Majumdar, ed. *History of Bengal*, vol. II (Dacca, 1948), p. 179. None of the Persian historians give the exact date of the battle, but from the statement of Firāhta, *op. cit.*, p. 235, it would appear that the battle was fought after the reoccupation of Delhi and Aḡrā by Humāyūn, which took place in Rajab 962 (May-June 1555) and just before the death of the latter which took place in Rabi' 1063 (January-February 1556). The date of the battle, therefore, given in Majumdar, *op. cit.*, appears to be correct. In R. R. Diwākar, ed. *Bihar Through the Ages* (Calcutta, 1959), p. 484, the date given is 1554.

³ Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 180. Diwākar, *op. cit.*, places the event in 1556.

⁴ 'Askari, *op. cit.*

⁵ H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II (Oxford, 1907), p. 180.

⁶ Two of these are from Jatharā (*ELAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 37-38). The third is from Kaiṛānā (*ARIE*, 1967-68, No. D, 265). Generally speaking, historical works do not give his regal title and wherever it is given, it is incorrectly given. For example, Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, gives Jalālu'd-Dīn.

⁷ Wright, *op. cit.*

A glance at the illustration will show that the word Nagr could have been originally intended to be Shams.¹ And even otherwise, the cases where the titles on coins and inscriptions differ are not entirely unknown. Therefore, I am inclined to assign this epigraph to Muhammad Shāh Sūr who governed Bengal for about two years after declaring his independence in A.H. 960.

¹ In any case, there is no doubt that the word is not Zafar as taken by Professor 'Askari.

AN EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY EPIGRAPH FROM GUJARĀT

By DR. Z. A. DESAI

The town of Pāṭan in Mehsānā district in North Gujarāt is wellknown, under the name of Anhilwārā or Nahrwāla, to students of Indian history as the capital of Gujarāt ever since its foundation till its place was taken by Ahmadābād in 1412. Now shorn alike of its historical importance, antiquarian character and former splendour, it is reduced to the position of a *tāluka* headquarters. It is approachable both by rail and road from Ahmadābād, which is about one hundred kilometres on the south-east.

Very few Islamic monuments have survived at Pāṭan, which was the capital of the Muslim governors for about a century. Whatever few have come down to us probably date from the Sultanate and post-Sultanate periods, and these too comprise in almost all cases the mausolea of celebrated saints like Shāikh Farīd, Makhdūm Ḥusāmū 'd-Dīn Multānī and the like, situated on the outskirts of the present town.¹ Fortunately, however, a large number of Muslim epigraphs ranging from the Rājput period down to the present times, have been preserved in various monuments, comprising mostly mosques, in which the town abounds. These epigraphs have been listed in the Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy from time to time,² and some of them have been edited in the previous issues of this series as well.³ The Khaljī and the early Tughluq records of the place—the available Tughluq records do not date prior to the reign of Firūz Tughluq⁴—have totally disappeared, except two fragmentary epigraphs, which have been proved to have formed part of a record of the time of 'Alāu 'd-Dīn Khaljī, who conquered Gujarāt in 1298.⁵ It may be recalled that this record also mentions Alp Khān that is to say, Malik Sanjar, a brother-in-law of that monarch, who was the governor of the province for about a decade.⁶ In one of my subsequent visits to Pāṭan, to be exact in January 1965, I discovered one more inscription of the time of the Khaljī monarch, which seems to have been caused to be set up by a man of official status, but surprisingly enough it omits to mention the name of the king. It is proposed to study this inscription in this short article.

This is quite an elegant inscription carved in relief on a slab of white marble which is built up into the inner face of the city-wall to the immediate west of the Motī Shāh Darwāza.⁷ This part of the city-wall forms the southern wall of a shop, which belongs to the adjacent mosque on the west. The mosque in question is a modern structure. The text of the epigraph comprises one line of writing in Persian recording the construction of a mosque in 1315 by Maliku'l-Umarā Ikhṭiyārū 'd-Daulat wa 'd-Dīn 'Alī son of Muḥammad (son of) Khāmūsh. Whether the epigraph

¹ For reference to the history and description of the town, see *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (EIAPS), 1961, p. 15, f.n. 4.

² *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 56-103; *ibid.*, 1956-57, Nos. D, 90-103; *ibid.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 59-66; *ibid.*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 38-65; *ibid.*, 1973-74, Nos. D, 6-94.

³ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1939-40, pp. 3-4 (pl. I b); EIAPS, 1961, p. 16 (pl. III a); *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 3 (pl. I b), 7 (pl. II c), 8 (pl. III a), p. 15 (pl. IV b); *ibid.*, 1963, pp. 13 (pl. II a), 12 (pl. III b), 14 (pl. IV a), 15 (pl. IV b), 23 (pl. VII b), 34 (pl. IX a), 35 (pl. X a). A few Mughal records from Pāṭan are included in this issue (pp. 65-66, 68, 76, 78, 82, 87, *infra*).

⁴ Recently a fragmentary inscription of Ghiyāṣu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh has been discovered (ARIE, 1973-74, No. D, 77).

⁵ Here only those inscriptions are taken into account which specifically refer to the ruling monarch.

⁶ For the detailed notice of this epigraph, please see EIAPS, 1962, pp. 1-3.

⁷ ARIE, 1964-65, No. D, 62.

has anything to do with the present mosque cannot be said for certain, but the possibility that there might have been an old mosque on the same site and the epigraph might have belonged to it cannot be ruled out.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of no distinctive merit in itself, but the letters which are engraved in relief have been symmetrically and neatly placed and the effect produced on the whole thereby is extremely pleasing to the eye.

The text is engraved on the entire surface of the slab which measures 1.67 m. by 20 cms. and has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate II(a)

امر بنا هذا المسجد ملك الامرا ملجاء الفقرا اختيار الدواة و الدين على محمد خاموش
 ادام الله معاليه في الغره من جماد الاولى سنة خمس عشر و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

This mosque was ordered to be built by Maliku'l-Umarā (lit. prince among the nobles), the refuge of the needy, *Ikhtiyārū'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn* 'Alī (son of) Muḥammad (son of) *Khāmūsh*, may Allāh perpetuate his glories, on the first of Jumādā'l-Ūlā (of the) year (A. H.) fifteen and seven hundred (1 Jumādā I 715=3 August 1315).

The importance of the epigraph lies, apart from being one of the very few records of the *Khalij* period that have survived in Gujarāt, in preserving the name of a noble of first rank, Maliku'l-Umarā 'Alī. Though the latter is not designated by any official authority in the text, the titles Maliku'l-Umarā *Ikhtiyārū'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn* used along with his name and his description as helper of the needy, can be safely taken to indicate that he enjoyed high official status. As such, the epigraph is quite valuable as a source of regional history.

At the same time, the Maliku'l-Umarā does not appear to have been in the lime-light of political activity. Otherwise, his name at least would have found mention in contemporary records. For want of any information whatsoever, it is difficult to establish his full identity beyond what is known from the present record, namely that he was an official of high status stationed or at least having a temporary or permanent domicile at Pāṭan at the time of the date of the record. No doubt we do come across a short account of Sayyid *Khāmūsh*, an uncle of the author of the celebrated hagiological work *Siyaru'l-Auliya*.¹ But as he is stated to have died in A.H. 732, at a comparatively young age, he would be too late a person to be a grandfather of Maliku'l-Umarā 'Alī. However, there is the possibility of the former's having belonged to this family if not being the son of the latter—the naming of grandchildren after the name of grandparents has been a common practice.

It has been alluded to above that the name of the ruling monarch has been omitted in the text. This is by no means a solitary instance, as students of Indo-Islamic inscriptions know, and as such it may not have any particular significance. On the other hand, one may be tempted to take into account the situation obtaining at Delhi at about this time when, according to historical works, 'Alāu'd-Dīn's last days were marked by the influence wielded over him by Malik

¹ Amīr Khurā, *Siyaru'l-Auliya* (Delhi, 1876), pp. 219-20.

Nāgaur, who was instrumental in having Alp Khān the governor of Gujarāt to be recalled to Delhi by the king, to be put to death a little later in the beginning of 1316.¹ Seen against this background, the absence of the king's name may have been due to the fact that the state of affairs at the capital was not clear, and the authorities at various levels in Gujarāt could not make up their mind, and hence took recourse to the safer way of keeping quiet on this point. It would not be unlikely that this course was adopted by the Maliku'l-Umarā of the record under study, who, it may be remembered, did not stand to lose anything by doing so, as this epigraph did not constitute, strictly speaking, an official document.

The need for preservation of this important historical document of the early fourteenth century is imperative, and it is hoped that it will not be allowed to be destroyed or lost in the course of the demolition of the city-wall by the Municipality of the town, which was in various stages of completion, at the time of my visit.

¹ For details, see Prof. M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 10-11; Dr. S. C. Misra, *Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat* (Bombay, 1963), p. 71.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHANZADAS OF NAGOUR

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

Very little attention has been paid by our historians to the history of the small but powerful dynasty of the Khānzādas of Nāgaur, which ruled over part of central Rājasthān from Nāgaur for a period of slightly less than a century and half. It is a measure of its greatness that it retained its sovereignty against heavy odds—the kingdom was surrounded on all sides by powerful neighbours who were all the while ready to attack and if possible annex it to their own territories. For example, there were the Rājput chiefs of Mewār and Mārwar on one side and on the other, there were the Sultāns of Mālwa. There were also the Sultāns of Gujarāt, who, however, in the beginning at least as it would seem, acted more in times of need like protectors than otherwise, which is not surprising since the founders of the principality of Nāgaur and the kingdom of Gujarāt were scions of the same family.

The reason for this lack of interest may be partly, if not wholly, due to paucity of material. None of the wellknown historical works, contemporary or otherwise, dealing with the history of the period, contain any information about, leave alone devote a separate chapter to, the history of the dynasty. The historians of Gujarāt also do not supply any detailed information about this house whose founder was a brother of the founder of the Gujarāt Sultanate. As it is, even a full list of the rulers, not to speak of the dates of their rule, is not to be found. Secondly, until very recently, very few epigraphs of the Khānzāda chiefs were found; these too, to be exact, numbering seven in all, were found at Ḍiḍwānā in Nāgaur district and Naṛinā in Jaipur district of Rājasthān, but none of them at Nāgaur itself. At the same time, the apathy of scholars to the regional history or to that of minor dynasties must also share some responsibility for this, as no systematic search for the sources (including epigraphical) for the history of the Nāgaur principality seems to have been made. Only during the past decade, the Archaeological Survey of India has discovered some more lithic records of these rulers.

This is not to say that the matter did not receive any attention at all. As a matter of fact, the first to make a somewhat systematic effort in this direction more than thirtyfive years ago, was Dr. M. 'Abdu'llāh Chaghṭāi.¹ His fairly detailed article on the history of Nāgaur from its earliest conquest by the Muslims also included the history of the Khānzādas. This account, though not very exhaustive, was based on the available material in historical works and a few known epigraphs referred to above, some of which—those from Ḍiḍwānā—were found by him. Even then, to him must go the credit of providing for the first time, a compact though brief account of the dynasty, having fortunately been able to lay his hands on a Persian manuscript entitled *Aurūd-i-Qādiriyā*, preserved in the sanctuary of Ḥaḍrat Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Su'ālī, popularly called Sultānu't-Tārikīn and Sūfi Šāhib. It was mainly on the basis of the information contained in this manuscript that he was able to reconstruct a fairly complete genealogy of the Khānzādas. In 1958-59, Dr. K. C. Jain attempted a brief history of Nāgaur town from the earliest times to Akbar's period, as a part of his project of the history of important towns of Rājasthān.²

¹ M. A. Chaghṭāi, 'Nagaur, A Forgotten Kingdom', *Bulletin of the Deccan College and Research Institute, Poona*, vol. II, Nos. 1-2 (1940), pp. 166-83.

² K. C. Jain, 'A Brief History of Nagaur', *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, vol. VII, Parts 3 and 4 (October 1958 and January 1959). The account covering the Muslim period will be found at pp. 134-39.

Dr. Jain who does not seem to have consulted Dr. Chaghtāi's article, provides some interesting information gleaned from the colophons of a few Jaina manuscripts stated therein to have been written in the time of Khānzāda chiefs.¹ A few years later, in 1965 to be exact, Dr. B. S. Māthur of the Udaipur University read a paper on the history of Nāgaūr at the Mysore Session of the Indian History Congress. As the paper is not readily available to me, it is difficult to say for certain if Dr. Māthur has been able to throw fresh light on the subject since Dr. Chaghtāi and Dr. Jain wrote. But a passing reference may be made to the fact that as would appear from the published summary of his paper, he also subscribes to the generally accepted view that Nāgaūr remained part of the Delhi Sultanate till the fall of the Tughluq dynasty, after which a triangular contest arose between the states of Gujarāt, Mewār and Mārwar for its possession, that it had often to change hand, that it was only during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī that Nāgaūr became once again a part of the Delhi Sultanate.² This does not appear to be a true statement of facts, as Nāgaūr had at no time become part of any of the three kingdoms mentioned above, nor did it become a part of the Delhi Sultanate under Sikandar Lodī.³

For this reason, we greatly feel, at times, the lack of zeal on the part of research scholars and historians to look for new material, epigraphical as well as written. In one of my visits to Nāgaūr, for example, I was told about some old documents and papers that were in possession of the descendants of the Khānzādas, the last of whom is reported to have migrated to Pākistān in 1948 or so.

While for obvious reasons, the scope of the present study does not permit us to explore any new, or interpret the available material pertaining to this dynasty, it will be our endeavour here to place before the scholars and historians alike, with necessary comments, the new epigraphical material that has come to light in recent years through the Archaeological Survey of India. It is genuinely felt that the detailed examination of this material attempted in the following lines will add to our knowledge of the history of the period, particularly of Rājasthān.

The most important aspect of this study is that as many as twelve of the sixteen inscriptions studied therein are from Nāgaūr itself.⁴ Three decades earlier, Dr. Chaghtāi had bemoaned the fact that no inscription of the Khānzāda dynasty had come to light from Nāgaūr itself. No wonder, therefore, that his study of Nāgaūr epigraphs does not contain a single epigraph of this dynasty.⁵ But these twelve epigraphs show that not all such remnants had been completely destroyed by Rānā Kumbhā when he came there to dismantle the bastions of the Nāgaūr Fort.

¹ Jain, *op. cit.* p. 135.

² B. S. Māthur, 'Side-lights on the Medieval History of Nāgaūr', *Indian History Congress, Twenty Eighth Session, 1966, Summary of Papers*, p. 39.

³ Among others, Dr. A. B. Pāṇḍe (*The First Afghan Empire in India*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 147-149) also subscribes to this erroneous view. The basis of this assertion is the account of the historians of the Mughal period (Nizāmud-Dīn Ahmad, *Tutugh-i-Akbarī*, Lucknow, 1875, p. 168) that in about A. H. 915, the Nāgaūr chief Muḥammad Khān, being threatened by an attack by Sikandar Lodī, agreed to pay tribute and have the latter's name introduced on the coinage and in the sermon. This statement even if factual, cannot be interpreted to mean annexation as Dr. Pāṇḍe and others state. Also, apart from the *Aurād-i-Qādirīyya* (Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, p. 176), an epigraph set up as late as in A. H. 933 mentions Firūz Khān as the reigning chief (Inscription No. 18, *infra*).

⁴ It is worthwhile to point out that these may not be the only extant Khānzāda records of the town. An exhaustive survey of the inner and outer faces of both the city-wall (or what may now have remained of it) and the lower and upper wall of the citadel is bound to produce a few more records. I myself, in one of my visits, was shown an epigraphical tablet, which was built up in the outer wall at a great height; from its calligraphy, it definitely seems to be a Khānzāda record. All my efforts to secure its impression failed due to its inaccessibility and for want of a ladder of sufficient height.

⁵ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1949-50, pp. 35-53; Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

But it is a great pity too, that, as in the case of the Khalij inscriptions of Chitorgarh, of which we had the occasion to speak in a previous issue,¹ at least as many as nine of these twelve epigraphs are not *in situ*: in other words, the buildings on which they were fixed to commemorate their erection, have ironically enough, disappeared. Then again, the epigraphical tablets are fragmentary, and in most cases, badly damaged and are used as stone masonry in the walls of the citadel as well as the city-wall of the town. The buildings on which they were originally set up comprised, as is clear from their texts, a few tombs, which in all probability enshrined the remains of the members of the Khānzāda family, a few mosques and a step-well, and these are reported to have been demolished by Mahārāja Bakht Singh of Jodhpur—there are a number of carved *mihrābs*, blind niches, etc., found built up in these walls. Mr. H. B. W. Garrick, the Assistant Archaeological Surveyor, has noted in about 1883-84, the accounts rife at Nāgaur that 'Aurangzeb himself never destroyed more temples than did Bakht Singh mosques, and this may—indeed does account for the numerous Arabic and Persian inscriptions which I found built topsy-turvy into the main circumvallation of the city—some upside down, some diagonally and others so that the lines of writing stand up vertically'.² As this aspect has been referred to by me in some details on an earlier occasion, when some of the epigraphs found in the city-wall and the citadel have also been mentioned,³ it need not detain us here any further.

This wanton damage has deprived the posterity of the most authentic source for the local history, on one hand, and of the specimens of architecture that some of these buildings can be reasonably taken to have comprised, on the other. And this is all the more regrettable in view of the fact, that, as pointed out earlier, historical works contain little information on both these aspects. It was therefore a matter of some satisfaction to have come across these epigraphs which even in their present fragmentary and damaged state, furnish important and new historical information, particularly in regard to the chronology of this dynasty.

As stated above, so far only seven epigraphs of these chiefs have come to light; three each from Diḍwānā in Nāgaur district and Narainā in Jaipur district and one from Barī Khātū in Nāgaur district. Of these seven, again, four—one from Diḍwānā and three from Narainā—belong to the reign of Mujāhid Khān and bear the dates A.H. 840 and A.H. 848,⁴ and the remaining three are dated A.H. 886, A.H. 889 and A.H. 896 in the reign of Firūz Khān, a grandson of Mujāhid Khān.⁵

The present group represents at least three new rulers. It contains three early epigraphs, dated A.H. 821, A.H. 822 and A.H. 838. Two of these are unfortunately fragmentary, one of them being beyond any doubt the unique record of Firūz Khān, son of Shams Khān Dandānī the founder of the dynasty; from their surviving text, I am inclined to think that they were in all probability meant for the Tomb of Shams Khān Dandānī. The third record was caused to be set up by a royal, but not ruling personage, namely Hātim Khātūn, spouse of the last-mentioned. This is quite interesting considering the fact that even in the whole range of Indo-Islamic history, particulars about, and in many cases, even the names of, most of the intimate members of the royal family are unknown.

The next king to be represented in these records is Mujāhid Khān. His two epigraphs are dated A.H. 844 and 865. The later of the two inscriptions is extremely important not only in that

¹ *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1959 and 1960, p. 70.

² A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XXIII (Calcutta, 1887), p. 63.

³ *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 3-4. A few more inscriptions, since found, have been included in the present article.

⁴ *IM*, 1923-24, pp. 16, 19; *ibid.*, 1949-50, p. 21.

⁵ *ibid.*, 1949-50, pp. 21, 22; *Chaghtai, op. cit.*, p. 173.

it provides epigraphic evidence of a later date for his reign,¹ but also in having a bearing on the question of the place from where he had ruled, as will be discussed in its proper place. Mujāhid Khān's grandson Firūz Khān II claims as many as five epigraphs, three from Nāgaur and two from Barī Khāṭu, which range in their dates between A.H. 880 and A.H. 900. His three known epigraphs, as has been seen above, being dated A.H. 886, A.H. 889 and A.H. 896, these new epigraphs studied here provide earlier and later dates. Again, the epigraph, dated A. H. 900, shows that Firūz Khān was reigning in that year, thus extending his reign by at least one year, from A.H. 899 mentioned in Dr. Chaghtāi's Genealogy to A.H. 900. Then again, the Barī Khāṭu inscriptions of this king, both pertaining to one and the same monument, furnish the name of two high local officials.

The two other new kings to be represented for the first time in epigraphs are Muḥammad Khān and Firūz Khān III. To the reign of the former belong five records and to that of the latter one. Of these, the inscription of Firūz Khān is extremely important, besides being unique. For, while dates of inscriptions of Muḥammad Khān fall within the dates of his reign as given in Dr. Chaghtāi's Genealogy, the inscription of Firūz Khān, dated A.H. 933, throws new light on the dates of the later rulers. According to Dr. Chaghtāi's Genealogy, Muḥammad Khān was succeeded by his son Firūz Khān who ruled from A.H. 915 to A. H. 922 and he by his son Muḥammad Khān II who reigned from A. H. 922 till his death in A.H. 933. Now according to our inscription, Firūz Khān was reigning in A. H. 933. This would mean, firstly, that Firūz Khān of our record, who would be Firūz Khān IV, had succeeded the last-mentioned Muḥammad Khān II in A.H. 933 and may have ruled beyond that date, at the most up to the time of Bābur who claims Nāgaur as part of his kingdom.² Unfortunately, in the case of the later inscriptions—those of Muḥammad Khān and Firūz Khān III—the genealogy is not given, and therefore, their parentage cannot be authenticated. And while it has been found that the information from the *Aurād-i-Qādiriyya*, which formed the basis of Dr. Chaghtāi's Genealogy, appears to be in the main correct as far as the names of the rulers of this house are concerned, the same, however, cannot be said of their dates. On the other hand, the evidence of inscriptions as far as the names and dates are concerned is unimpeachable, but then the difficulty is that we do not have at present all epigraphs of all the rulers, or even those bearing all the dates of the represented rulers. After a careful consideration of the said Genealogy and the available dates of the inscriptions, I am inclined to feel that while the line of rulers as given in the Genealogy is correct, the dates of the rulers are not—we have seen above in the case of Firūz Khān II that his date can be extended at least by one year. In other words, there is no Firūz Khān IV and the inscription of A.H. 933 should be taken to refer to Firūz Khān III, son of Muḥammad Khān I, only. In other words, Firūz Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān I who ruled until or at least in A.H. 933, was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Khān II, in that or in one of the following years. This is fortunately corroborated by the statement of the colophon of a Jaina manuscript which refers to Muḥammad Khān as ruling over Nāgaur in V.S. 1585, Falgun Vadi 6 (12th March 1528). This would be Muḥammad Khān II who may have succeeded (his father?) Firūz Khān III in or after A.H. 933 and before 20th Jumādā II 934, the date of the transcript of the Jaina manuscript and ruled until the extinction of the dynasty at the hands of Bābur³ or so.

If the above presumption is correct, the dates given in the said Genealogy will have to be revised. But, this can only be done when some new material comes to light. However, a word

¹ That is to say it provides a later authentic date. According to the Genealogy reconstructed by Dr. Chaghtāi, Mujāhid Khān had a long rule from A. H. 829 to A. H. 872.

² Annette Susannah Beveridge, *Bābur-Nāma (Memoirs of Bābur)*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 521.

³ Bābur's claim over Nāgaur has been referred to above.

or two may be said about fixing of A.H. 915 as the date of the end of Muḥammad Khān I's reign in the Genealogy. This has perhaps been done on the basis of the statement of the Mughal and Afghān historians that in that year Muḥammad Khān offered to acknowledge the sovereignty of Sikandar Lodī. In view of lack of any definite evidence on the death or dismissal of the said chief, it is equally possible that he continued to govern his principality beyond that date.

Then, at least five of these epigraphs furnish for the first time the names of persons of note, including members of the ruling family: Hātim Khātūn, spouse of the founder of the dynasty, who has been already referred to; a wife of Miyān 'Alī brother of Muḥammad Khān; Malikzāda Fathu'llāh son of Khānzāda Aḥmad Khān (the latter may have been a brother of one of the chiefs); Khānzāda Ḥasan son of Firūz Khān II; Maliku'l-Umarā Lādla Khālās, the Senior and the Junior; Dadā (son of) Kīlā Ṣalāhkhānī; and one whose name reads something like Adā Jānbū. One inscription, dated A.H. 880, mentions a 'son of 'Alā son of Sherdil Khānī', who may be identical either with Malik Hizibr, son of 'Alā, son of Sherdil Khānī mentioned as the agent of Dīdwanā in a later epigraph, dated A.H. 896 or with a brother of his.

Six of these epigraphs record the construction of mosques, three of tombs-cum-mosques, two of tombs, and one each of a step-well and a Khānqāh. The remaining one epigraph being badly damaged, its exact purport cannot be made out. Majority of these epigraphs are not *in situ*. The buildings—tombs and mosques—on which they must have originally appeared do not exist; these might have possessed some architectural character.

A word or two may also be said about the calligraphy of these records. This is usually of a fairly high order particularly in the case of the inscriptions caused to be set up by the Khānzāda chiefs or members of their family, at Nāgaur. The style of writing is *Naskh* or *Thulth* of a pleasing variety, recalling to mind the calligraphy, in varying degrees of quality, of the epigraphs of Bihār, Bengāl and Gujarāt. The writing is particularly remarkable for its bold and pleasing execution and the arrangement of the elongated shafts and rounded curves of its letters is also quite happy. In some cases, the execution of letters has a pronounced angular flourish and the calligraphy of a few letters, such as 'ain and the final hā (as in Allāh) is quite artistic recalling to mind similar features in the late Tughluq and very early Sultanate inscriptions of Gujarāt.

Last but not the least, coming to the area covered by these epigraphs, twelve of the total sixteen records studied here are, as stated above, from Nāgaur, while of the rest, two come from Baḡi Khāṭu and one each from Narāinā in Jaipur district, and Kumāri, which is about twentyfive kilometres to the south-west of Nāgaur. These and one more findspot of the Khānzāda records, *viz.*, Dīdwanā, may be reasonably taken to indicate the extent of the authority of this dynasty. Narāinā in Jaipur district, situated to the south of Sāmbhar, may well indicate the easternmost borders of this kingdom.

With these introductory remarks, we may commence the study of these inscriptions in chronological order.

Firūz Khān I

Firūz Khān I was the son of Shams Khān, the founder of the line. Very little is known about the life and exploits of Shams Khān except that he was a brother of Zafar Khān, later on Muzaffar Shāh I of Gujarāt, who had granted him the governorship of Nāgaur *vice* Jalāl Khokhar. He seems to have become independent soon after his brother's death, for we are told that he finds mention as the ruling chief in V.S. 1468 (1411 AD./A.H. 814) in a Jaina work.¹ The date of Firuz's

¹ Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

PLATE II

PRE-SULTANATE RECORD FROM GUJARAT

(a) Epigraph, dated A.H. 715, from Pāṭan (p. 14)



SCALE : .08

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHĀNZĀDAS OF NĀGAUR

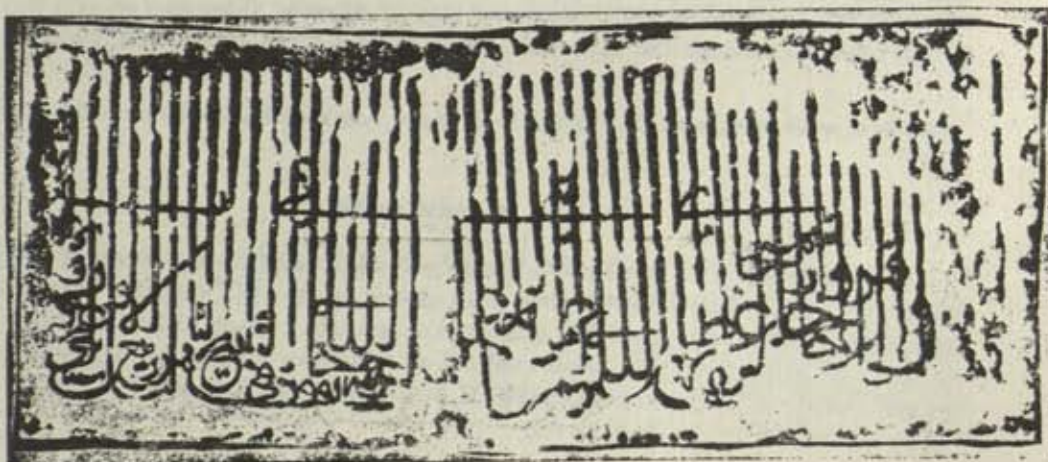
FĪRŪZ KHĀN

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 821, from Nāgaur (p. 21)



SCALE : .17

(c) Record, dated A. H. 822, same place (p. 23)



SCALE : .13

accession to the throne is not mentioned in any historical work. According to Dr. Chaghtāi's Genealogy, he succeeded his father on his death in A. H. 829 and reigned until A.H. 857.¹ But his father had died in about A. H. 822 if not earlier, as is clearly shown by a recently discovered unique epigraph mentioning him, which is included in this study (Inscription No. II). He only finds mention in historical works in the events of confrontation between the Sultāns of Gujarāt and Mālwa. He is stated to have died in A.H. 857,² after reigning for about three decades and a half.

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 821, FROM NĀGAUR

The fragmentary tablet bearing this inscription is built up into the outer-face of that part of the southern outer wall of the citadel, which is nearer to the Gāndhi Chowk of the town and has in front a row of shops, facing the Station Road.³ Measuring in its present state 75 by 33 cns., it contains a one-line record, from whose surviving text, one can easily see that considerable part thereof is lost. It records the construction of a mausoleum in 1418, but by whom is not clear from the extant text. The record also furnishes important information about the martyrdom attained by somebody whose name is lost but who is referred to as 'the chosen one of God'. It ends with a request to the visitor of the Tomb for a prayer for the deceased. The language of the epigraph is Persian and the style of writing is *Thuluth*, having a slight tendency towards *Tughra*. The vertical shafts of the letters have been elongated and effort has been made to ensure visual artistic effect.

Its text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

.....[انرا]؟ تمع گردانید عاقبت بسعادة شهادت پیوست بناکرد این مقبره هیون تا هر
که دین مقام برسد آن برگزیده حق را بدعاء ایمان و بفاتحه یادکند فی التاریخ خامس(?)
رمضان سنه احدى و عشرين و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION

.....subdued it (and) ultimately attained the joy of martyrdom. This auspicious mausoleum was constructed, so that whoever comes to this place may remember that chosen one of God with the prayer for (his) Faith and with (the recitation of) *Fātiḥa*.⁴ Dated the fifth (?) of Ranaḡān, year (A.H.) one and twenty and eight hundred (5 Ranaḡān 821=6 October 1418).

¹ Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

² Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Niḡamu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 453; Firāšta, *op. cit.*, p. 192. Of all the historians, only Hājī Dabir, *Zafar al-Walāḥ bi-Muḡaffar wa Aḡlāḥ*, vol I (London, 1910), p. 11, gives the actual date.

³ Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1965-66, No. D, 342.

⁴ *Fātiḥa* is the opening chapter of the *Qur'ān* which is recited to invoke blessings.

Though fragmentary, the epigraph is extremely important. That it is not *in situ* is quite obvious. It is also clear that it was originally meant for a mausoleum—*maqbara* of the text. From the fact that the mausoleum is called auspicious, it can be reasonably inferred that it was erected over the remains of an eminent person, very probably a royal personage. The epigraph also furnishes an important piece of information that the person for whom it was built died a martyr's death, evidently—as is clear from the context—in a battle.

It is a pity that the record being fragmentary, the identity of the martyr cannot be determined beyond doubt. Could it be that, the person referred to as having fallen a martyr is none other than Shams Khān Dandānī himself? Unfortunately, the historical works do not help us in this regard. Nāgaur finds mention in historical works in the account of the events of A.H. 819 when Sultān Aḥmad I of Gujarāt is supposed to have marched to Nāgaur and ravaged the country,¹ but according to some, he retreated on learning of the intention of Khidr Khān, the Sayyid king of Delhi, to come to its rescue.² If so, it should mean that something serious had taken place at Nāgaur about this time, and it was probably to rectify matters that Aḥmad Shāh had gone there. Or it may be that Aḥmad Shāh's Nāgaur expedition was accentuated by his desire to take revenge on Shams Khān, his grand-uncle who had not only, allegedly, administered poison to Aḥmad Shāh's father, but had also given refuge to the Gujarāt Sultān's uncle and his own nephew Firūz Khān.³ It is also possible that Khidr Khān's proposed march to Nāgaur was not in the nature of intervention against the Gujarāt Sultān but otherwise; the latter might have moved to thwart the designs of Khidr Khān over Nāgaur at this crucial period, when Shams Khān had died. And it was probably at this time that Shams Khān's son and successor Firūz Khān ascended the throne with the help of his nephew, the Gujarāt Sultān.

The above surmise that the person referred to in our inscription may be Shams Khān is also indirectly indicated by another epigraph to be studied next, in which he is mentioned as already dead in A.H. 822 (1419 A.D.). Then again, the Nāgaur chief whom Sultān Hoshang of Mālwa tried to woo against his Gujarāt rival and who warned the latter about it in about A.H. 821 was Firūz Khān son of Shams Khān Dandānī,⁴ showing that the last-mentioned had died in or before A.H. 821.

If the above surmise is correct, the epigraph must have been set up on the mausoleum of Shams Khān, and would thus be an extremely valuable record, deserving preservation.

In any case, the date of the death of Shams Khān Dandānī given in the Genealogy referred to above as A.H. 829 is thus manifestly proved wrong, both by the epigraphical and the historical evidence.

¹ Tārīkh (or Tabaqāt)-i-Maḥmūd Shāhi (Ms.), f. 111.

² Yahyā Sarhīndī, Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi (Calcutta, 1931), p. 186. Firihṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 185 and Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 461, have apparently derived their information from the Delhi historian Yahyā. The retreat of the powerful Sultān Aḥmad of Gujarāt against Khidr Khān is rather hard to believe. Significantly, the Gujarāt historian Sikandar does not mention Nāgaur expedition at all.

³ Sikandar, Mir'āt-i-Sikandar (Baroda, 1962) p. 91.

⁴ According to Sikandar (*ibid.*, p. 46), he was Shams Khān, but there seems to have been copyist's error in transcribing the name. Both Nizāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 461 and Firihṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 185, have Firūz Khān son of Shams Khān. Dr. S. C. Misra, The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat (Bombay, 1963), pp. 172, 176 also takes him to be Shams Khān, but he quotes all the three authorities for this, which is inexplicable.

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 822, FROM THE SAME PLACE

This is another fragmentary record, which seems to have originally belonged to a Khānzāda monument. The tablet on which it is engraved in one line is built up into the northern upper wall of the Nāgaūr Fort.¹ This part of the wall contains at least half a dozen inscribed slabs, of varying sizes, most of which are fragmentary. Some of them bear Quranic texts while at least two, including the one under study, are historical records.²

Unfortunately, the epigraphical tablet is badly damaged. Apart from the lost portion towards the right, it has broken or cracked in the middle and the two parts have been cemented together. The writing is considerably damaged, but except for the places where letters have peeled off, the text has been more or less completely read. Luckily, enough text has survived to furnish valuable information. The extant text records the construction of an 'illuminated mausoleum' in 1419 and contains the name of Khān-i-A'zam, Firūz Khān Ghāzi.

The language of the inscription is Persian and its style of writing is bold Nasḥ which is quite akin to that in the previous record except that the curves of the letters here are somewhat flattish. The epigraphical tablet measures 110 by 45 cms.

The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate II (c)

.....الخان الاعظم فیروز خان ابن شمس خان غازى طاب الله ثراه بنى عمارة هذه المقبرة
[الم]نورة.....آتى (؟) برحمة الله مورخا فی التاريخ الثالث من ربيع الاول سنة اثني [و]
عشرون و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

.....Khānu 'l-A'zam Firūz Khān son of Shams Khān Ghāzi, may Allāh render his grave pleasant, constructed was the edifice of this illuminated mausoleum..... came (?) into the mercy of Allāh. Dated the third of Rabi' u'l-Awwal, year (A.H.) twenty two and eight hundred (3 Rabi' I 822=30 March 1419).

The importance of this epigraph cannot be overstressed. It clearly shows that by the year A.H. 822 (1419 A.D.), Shams Khān Dandānī was already dead. He could, therefore, not have ruled until A.H. 829 as worked out by Dr. Chaghtāi.³ Also, it may be taken to corroborate indirectly some of the surmises recorded above, about a few events connected with Nāgaūr at about this period.

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D. 336.

² The other historical record, also fragmentary, belongs to the reign of Muḥammad bin Fām and is dated A.H. 594 (1196 A.D.). It has been published in *EIAPS*, 1968, p. 3 (pl. I a).

The religious records also appear to be early. While one of them containing only the phrase *wa aḡlan* executed against floral background in *Thulṭh* of the same type as in the epigraphs on the *Qutb-Minār* at Delhi, can be safely dated to the early thirteenth century, the rest also are assignable on palaeographical grounds to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is a matter of regret that due to certain inevitable circumstances, their rubbings could not be prepared.

³ *Chaghtāi*, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

It is not clear from the incomplete text as to in what capacity Firūs Khān has been mentioned here. But very likely the inscription refers to his reign, and the missing text must have contained words to that effect.

It is a pity that this inscription and the one just studied above have come down to us in fragments. Their complete texts would have shed further light on the history of this kingdom which still awaits the painstaking research of a diligent plodder.

Before we pass on to the next epigraph, mention may be made of a building at Nāgaur, which popular belief marks as the last resting-place of Shams Khān. The Kālā-Gumbad, as it is locally known, is situated inside the Dargāh of Bāqī Pīr Shāhib, situated to the immediate north of the Shamsī Mosque, which also is attributed to this Shams Khān.¹ The Shamsī Tank on the western bank of which the said mosque is situated is also known after him. The Kālā-Gumbad is perhaps the only architectural relic of the time of the Khānzādas to have survived.

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 838, FROM NĀGAUR

This well-preserved epigraph is perhaps the only complete record among those occurring on the various parts of the upper and lower walls of the Nāgaur Fort, which have come to our notice. The epigraphical tablet measuring 95 by 50 cms. is built up into that part of the outer face of the southern upper wall, which is situated to the west of the Water-Tower.² The text runs into two lines of Persian and purports that a well was constructed in 1430 by Hātim Khātūn, wife of Shams Khān the deceased, for obtaining the pleasure of God. It further expresses a hope that the Muslims might derive benefit from it and remember the builder with a prayer for her Faith.

The epigraph is also remarkable for its beautiful calligraphy, which recalls to mind similarly executed Tughluqian epigraphs of Bihār and Gujarāt inscriptions of Zafar Khān, but its style of writing is not that excellent and flawless.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate III (b)

(۱) بناکرد این چاه را بتوفیق الله تعالى اضعف العباد حاتمخاتون قوم شمسخان طاب
 آراه برای رضاء
 (۲) خدای عز و جل تا مسلمانان نفع گیرند و بدعاء ایمان یاد آرند فی الغره من رمضان
 سنة ثمان و ثلاثین و ثمانمائه

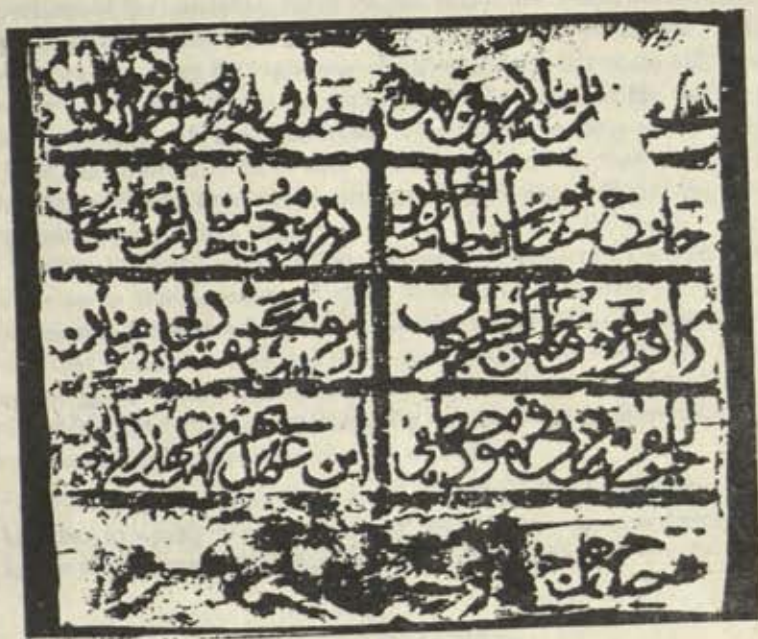
TRANSLATION

(1) This well was constructed with the grace of Allāh, may He be exalted, by the weakest of creatures, Hātim Khātūn, wife of Shams Khān, may his grave be rendered pleasant, for the pleasure of

¹ Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, p. 172, has rightly held erroneous the statement of Mr. Garrick (*op. cit.*, p. 64), that Shams Khān, the founder of the Khanate, was an official of Itutmish.

² ARIE, 1965-36, No. D, 340.

(a) Epigraph, dated A. H. 844, from Narāinā (p. 27)



SCALE : 15

(b) Inscription, mentioning Hātim Khātūn, from Nagaur (p. 24)



SCALE : 15

(2) God, may He be honoured and glorified, so that the Muslims derive benefit and remember (the builder) with a prayer for (her) Faith. On the first of Ramaḍān, year (A.H.) eight and thirty and eight hundred (1 Ramaḍān 838=31 March 1435).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it has preserved the name of an important member of the Khānzāda family, namely the wife of the founder of the line. This is all the more important when we remember that this type of information is not commonly available even from historical works. Also interesting is the statement in the text that the well was constructed for the benefit of the Muslims. It is difficult to say if the well is the same as the Water-Tower referred to above. If so, the tablet may be *in situ*, which would indicate that the Fort may represent in the main the original citadel forming the residence of Khānzādas. But if the tablet is not *in situ*, it must have been brought from some step-well in or around the town. The reference in the text to the Muslims being the intended beneficiaries, may perhaps be correctly interpreted as the restriction of its use to Muslims only. If so, we would have an indirect corroboration of the strong caste and community prejudices for which Rājasthān in particular is quite well-known. It may be pointed out that we have at Makrānā in the same district an inscription of the time of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān, which prohibits people of low caste from drawing water from a well in the Bāori-Maḥalla.¹ In this context, the fact that the land around Nāgaūr district is a waterless and sandy tract, should not be lost sight of.

It may also be noted here that the name of the ruling chief is omitted in the text. Whether this could be taken to signify beyond doubt any political reason, it is difficult to say since this practice is not so uncommon in the Muslim records of India.²

Mujāhid Khān

Firūz Khān I, as seen above, died in A.H. 857 (1453 A.D.), after having ruled for three decades and a half. We have not come across any epigraph of his between A.H. 822 and A.H. 857. On the other hand, as pointed out earlier, in epigraphs dated A.H. 840, A.H. 844, A.H. 848 and A.H. 865, his brother Mujāhid Khān is mentioned as the reigning chief. Of these, the first three dates which fall in the reign of Firūz Khān occur in his records from Ḍiḍwānā and Narāinā, which fact has been reasonably interpreted to indicate that Mujāhid Khān had already carved out a separate principality for himself, during his brother's life-time, probably with his capital at Ḍiḍwānā, and had occupied Nāgaūr on the latter's death in or immediately after A.H. 857.

A little digression here in attempting to guess the probable time by which Mujāhid Khān established his authority independently of his brother, it is hoped, will not be out of place. What perhaps is a clue to this may be found in one of the Narāinā inscriptions which says that Mujāhid Khān occupied and became master of Ḍiḍwānā, Sāmbhar and Narāinā after the tumult and turmoil caused by Rānā Mokal. Now in some Sanskrit epigraphs, Rānā Mokal is eulogised as the van quisher of Firūz Khān (and not Shams Khān)³ which would place this defeat after the death of Shams Khān Dandānī which took place some time before 30th March 1419, if not in A.H. 819 (1416-17) or so as has been suggested in the preceding lines. But since Mokal did not ascend the throne until 1421, this event must have taken place thereafter. Dr. Chaghtāi's Genealogy gives A.H. 829 (1425-26 A.D.) as Shams Khān's date of death (which is manifestly wrong) and as both

¹ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 239.

² See, for example, the Gujarāt inscription included in this number (p. 14, *infra*).

³ According to Dr. Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, p. 175, Shams Khān fought a battle with Rānā Mokal in A. H. 814 (1411 A. D.), but this is not correct, as Rānā Mokal did not come to the throne till 1421.

Firuz Khān I's and Mujāhid Khān's initial years of reign.¹ Unfortunately, nowhere, not even in the Rāiput annals or epigraphs, the exact date of Mokāl's victory over Firuz Khān is given. As the first mention of this victory appears to have been made in the Chitorgarh inscription dated V.S. 1485 (1429 A.D.)² and Sringi Rishi inscription dated a few months later,³ the victory must have been obtained before that date, in which case, it is doubtful if Mujāhid Khān had already established his authority in 1425-26 as worked out by Dr. Chaghtāi.

It occurs to me that the opportunity to set up his independent authority must have been availed of by Mujāhid Khān on the death of the Rānā in 1433. It may be recalled that sometime during that year, Sultān Ahmad I of Gujarāt had marched towards Nāgaur, but returned without reaching there but after plundering the Rānā's country. It is very likely that Ahmad Shāh went to Nāgaur to the Khānzāda chief's help against the Rānā but returned on hearing of the murder of the latter.⁴

When on Firuz Khān's death, Mujāhid Khān occupied Nāgaur, the former's son Shams Khān sought at first the help of Rānā Kumbhā of Mewār and subsequently of Sultān Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad II of Gujarāt to secure his father's kingdom, but he ultimately failed to do so and Mujāhid Khān became the undisputed master of the kingdom.⁵

According to Dr. Chaghtāi, who quotes local information, Mujāhid Khān ruled upto A.H. 872 (1467-68 A.D.). This may well be correct or at least nearer to truth as in a Sanskrit inscription of Dīdwānā dated V.S. 1520 (A.H. 868/1463 A.D.)⁶—i.e. about three years after the Nāgaur record of A.H. 865 (Inscription No. V, *infra*), Mujāhid Khān is mentioned as the ruler.

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 844, FROM NARĀINĀ

This inscription pertaining to the reign of Mujāhid Khān is from Narāinā situated in the Sāmbhar Tahsil of Jaipur district. Along with Sāmbhar, it seems to have fallen within the jurisdiction of the Nāgaur kingdom. It was one of the three places, the other two being Dīdwānā and Sāmbhar, that were, after probably being lost to Rānā Mokāl of Mewār, reconquered by Mujāhid Khān, as mentioned in one of the inscriptions to be found there.⁷

The present epigraph is engraved on a squarish tablet measuring 60 by 55 cms. which is fixed into the south wall of the courtyard, near the main entrance of the Jāmi' Mosque of the town.⁸ There are at least three inscriptions on the mosque proper, and these were published in a previous issue of this series from impressions prepared by Mr. B. L. Dhāmā, an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India.⁹ It is surprising how the present record escaped Mr. Dhāmā's notice, unless it

¹ This date as in the case of practically all other dates in the Genealogy seems to have been taken from the *Aurād-i-Qādiriyya*.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II, p. 410. It may be noted that the dates of this record are stated to be irregular.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, Appendix, containing D. R. Bhandārkar's 'Inscriptions of Northern India', p. 107, Nos. 764-65.

⁴ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 464; Firishā, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁵ For details, see Sikandar, *op. cit.*; Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*; Firishā, *op. cit.* Also Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-78.

⁶ *ARIE*, 1968-69, No. B, 147. Rānā Kumbhā's occupation of Nāgaur, even if proved historically, would appear to be only temporary. In any case, the *prashastis* mentioning the Rānā's exploits in this region, for details of which see H. B. Sarda, *Mahārānā Kumbhā* (Ajmer, 1917), pp. 55-56, 63, etc., appear to be highly exaggerated in their contents.

⁷ *EIM*, 1923-24, p. 15.

⁸ *ARIE*, 1935-36, No. D, 140.

⁹ *EIM*, 1923-24, pp. 18-19.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE Khānzādas OF NĀGAUR

be that it was brought to its present place afterwards. There is one more tablet fixed into the platform of a grave in the courtyard of the mosque; it is a fragmentary epitaph.¹

Since the epigraphical tablet has been adversely affected by inclemencies of weather and neglect, the writing is badly damaged. The letters have completely disappeared towards the end, and even in other parts, the writing is somewhat illegible in a few places, particularly in lines 1 and 2, with the result that the object of construction which it seems to mention, cannot be determined except that it was situated somewhere outside the fort (*hiṣār*). It refers itself to the reign of Mujāhid Khān, who is described as the best of kings. The date is given in words, and can more or less be clearly deciphered to be A.H. 844 (1440-41 A.D.). It may be pointed out that the two groups of the records of Mujāhid Khān from Narāinā—the one on the Gauri Shankar Tank and the other on the Jāmi' Mosque—are dated A.H. 840 and 848.²

The style of writing of the record is *Nasḫ* of a fairly good type. Its calligraphy is superior to the one in the Tank inscriptions under reference, dated A.H. 840, but not as artistic and well designed as the three Jāmi' Mosque epigraphs.³

The record comprises five couplets in Persian. The inscriptions of the Khānzādas are as a rule in prose and this is perhaps their third metrical record which is known to us.⁴

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate III(a)

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| امان | (۱) بناء شد درین زمان |
| در نوبت مجاهد خان ابن شمس خان | (۲) خارج حصار |
| از فرخی شکفته دلہاء مومنان | (۳) کافر ز خوف غمگین گشته بہر طرف |
| این عہد بہتر است ز عہد دگر شہان | (۴) خیر القرون قرنی فرمود مصطفیٰ |
| | (۵) ہبصد چہل چہار [ہار] |

TRANSLATION

- (1)was constructed at this time.....security.
- (2)outside the fort.....in the time of Mujāhid Khān,s on of Shams Khān.
- (3) The infidels, on all sides, have become depressed, due to fear (of the Khān), and the heart of the believers have gladdened (lit. blossomed forth) due to prosperity.
- (4) The chosen one (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad) has said, "My age is the best of ages". This age, verily, is better than that of the other kings.
- (5) (It was the year A.H.) eight hundred (and) fourtyfour (A.H. 844=1440-41 A.D.).....

This epigraph, as seen above, provides one more date of the reign of Mujāhid Khān.

¹ *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 141.

² *EIM*, 1923-24, pp. 15, 16, 19.

³ See *ibid.*, plate VII and Dr. G. Yazdāni's remarks in *ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴ The other two are : one of the two Tank records mentioned above, and the epigraph of Firāz Khān II's time at Nāgaūr (Inscription No. VI, *infra*).

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 865, FROM NĀGAUR

The fifth inscription of this group and the second of Mujāhid Khān, is from Nāgaūr. The tablet, measuring 75 by 30 cms., on which it is inscribed, is fragmentary, but fortunately, as far as it can be judged from its text, not much of its text is missing. The tablet which must have originally belonged to a mosque, as is evident from its purport, is now built up into the western upper wall of the Nāgaūr Fort,¹ by the side of two more inscribed tablets, dated in the years of the fourteenth century.² The record under study mentions the construction of a mosque in 1461 during the time of Mujāhid Khān. The name of the builder which was contained in the second line is lost. The epigraph comprising two lines of Persian is executed in *Naskh* of a fairly good type, which indicates a mature and experienced hand.

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate IV (a)

- (۱) [زمانا] مجلس عالی مجاهد خان یدیم الله معاليه بنا کرد این عمارت مسجد بتوفیق الله
(۲) ... و پاک از برای رضاء خدا [؟] (؟) الثاني من شهر رمضان سنة خمسة و ستين و ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

(1) time of (?) Majlis-i-Āl Mujāhid Khān, may Allāh perpetuate his glories, the edifice of this mosque was built by the grace of Allāh,

(2) and Pure, for the sake of the pleasure of God. On the second of the month of Ramadān, year (A.H.) five and sixty and eight hundred (2 Ramadān 865=11 June 1461).

This, as stated above, is a new and the latest Persian inscription of Mujāhid Khān.³ Also, it is the only record of his to be found at Nāgaūr itself.

It has been stated above that Mujāhid Khān's records from Diḡwānā and Narāinā, respectively in the north-eastern and south-eastern parts of the Nāgaūr kingdom, set up when his brother Firūz Khān was alive and ruling at Nāgaūr, indicate that the former ruled over this part of the kingdom independently, while Firūz Khān ruled over the remaining part from the capital Nāgaūr.⁴ Dr. Chaghtāi has also followed this reasoning in the reconstruction of the Genealogy.⁵ In the absence of Firūz Khān's inscriptions, after the one of A.H. 822, it may be argued that Mujāhid Khān had succeeded him as exclusive chief of the whole principality some time before A.H. 840, his earliest inscription from Narāinā. But this argument, based on the negative evidence of inscriptions,⁶ does not hold good before the clear statement in historical works that Firūz Khān ruled over Nāgaūr till he died in A.H. 857. Therefore, until fresh material comes to light, we have to accept that Firūz Khān had succeeded his father and Mujāhid Khān either being

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 339.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. D, 337-338.

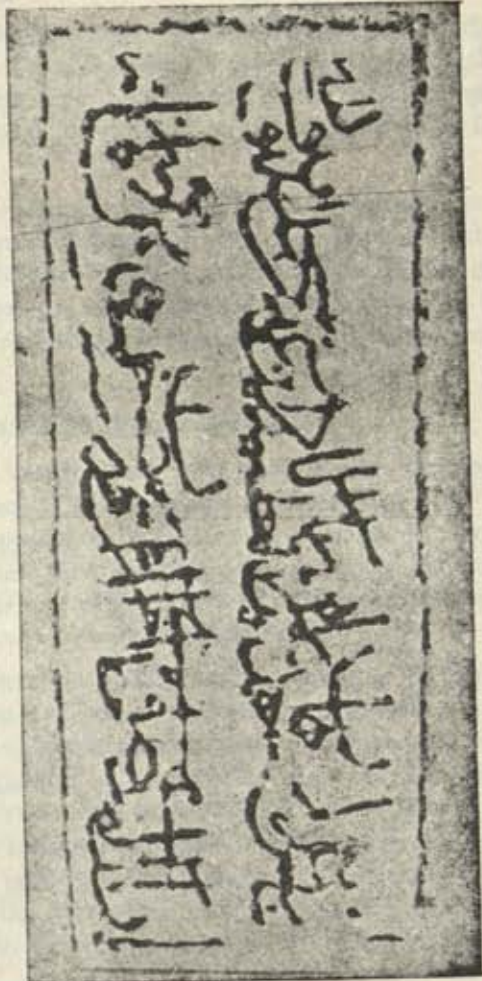
³ Reference has already been made in the preceding lines to his Sanskrit inscription dated two or three years later (p. 26, *supra*).

⁴ It would not be quite correct to say that this fact is known from history as stated in *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 21, the fact is based on epigraphs only.

⁵ Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177.

⁶ A systematic search in the region may yet bring to light new epigraphs of the early Khānzādas.

(a) Record, dated A. H. 865, from Nūgaur (p. 23)



SCALE : 2

FIRUZ KHAN II

(b) Epigraph, dated A. H. 880, from the same place (p. 30)



SCALE : 18



dissatisfied or for some other reason managed to set up his authority in the eastern part of the kingdom, as vouchsafed by his epigraphs, and became master of the whole kingdom on the death of his brother in A.H. 857 as seen above. The presence of his inscription dated A.H. 865—the one under study—would also point to that fact. There is little chance of the tablet not belonging to Nāgaur or its neighbourhood—its present position, along with other epigraphical tablets, shows that it formed part of a mosque at Nāgaur itself.

Firūz Khān II

According to Dr. Chaghtāi's Genealogy, Mujāhid Khān died in A.H. 872 and his son Ṣalāh Khān—erroneously called Ṣalābat Khān by Dr. Chaghtāi—came to power and ruled for three years.¹ His existence is known only from the inscriptions of his son Firūz Khān II, which quote his full genealogy; Dr. Chaghtāi's information about the duration of his reign seems to have been derived from the *Awūd-i-Qādiriyya*.

Firūz Khān II also does not find mention in historical works. But he is already known to the readers of this series from his two inscriptions found at *Ḍiḍwānā*.² The present study contains five more records of his, of which three are from Nāgaur and two from Baṛi Khāṭu. Dr. Chaghtāi makes him rule from A.H. 875 to A.H. 899,³ but one of the inscriptions in our study (p. 36, *infra*) extends his reign at least by one year. Firūz Khān II is also referred to in a Jaina work as reigning in 1484 A.D.⁴

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 880, FROM NĀGAUR

This epigraph is to be found on the mosque locally called *Akhāḍewālī-Masjid*, situated in *Maḥalla Churīgarān*, at the back of the *Shamsī Mosque*. The mosque is of modest dimensions and has no architectural pretensions: its building appears to be old but has undergone extensive repairs. It comprises a single prayer-hall divided into three aisles, each two bays deep, having an opening of broad and slightly pointed arches. Its roof is flat. There is only one *mihrāb* in the west wall, above which the tablet bearing the inscription under study is fixed.⁵

This is another of the very few metrical epigraphs of the *Khānzādas*—the second in the present group—that have come down to us. It comprises six Persian couplets, running into as many lines, on an area measuring 30 by 75 cms. The epigraph purports that the mosque was constructed by a son of 'Alā and grandson of *Sherdīlkhān* in 1475, during the time of Firūz Khān, son of Ṣalāh Khān. It further states that the text was inscribed by *Samā*, son of Ḥasan, who hailed from the town of *Sarasatī*. The name of the composer is not given, but that does not matter either, as he does not appear to be a man of any poetical talent or training. The quality of the verses is mediocre, and the composer has flouted the rules of the grammar, prosody and syntax, obscuring the meaning of the record. For example, the sense intended to be conveyed in the last couplet cannot be exactly made out.

An interesting aspect of the inscription is that it is incised on stone instead of being cut into relief as is the case with all the other records of the *Khānzādas*. The only other record executed in this style at Nāgaur is the record of the *Ghorīmonarch* Muḥammad bin Sām.⁶ The style of writing of our record is *Naskh* of no particular merit.

¹ Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 179.

² *EIM*, 1949-50, pp. 21-22.

³ Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 179.

⁴ Jain, *op. cit.*

⁵ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 220.

⁶ *EIAPS*, 1968, pl. I a.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate IV (b)

(۱) در زمان سرور فیروز خان بن صلاح خان اعظم کامران
 (۲) کرد این مسجد بنا از عون حق بن علاء شیر دل خانیت کان
 (۳) از برای حسبه الله بکرد مسجدی را تا بخاند جاودان
 (۴) هیصد و هشتاد سنه تاریخ بود هفدهم از ماه شعبان بود آن
 (۵) بنده کاتب سماء بن حسن بود از خطه سرستی بدان
 (۶) روز یکشنبه بنا عالم بدست شد مرتب این چنین مسجد بخوان

TRANSLATION

- (1) In the time of the chief, Firūz Khān, son of Ṣalāh Khān, the greatest successful Khān,
- (2) one who is the son of 'Alā (son of) Sherdīlkhān¹ constructed this mosque with the help of God.
- (3) He built a mosque for the sake of God so that he may be immortal.
- (4) The date was year (A.H.) eight hundred and eighty, and it was seventeenth of the month of Shā'bān (17 Shā'bān 880=16 December 1475).
- (5) Know that the humble creature, the scribe Samā' son of Ḥasan, is from the town (khitta) of Sarasatī.
- (6) On Sunday, the construction took place (in the) world and such a mosque was completed. Read ye.

It will be noted that the name of Firūz Khān I's father is clearly inscribed as Ṣalāh Khān. It has been hitherto read as Ṣalābat Khān, also by Dr. Chaghtāi who had before him the manuscript of the *Aurād-i-Qādiriyya* and had also published the *Diḡwānā* and *Baṭi Khāṭu* inscriptions of this chief. But there is no doubt that the reading of this name in this epigraph as also in a few more included in the present study is clearly Ṣalāh Khān.²

It is somewhat unusual that the builder's name is not specified in the epigraph. He is simply called 'bin 'Alā[-i-] Sherdīlkhān¹ which would mean— if we treat the *hamza* after 'Alā as being governed by the *idāfat-i-ibnī* (the *kasra* denoting the son-and-father relationship) as it almost certainly is—son of 'Alā son of Sherdīlkhān. Now we know from one epigraph that one son of this 'Alā, named Malik Hizīr, was the Commissary (*Gupāghṭa*) of the same Firūz Khān in *Diḡwānā* in A.H. 896 (1491 A.D.).³ If both are identical, the epigraph would provide an earlier

¹ This is perhaps 'Alā-i-Sherdīlkhān which means 'Alā son of Sherdīlkhān.

² In the plates of the two *Diḡwānā* inscriptions (*EIM*, 1949-50, pls. X¹ c and XII a), the name can be clearly read as Ṣalāb Khān. But Dr. Chaghtāi may perhaps have been misled by the manuscript of the *Aurād*.

³ *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 22.

date, by about 16 years, for Malik Hizibr. But in that case, whether Hizibr had held any office at Nāgaūr, the findspot of the epigraph under study, is not indicated in the record, though it can be presumed so without much fear of contradiction. The other alternative is that he may be another son of 'Alā. Thirdly, if the *idāfat* between 'Alā and Sherdīlkhānī is not an *idāfat-i-ibnī* (as it almost certainly appears to be), the name of the son would be Sherdīlkhānī, in which case the name borne by the grandson and the grand-father would be common. This is not unusual. But nothing definite can be said about this in view of the hopeless quality of the verses. As it is, I am inclined to take it as a case of *idāfat-i-ibnī*. In any case, nothing is known about the personages from the available historical records.

Likewise, nothing is known about Samā' the scribe. Sarasatī, to which he is stated in the text to belong, is modern Sirsā, a district headquarters in Haryānā State. As in the text, there is nothing in the calligraphy of the record that might do credit to the scribe.¹

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 885, FROM NĀGAUR

The credit of discovering this epigraph goes to Shri N. M. Ghanam, Technical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, who had come across it in the course of his exploration work in Jodhpur district. It is engraved on a tablet, measuring 70 by 30 cms., which is lying loose in the building locally called Kālā Gumbad, situated within the premises of the Bāpīr Pīr Ṣāhib-ki-Dargāh.² This Gumbad which has been referred to above (p. 24, *supra*) is separated from the Shamsī Tank on the south south-east by the compound wall and is popularly attributed to Shams Khān Dandānī, the founder of the line.

The impression of this record, prepared by Shri. Ghanam was received along with those of a few more epigraphs from the Nāgaūr district in October, 1960.³ But partly because the writing is damaged and the calligraphy is quite intricate, and partly because the inked rubbing was not quite satisfactory, the epigraph could not be completely and correctly deciphered. As a result, the date and the name of the Khānzāda chiefs were left unread and the object of construction was tentatively deciphered to be a mosque.⁴ Subsequently, Shri W. H. Siddiqī, then Senior Epigraphical Assistant in our office who was deputed to tour Rājasthān in about October 1962 was specifically asked to have a fresh rubbing prepared, but though the rubbing was better, the text still defied decipherment. Then, when I visited Nāgaūr in December 1966, not only did I have its fresh rubbings prepared very carefully, but I also spent considerable time in deciphering the text on the stone and was, fortunately, able, after sustained and concentrated efforts, to decipher the whole of the text.⁵

The epigraph consists of a single line of Persian prose and records the construction of a Khānqāh in 1480-81 during the reign of Firūz Khān son of Ṣalāh Khān. The script employed is *Naskh* which is remarkable for the sharp and pointed outline of its letters, whose elongated strokes have been so designed as to form a row of arches, creating a highly artistic effect.

¹ It is just possible—the language of the record being much below standard—that by the term *kātib* which literally means 'one who writes' is intended the writer i.e. the composer.

² *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. D, 221.

³ All the epigraphs were listed in *ibid.*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 239-263.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1961-62, No. D, 248.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1966-67, No. D, 221.

The text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

بنا شد این خاتگاه در عهد دولت بندگی خان اعظم و خاقان معظم مجلس عالی فیروز خان
بن صلاح خان یدیم الله معالیه ^۱ فی (?) سنة خمس و ثمانین و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION

This *Khānqāh* was constructed in the reign of His Highness the great *Khān* and magnificent *Khāqān Majlis-i-‘Alī Fīrūz Khān* son of *Ṣalāh Khān*, may Allāh perpetuate his glories, in the year (A.H.) five and eighty and eight hundred (A.H. 885=1480-81 A.D.).

A reference has already been made in the preceding lines about the correct name of *Fīrūz Khān*'s father (p. 30 *supra*). In this as well as the following three inscriptions, his name is clearly inscribed as *Ṣalāh Khān*.

The text is silent regarding the builder of the *Khānqāh*, who would on the face of it appear to be some one else than the chief. Nor does it provide any clue to its identity—to what saint or saintly establishment it was attached. And there is unfortunately no authentic history of the original provenance of the epigraphical tablet. If it happens to have originated in the same premises where it is found i.e. the *Bare Pīr Ṣāhib-ki-Dargāh*—the *Dargāh* built in memory of the famous divine *Shāikh ‘Abdu’l-Qādir Jilānī*, the founder of the *Qādirī* order—it would mean that the *Khānqāh* was built for the use of the followers of the *Qādirī* order. One thing is certain that the epigraph has nothing to do with the *Kālā Gumbad* or the mausoleum of *Shams Khān Dandānī*.

VIII-IX. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 886, FROM BARI KHĀṬU

These two extremely interesting records are found inscribed on two tablets fixed into two different parts of a mosque called *Khānzādon-ki-Masjid* situated in the Fort on the top of the hill at *Bari Khāṭu* in the *Jāel Tahsil* of *Nāgaur* district.² The credit of noticing them for the first time goes to Dr. M. A. *Chaghtāi*. He published, however, only one of these and his reading comprising only the name and genealogy of the chief, the year and the portion referring to the *Muqta‘* of the *Mu‘āmala* of *Khattū* is incomplete.³ They were also noticed in 1958 by Mr. K. V. *Saundara-rājan* of the Archaeological Survey of India, Baroda, on receipt of their photographs from whom, I deputed Mr. I. A. *Omeri*, then Epigraphical Assistant, to prepare their inked rubbings. It is from those impressions that both the epigraphs are edited here.

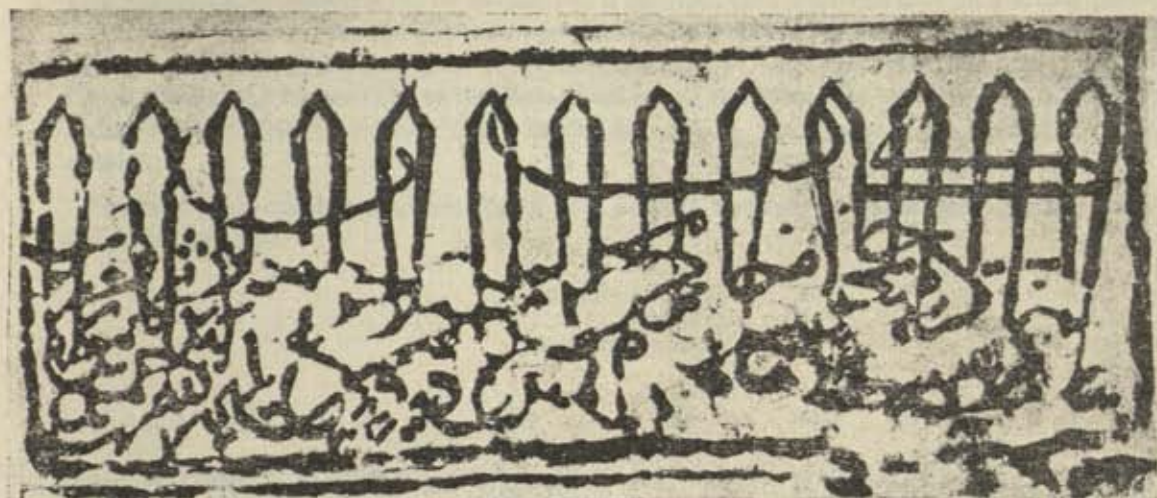
On plan, the mosque consists of a single prayer-hall, built entirely in trabeate style, overlooking a courtyard. The main *mihrāb*, unlike in other cases, is cut open into the western wall. The building is simple in execution and does not contain any decorative features of importance. Nevertheless, as a building of the fifteenth century in *Rājasthān*, it is not without antiquarian interest.

¹ I am not very sure about the reading of this word. The sign below the letter ث of ثمانین on the stone has been taken to indicate this word.

² For references to the history and inscriptions of *Bari Khāṭu*, see *FIAPS*, 1966, pp. 4, f.n.3, 6-7, 13, 17; *ibid.*, 1967, pp. 4, 9, 12, 20; *ibid.*, 1969, p. 50; *ARIE*, 1958-59, Nos. D, 170-82; *ibid.*, 1966-67, Nos. D, 199-214; *ibid.*, 1969-70, Nos. D, 155-59; *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Poona*, for the year ending 31 March 1910, pp. 50-51.

³ *Chaghtāi*, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 885, from Nāgaur (p. 32)



SCALE : 21

(b) Record, dated A.H. 886, from Barī Khāṭu (p. 33)

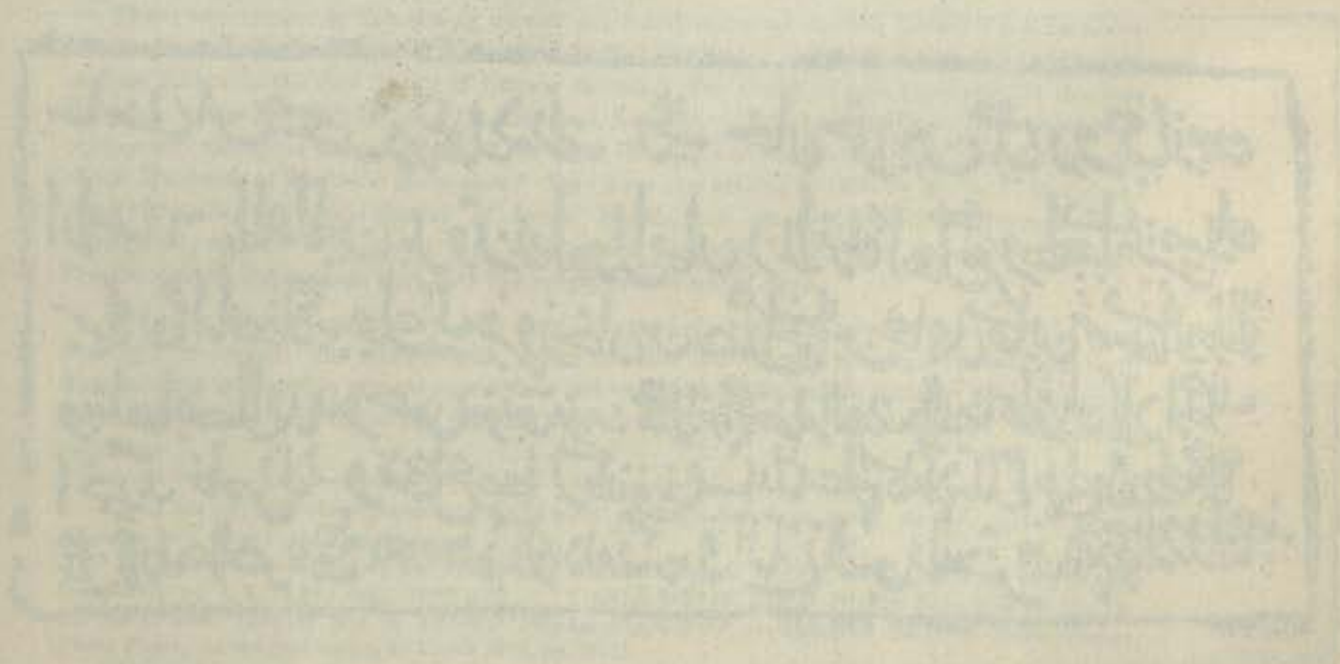


SCALE : 17



The first of these is the fact that the paper is of a very poor quality, and is very much discolored and stained. The second is the fact that the ink is of a very poor quality, and is very much faded and illegible. The third is the fact that the handwriting is very poor, and is very much illegible. The fourth is the fact that the paper is of a very poor quality, and is very much discolored and stained. The fifth is the fact that the ink is of a very poor quality, and is very much faded and illegible. The sixth is the fact that the handwriting is very poor, and is very much illegible.

The first of these is the fact that the paper is of a very poor quality, and is very much discolored and stained.



One of the two epigraphs appears above the central *mihrāb* and slightly to its left.¹ The epigraphical tablet measures 105 by 45 cms. and is inscribed with a six-line text in Persian prose.² The text purports that the mosque was constructed in 1482 during the reign of Majlis-i-‘Alī Firūz Khān, son of Ṣalāh Khān, during the deputyship of Maliku’l-Umarā Ikhtiyāru’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn Lādla Khālās, the former chief of the Royal Stables and the Muqta’ of the district of Khattū by Maliku’l-Umarā Tāju’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn Malik Lādla Khālās, the Muqta’ of the Fort of the said district.

The text is executed in ordinary *Naskh* with a slight tendency to cursiveness and has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate V(b)

(۱) بنا شد این مسجد در عهد دولت بندگی خان خوانین نگین روی زمین

(۲) آراسته رب العالمین پرورنده اهل ایمان بر[ا]ندا زنده اهل کفر و طغیان شیر میدان

(۳) مبدء امن و امان بندگی مجلسه (sic.) عالی فیروز خان بن صلاحخان بن مجاهد خان

بن شمسخان وجیه الملک

(۴) و بناها بفضل الله و حسن توفیق نوبت ملک الامرا اختیار الدولة و الدین پهلوی

زمان لادله خلاص

(۵) آخوربک خاص قدیم(?) و مقطع معامله کهنو یدیم الله علوه کار کرد ملک الامرا

تاج الدولة و الدین

(۶) ملک لادله خلاص مقطع قلعه معامله [م]ذکور دام تمکینه فی التاریخ الثانی و

العشرون [م]ن شهر ذی الحجه سنه ست و ثمانین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the reign of His Highness the Khān of the Khāns, the signet on the surface of the earth,

(2) one who is decorated (with chiefship) by the Nourisher of the worlds, the cherisher of the men of Faith, the overthrower of men of Infidelity and rebellion, the lion of the arena (of manliness),

(3) the means of peace and security, His Highness Majlis-i-‘Alī Firūz Khān son of Ṣalāh Khān son of Mujāhid Khān son of Shams Khān (son of) Waḥḥu’l-Mulk.

(4) And it was built, by the bounty of Allāh and (His) best grace, during the period of Maliku’l-Umarā Ikhtiyāru’d-Daulat wa’d-Dīn, the champion of the time, Lādla Khālās,

¹ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 195.

² In fact both these epigraphs happen to be the longest Khānzāda records that have come down to us.

³ An *idāfat-i-ibnī* has to be read between these two names.

(5) the former keeper of the Royal Stables and the (present) Muqta' of the district (*Mu'āmala*) of Khattū,¹ may Allāh perpetuate his grandeur. The work was carried out² by Maliku'l-Unaiā Tajū'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn.

(6) Malik Lādla *Khalāg*, Muqta' of the Fort of the said district (*Mu'āmala*), may his prowess endure for ever. On the date, the 22nd of the month of *Dhu'l-Hijja*, year (A.H.) six and eighty and eight hundred (22 *Dhu'l-Hijja* 886=11 February 1482).

The tablet bearing the second inscription of the same mosque, measures 62 by 35 cms. and is fixed on the facade of the prayer-hall, above and to the right of the entrance.³ The record is identical in purport, and, to a great extent, even in words, with the previous one except for the omission of the name of the Muqta' of the district and of the titles of the Muqta' of the Fort. In this epigraph, it may be particularly noted, the latter has been unambiguously mentioned as the builder of the mosque.

The epigraph consists of four lines of writing in Persian prose. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a quality which is inferior to that in the other record. It has greater cursiveness also, no particular regard having been shown for notches of letters or ligatures.

The text has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate VI(a)

- (۱) بنا کرد این مسجد را بفضل الله و حسن توفيقه ملک لادله خلاص مقطع قلعه
کهنو نصره الله عن آفات
(۲) در عهد بندگی خان خوانین نگینه روی زمین آراسته رب العالمین پرورنده اهل ایمان
(۳) براندازنده اهل کفر و طغیان شیر میدان سبب امن و امان بندگی مجلس عالی
فیروز خان
(۴) [ب] صلاحخان بن مجاهد خان بن شمسخان وجیهه الملك فی التاريخ الثانی و
العشرون من شهر ذی الحجه سنه ست و ثمانین و ثمانمائه

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was built, by the bounty of Allāh and His grace by Malik Lādla *Khalāg*, Muqta' of the Fort of Khattū, may Allāh assist him against calamities.

(2) during the reign of His Highness the *Khān* of the *Khāns*, the signet on the surface of the earth, one who is decorated (with chiefship) by the Nourisher of the worlds, the cherisher of the men of Faith,

(3) the overthrower of the men of Infidelity and rebellion, the lion of the arena (of manliness), the means of peace and security, His Highness, Majlis-i-'Ālī Firūz *Khān*,

¹ This is how the place-name is spelt by Muslim historians also. Its local pronunciation is *Khatā*.

² The word in the text is *kār kard* which literally means 'the work was done by'. If *kār kard* is taken as a single word it would mean 'carroer or agency of'. But as the second inscription makes him the builder, the word *kār kard* has been taken here as a verb.

³ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 196.



SCALE: 23



SCALE: 17

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا
ما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا
ما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين

(4) son of Salāh Khān son of Mujāhid Khān son of Shams Khān (son of)¹ Wajīhu'l-Mulk, on the 22nd of the month of Dhu'l-Hijja, year (A.H.) six and eighty and eight hundred (22 Dhu'l-Hijja 886=11 February 1482).

From the above, it is quite clear that it was Mahku'l-Unarā Tājū'd-Daulat wa d-Dīn Malik Lādla Khalāg, the Muqta' of the Fort of the district who built the mosque.

These epigraphs are, thus, quite important. But for these, the names of two nobles of first rank of the Khānzādas would have remained unknown. As a matter of fact, we know precious little about the history of this dynasty and are absolutely in dark about its officials. Therefore, the importance of the epigraphs from which for the first time we have come to know of these two officials cannot be overstressed. From the appendage of titles and the high rank the two nobles enjoyed, as stated in the epigraphs, they appear to have held prominent position in the government, and it is a reasonable surmise that they might have belonged to the ruling family.

Attention may be drawn to the peculiarity in the names of these two grandees, both of whom are mentioned as Malik Lādla Khalāg. I fail to grasp the exact connotation of the name Lādla, except perhaps that it be the Hindi word Lādlā meaning 'the fondled or darling'. But it is almost certain that the term Lādla Khalāg does not appear to be a case of having the idāfat-i-ibnī. That is to say, it cannot be taken to mean 'Malik Lādla son of Khalāg,' for the persons each mentioned as Malik Lādla Khalāg are definitely two different persons, as the titles and the posts held by them show. The only plausible explanation of this would be that these were either two entirely different persons, or that Lādla Khalāg was the family name by which the persons were known and they were distinguished from each other by their titles. The second alternative appears to me to be more likely.

But these epigraphs are also important from another point of view. They happen to be the only Khānzāda records found so far at Barī Khātu—a place about sixty kilometres to the east south-east of Nāgaūr—where, as the readers of this series are aware, the epigraphs of the successive dynasties of the Mamlūks, the Khaljis and the Tughluqs have been found. It has been noted that out of the fortythree epigraphs found so far in the town,² there is not a single record, other than the two under study, set up after A.H. 802 and before A.H. 968. Could this be interpreted to mean that Barī Khātu was added to the Nāgaūr territories in the reign of Firūz Khān II or a little earlier, in the reign of his grand-father Mujāhid Khān, as has been noted by Dr. Chaghtāi?³ On the other hand, Barī Khātu being situated hardly at a distance of about 40 kilometres to the south-west of Diḍwānā and about 60 kilometres to the east of Nāgaūr, it appears unlikely that it should have come into the Khānzāda possession so late. The only plausible explanation may be that under the early Khānzādas, Khātu had lost its importance, which it regained under Firūz Khān II.

In any case, the records clearly indicate that under this chief, Barī Khātu was the headquarters of a separate district with a Fort, whose importance can be judged by the fact that it was governed by two officials of high standing.

It may also be recalled that these are the only Khānzāda records which have such an array of high-sounding titles used for the chief. Also, as in the case of the Narāinā record of his grand-father Mujāhid Khān, referred to above, the records under study quote the full genealogy of the chief right upto the progenitor of the ruling families of Gujarāt and Nāgaūr, namely Wajīhu'l-Mulk, a Tughluqian grandee.

¹ See f.p. 3. on p. 33, *supra*.

² *ARIE*, 1958-59, Nos. D, 170-82; *ibid.*, 1962-63, Nos. 194-207; *ibid.*, 1966-67, No. D, 199-214.

³ Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

X.—INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 900, FROM NĀGAUR

This is another interesting epigraph of the time of Firūz Khān II. It is engraved in one line on a tablet, measuring 85 by 34 cms., which is fixed above the central *mihrāb* of the small unpretentious mosque situated in the compound of the Bare Pīr Shāhib-kī-Dargāh referred to above.¹ The rubbing of this inscription also was prepared in 1959 by Shri N. M. Ghanam, of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, Baroda. But the epigraph seems to have been noticed and its impression prepared by Dr. Chaghtāi, much earlier; he had sent the photograph of its rubbing along with those of a few more to the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi, to be included perhaps as an addenda to his article on the inscriptions from the Jodhpur State.² While in the available records, the note on these inscriptions, if it was sent, is not available, it did not find place in the said article, nor does it appear to have been published by him elsewhere.

Both the rubbings of Dr. Chaghtāi and Mr. Ghanam were not as distinct as one would like to have. Also, a few unfamiliar word could not be deciphered at the time of listing the epigraph in our annual report for 1961-62.³ Consequently I took opportunity of my visit to Nāgaūr in 1966 to devote some time to decipher the writing on the stone itself and also have its fresh impression made. It is from this impression that the epigraph is being published here.

It will be seen from the plate that the writing is almost perfectly well preserved, the letters are clearly engraved and the style of writing is quite bold. Nevertheless, due to the crowded writing in the typical style of the Khānzāda inscriptions, in which one letter is written upon another and a word or a letter thereof is at times interposed between those of the other word, the decipherment has been rendered difficult. Added to this was the somewhat unfamiliar name of the builder. And though it is a matter of satisfaction that practically the whole of the epigraph has been, it is hoped, correctly, read, there is one word written cursively which has still remained unintelligible.

The epigraph consists of one line in Persian prose and purports that the mosque was built in 1495, during the reign of the chief Firūz Khān, by one Dadā, son of Kīlā Shālākhānī.

The calligraphy of the record is quite remarkable. The style of writing is *Naskh* of the same type as in the early fifteenth century inscriptions of Zafar Khān of Gujarāt, so much so as to make one feel that the inspiration, if not the calligrapher himself, must have come from there. The well-shaped letters have been placed below the artistic arrangement of tall arch-shaped railings formed by their elongated shafts, the whole producing quite a pleasing effect.

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

TEXT

Plate VI(b)

بنا شد این مسجد الور در عهد دولت خان اعظم و خاقان معظم فیروز خان [ن] بتوفیق
رحماتی ددا کیلا صلاحخانی برشد الثانی و العشر من شهر الرجب رجب قدره سنة تسعماية

¹ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 247.

² *EIM*, 1949-50, pp. 18-53.

³ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 247.

* The reading of this word is not certain. Could it be شنبه ?

TRANSLATION

This illuminated mosque was built in the reign of the great Khān and magnificent Khaqān, Firūz Khān, through the grace of the Merciful (i.e. God), (by) Dadā (son of) Kilā Salāh Khānī, for the king (?), (on) the 12th of the month of Rajab, may its dignity increase, year (A.H.) nine hundred (12 Rajab 900=8 April 1495).

The primary importance of this epigraph lies as pointed out in the introductory lines, in extending the reign of Firūz Khān II by one year from the last known date of his reign A.H. 899, as recorded in Dr. Chaghtāi's Genealogy.¹ It is also quite important in another respect. Like the Barī Khān record studied above, this epigraph also furnishes the name of a person of some note who flourished at this time. Though the name of the person is quite unfamiliar and to establish his or her identity is difficult, a look at the reproduction of the epigraph will show that there should be little doubt about Dadā Kilā Salāh Khānī being the correct reading of the name of the builder. But whether this constitutes the son and the father's name or is the name of one person is a debatable point. Dadā means also a wet-nurse, and if that be the meaning intended here, it would mean that the builder was Kilā, the Dadā, attached to Salāh Khān, father of Firūz Khān. Now, when in Nāgaur, I was informed by Mr. Rahmatu'llāh Raunaq Uthmānī of the Pirzāda family of the town, who is much interested in the history of the reign and possesses valuable information on the subject, that he had quite some time back seen a document of the time of Aurangzeb,² then in possession of the descendants of the Khānzādas,³ in which mention is made of a Dā'ī's Tomb along with the Tomb of Shams Khān (i.e. Kālā Gumbad, which is to the immediate east of the mosque containing the inscription under study). Mr. Uthmānī being unaware of the mention of Dadā in the epigraph under study, his account as to the mention of the Dā'ī's Tomb in the document cannot be dismissed as an after-thought. There is also one more Tomb in the vicinity of the said Kālā Gumbad, which could be the Dā'ī's Tomb in question. The proximity of the mosque to these buildings lends weight to the identification of Kilā as the nurse of Salāh Khān.

In the alternative, Dadā may be the name of the builder, and Kilā that of his father. From the appellation Salāh Khānī attached to his name, he appears to have been a favourite noble or servant of Salāh Khān.

In any case, the epigraph has preserved unto us the name of a leading person of the period, and as such its importance is considerable.

Muhammad Khān

In the Genealogy of Dr. Chaghtāi, Muhammad Khān is shown as having succeeded his father Firūz Khān II in A.H. 899 and ruled upto A.H. 915. That he did not succeed Firūz Khān until A. H. 900 is evident from the record just studied. We have been able to discover so far five records of Muhammad Khān, the earliest of which is dated A.H. 909 and the latest A.H. 913. In the eulophon of Jain works, Muhammad Khān is also spoken of ruling in V. S. 1561 (1504 A.D./A.H. 910) and V.S. 1576 (1519 A.D./A.H. 925-26).⁴

¹ Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

² According to Mr. Uthmānī, the officials mentioned in these documents were Qaḍī Dost Muhammad and Hājī Sultān, the *Muhtasib*. The descendants of the Khānzādas mentioned therein were Pālā(d?) Khān, Rahmat Khān and Jhujhār Khān.

³ According to Mr. Uthmānī, the last of the Khānzāda family of Nāgaur was Ramaḍān Khān whose sons were Fayyāḍ Khān and 'Abdu'l-Ghānī, who migrated to Pākistān in 1948. There is no member of this family, according to him, now living at Nāgaur.

⁴ Jain, *op. cit.*

The year A.H. 915 is shown in the Genealogy as the final year of his reign. In this year, Muḥammad Khān is stated to have offered allegiance to Sikandar Lodī, as has been referred to above (p. 17, *supra*). Dr. Chaghtāi's information may have been based on the *Atwād* whose dates, are however, not always correct. Until, therefore, some fresh information comes forth, the question of the terminal year of his reign should be considered open.

XI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 909, FROM NĀGAUR

This is again quite an interesting epigraph in which one more member of the ruling family finds mention. It was brought to my notice by Mr. Raunaq Uthmānī, who has been instrumental in saving quite a few epigraphical tablets built up in the city-wall, then under demolition by the Nāgaūr Municipal authorities, from being lost or damaged. He got some tablets removed to the Kanhera Julāhon-ki-Masjid, situated near the Dargāh of Aḥmad 'Alī Bāpī, within the Delhi Gate, towards its north-west.¹

The one bearing the inscription under study is one of them.² It measures 50 by 38 cms. and contains a one-line text, which assigns the construction of a cathedral mosque to the wife of Khānzāda Miyān 'Alī in 1503-04, during the reign of Muḥammad Khān.

The language of the record is Persian. The style of writing is *NasKh* of the same variety as in the previous epigraph. The letters are remarkable for their well-shaped outline and bold execution. But here, the elongated shafts of the letters have been arranged in a somewhat novel way. Raised to the same level, they have been decreased in size in the descending order from right to left, and the artistic effect produced by this is accentuated by the motif of banner-heads that marks the tips of these shafts.

The text of the record is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

بنا این مسجد کلان منکوحه خانزاده میان علی بتوفیق رحمان در عهد خان اعظم محمد
خان سنه تسعو تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

This large (i.e. cathedral) mosque (was) built (by) the wife of Khānzāda Miyān 'Alī through the grace of the Compassionate (Allāh) during the reign of the great Khān Muḥammad Khān (in the) year (A.H.) nine and nine hundred (A.H. 909=1503-04 A.D.).

This is the second inscription from Nāgaūr in which a female member of the ruling family is mentioned. But unlike in the case of the other record (p. 24, *supra*), her name is not given. She is merely introduced as the wife of Khānzāda Miyān 'Alī Khān. Fortunately, the identity of the latter is known from historical works. According to these, he was a brother of Muḥammad Khān and had entered into a conspiracy in about A.H. 915, with another brother of his, Abā Bakr, to kill their royal brother. But ultimately, both were compelled to seek asylum at the court of Sikandar Lodī, then camping at Dholpur, and Muḥammad Khān, anticipating a reprisal by the latter, appeased him by sending letters of allegiance and presents to him and showing his readiness to have his name read in sermons and minted on coins. 'Alī Khān was appointed by the

¹ For these see *ARIE*, 1965-66, Nos. D, 352-55.

² *Ibid.*, No. D, 352.

Lodī king to the *sarkār* of Sui Saber,¹ which was later on taken from him by way of punishment² and given to his brother Abā Bakr. Beyond this, nothing is known about him. This event may have occurred in about A.H. 916 or so.

The inscription under study belongs to a period when Miyān 'Alī was still at Nāgaur. The mosque built by his wife must have been destroyed along with other monuments of the town by Rāja Bakht Singh, as referred to in the introductory lines, if not even earlier by Rāna Kumbhā.

XII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 911, FROM THE SAME PLACE

The tablet bearing this epigraph was found built upside down in the outer face of the lower part of the city-wall when I had its rubbing prepared in 1966.³ It was also shown to me by Mr. Raunaq Uthmānī. This portion of the city-wall stood to the west of the opening therein, off the Niyāriyon-kā-Maḥalla, and facing the famous Dargāh of Sūfi Šāhib towards north-west. It is not known if the city-wall still stands or has since been pulled down.

The epigraphical tablet having been exposed to varied climatic conditions for centuries, the writing which was originally in the same bold relief as is characteristic of the Khānzāda records of Nāgaur, is badly damaged, particularly in the bottom portion which lay exposed; the writing in the top portion of the tablet which was buried in the ground is in a slightly better state of preservation. Fortunately, however, the text could be read almost completely after a few concentrated efforts.

The epigraph consists of one line of writing in Persian occupying a space of about 80 by 40 cms. The tablet seems to have originally belonged to a tomb, as the inscription records the construction of the mausoleum of Maikzāda Faṭḥu'llāh son of Khānzāda Aḥmad Khān, and of the mosque, which was evidently attached to it, in 1505-06, during the reign of Muḥammad Khān. The text, as in the case of other Khānzāda records, is incomplete in that there is no verb in the sentence, but the purport is more or less understood. The name of the builder is not given.

Fortunately, we are in a position to identify with some amount of certainty the tomb on which the slab might have been originally set up. Mr. Raunaq Uthmānī who was, it may be remembered, in the dark about the purport of the record, had earlier pointed out to me a ruined tomb locally attributed to Faṭḥu'llāh Shāh, situated not far from the location of the tablet, a little to the north of the city-wall and east of the Dargāh of Sūfi Šāhib. Only the traces of the plinth and a marble sarcophagus now remain of what appears to have originally been a tomb of some architectural merit. From these, it appears to have been an octagonal tomb like the one at Kumāri, about twenty-five kilometres to the south-west of Nāgaur, which has fortunately survived the hand of the vandal.

The style of writing is *NasKh* of the same high quality which characterises the Khānzāda records. Apart from the finely chiselled outline of its letters, the elongated shafts have been arranged to form arch-heads, the apex of each of which is marked by a small cross or trifoil, investing it with a picturesque effect. The highly artistic arrangement in which the four curves representing the letter *nūn* have been placed across these shafts on the left side, and the two distinguishing marks of the letter *kāf* on their right side, must have invested the whole with a picturesque effect when in original condition; this is somewhat marred by the disfiguring of the letters caused by neglect and weather.

¹ The name of this place is transcribed in different manuscripts in different ways. See S.A.A. Rizwi, *Uttar Tajmārkalīn Bhārat* (Aligarh, 1958), p. 224, f.n. 1.

² Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69.

³ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 356.

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

TEXT

Plate VII(b)

بنا این مسجد و گنبد فتح الله ملکزاده بن خانداده احمد خان در عهد خان اعظم محمد
خان بتوفیق رحمان سنه احدی عشر و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

This mosque and the tomb of Fathu'llāh Malikzāda son of Khānzāda Aḥmad Khān (was) built in the time of the great Khān Muḥammad Khān through the grace of the Compassionate (Allāh in the) year (A.H.) eleven and nine hundred (A.H. 911=1505-06 A.D.).

From this epigraph, the names of two more members of the Khānzāda family are known. Also, the epigraph indirectly confirms the local tradition pertaining to the tomb of Fathu'llāh Shāh who appears to be none other than the Malikzāda.

XIII. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 911, FROM NĀGAUR

One of the few old buildings to survive at Nāgaūr is the small and somewhat dilapidated mosque called Ek Minār-kī-Masjid, situated in the Paṭhānon-kā-Mahalla. The mosque is so called because one of its two minarets has fallen. Built of stone, it is a structure of modest dimensions built in trabeate system. On plan it consists of a single prayer-hall, overlooking an enclosed court, which is divided into five aisles and two bays by pillars supporting a flat roof. The prayer-hall is decorated with a prominent parapet, mounted with arch-shaped merlons, which seem to have been carved with simple geometrical designs. An equally prominent cornice shaded the open facade, but most of its slabs have fallen. The lone small but shapely minar rises above the roof at the southern end of the facade, and its tapering design, octagonal and round in sections, and rounded up at the top, is quite pleasing. It recalls to mind its slightly earlier late Tughluqian counterpart at Delhi, but is more remarkable for its symmetry and shape. The mosque when fresh from construction and its second minar and other parts intact must have presented a fairly impressive appearance. It is an interesting specimen, after the Shamsī Mosque and the surviving towers of the 'Idgāh, of the mosque architecture of the Khānzādas or rather of Nāgaūr.

The tablet bearing the epigraph measures 65 by 34 cms. and is fixed above the central mihrāb between it and the roof.¹ It has been considerably affected by weather and wear and tear of time, with the result that the letters, engraved in fine relief, have flaked off, particularly towards the end, but this has not proved a handicap in its decipherment, except for a word, which ironically enough is perfectly well preserved and otherwise clear. The text comprises, as in the case of the majority of the Khānzāda records, a single line of writing in Persian, and records the construction of a mosque in 1505-06 during the reign of Muḥammad Khān. The name of the builder of the mosque was perhaps contained in the word which has defied persistent attempts at decipherment; having tentatively read it as Phūlkalā, I take it to be the name of the builder.

The calligraphy of this epigraph is also of a high order. The style of writing is *Naskh* of the same type as in the other records and the letters, cut into bold relief, are particularly remarkable for their sharp outline. Another innovation made in its design, if one may say so, is the arrange-

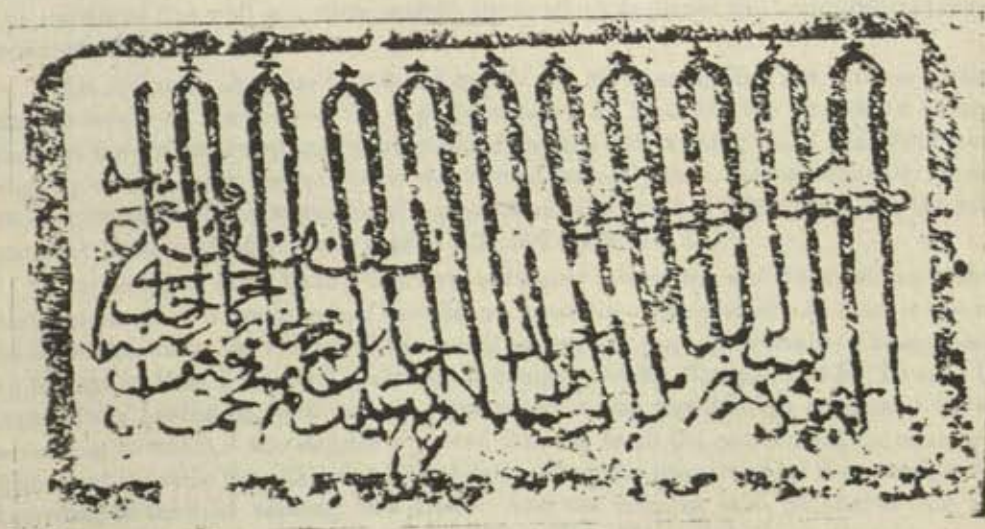
¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 351.

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 909, from Nāgaur (p. 38)



SCALE: ·2

(b) Record, dated A.H. 911, same place (p. 40)



SCALE: ·14

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next of the elongated shafts, which do not cover the whole slab as is the case in similar records studied before, but have been placed a little apart from one another in groups of five, four and three, commencing from right. But this does not produce the desired artistic effect.

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

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

بنا این مسجد پهلکلا (?) در عهد خاناعظم محمد خان بتوفیق رحمان سنه احدى عشر
و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

This mosque (was) built by (?) Phūlkālā (?) in the reign of the great Khān Muḥammad Khān, by the grace of the Compassionate (in) the year (A.H.) eleven and nine hundred (A.H. 911=1505-06 A.D.).

XIV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 912, FROM KUMĀRI

Kumāri is a small village situated in the Nāgaūr district at a distance of about twentyfive kilometres to the south-west of the district headquarters. On the outskirts of the village, there are a few tombs including that of Bālā Pīr consisting of an ordinary platform with two graves. To the west north-west of this, at a distance of about 150 to 200 metres lies a square platform, about 2.25 metres high, in the middle of which stands an octagonal tomb, locally called Hasan Shahīd's Tomb, which is roofed by a single dome decorated with stripes and crowned by a lotus finial as in the Mughal domes. Perforated stone-screens fill the arched sides of the Tomb which is not devoid of architectural merit. Traces of blue enamel tile-work may still be seen at places. The Tomb is also interesting as being one of the few monuments of the Khānzāda period that have come down to us.

This platform is extended on its left by a platform slightly raised by about 15 cms. which is bound on the west by a single wall to serve, evidently, as the Qanāṭī Mosque for the Tomb. In the middle of this wall is a stone mihrāb above which is placed the tablet bearing the epigraph under study.

This epigraph also was first found by Mr. N. M. Ghanam in 1959. It was noticed in our annual report on the basis of the impression taken by him. But the impression being unsatisfactory, the writing being somewhat crowded and the letters being small and also executed in a slightly cursive hand, the text could not be read correctly then, and consequently, it was stated to seem to record the construction of a mosque and the Tomb of Firūz Khān and the raising of a garden; its date was doubtfully read as A.H. 902 (1496-97 A.D.).¹

The reference to Firūz Khān's Tomb was extremely interesting, and if the reading of the inscriptions was correct, it would indeed have been a great discovery in itself. As such, it was necessary to be certain about the reading of the record beyond any reasonable doubt. Consequently, while in Nāgaūr in 1966, I visited Kumāri in the company of Mr. Ghanam and Mr. Raunaq Uthmānī. Apart from having its fresh estampage prepared, I also finalised the reading of the epigraph, according to which it was definitely proved that the tomb did not contain the remains of Firūz Khān. At the same time, this fact did not detract from the importance of the record, as the Tomb, according to the final reading, was erected over the remains of a member of the Khānzāda family, or to be exact a daughter-in-law of Firūz Khān II as will be presently seen.

¹ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 243.

The epigraph which as usual consists of one line of writing in Persian states that the construction of the Tomb of the wife of the late Khānzāda Miyān Hasan son of Firūz Khān and the mosque attached thereto took place in 1506-07, during the time of Muhammad Khān.

The style of writing is Nasḥ but unlike in the case of the other Khānzāda records, the letters are somewhat small and cursive and the writing appears a little crowded. But for this, the epigraph conforms to the general calligraphical style. The artistic device of elongated shafts of letters and the curves of the letters nūn and the marks of the letters kāf placed across these, has been resorted to here also.

The epigraphical tablet measures 60 by 24 cms., and the text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

بنا این مسجد و گنبد اتباع خان مرحوم بن فیروز خان بنام خانزاده میان حسن بتوفیق
سبحان در عهد خان اعظم محمد خان فی [سنه] اثنی عشر و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

The construction of this mosque and the Tomb of the wife of the late Khān, son of Firūz Khān, whose name is Khānzāda Miyān Hasan (took place) by the grace of the Compassionate, during the reign of the great Muhammad Khān in the year (A.H.) twelve and nine hundred (A.H. 912=1506-07 A.D.).

Needless to say, nothing is known from historical works about Khānzāda Miyān Hasan or his wife, and but for this epigraph, they would have remained totally unknown. The record also supplies the information that Miyān Hasan was the son of Firūz Khān by whom evidently Firūz Khān II is meant. That is to say, he was the brother of the reigning chief Muhammad Khān. He had probably predeceased his wife; according to the epigraph, he was no more when her tomb was constructed.

XV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 913, FROM NĀGAUR

The tablet containing the last record of Muhammad Khān, a badly damaged one, is built up into the inner face of the part of the *parkotā* (upper wall) of the Nāgaūr Fort, which overlooks the Horse-Stables and *Ranawās* (Ladies' Quarters).¹ It being directly exposed to the inclemencies of weather, the writing thereon has been adversely affected, and the letters cut out in *alto relievo* have been almost completely levelled out, as can be better visualised from the illustration (pl. No. IX b).

A complete reading of the epigraph, therefore, is out of question. However, it is no mean satisfaction that a sizable portion of the record sufficient to yield the purport including the date has been deciphered to a fairly correct extent.

The inscription comprises, as usual, one line of writing in Persian, recording the construction of a mosque in 1507 during the reign of Muhammad Khān. The name of the builder does not appear to be there; he could be the chief himself.

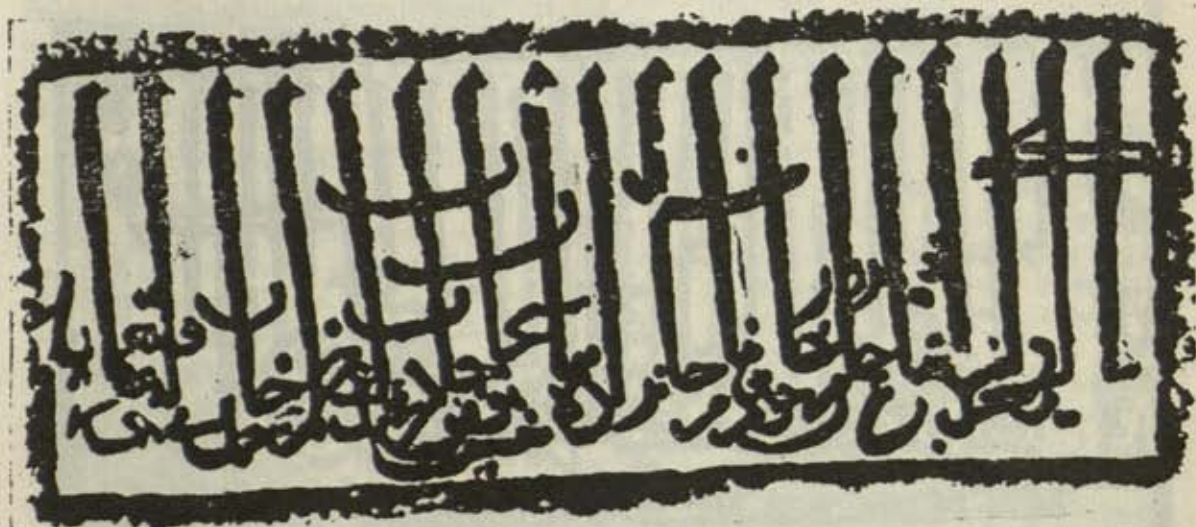
¹ *ARIE*, 1905-06, No. D, 334.

(a) Epigraph, dated A. H. 911, from Nāgaur (p. 41)



SCALE : .2

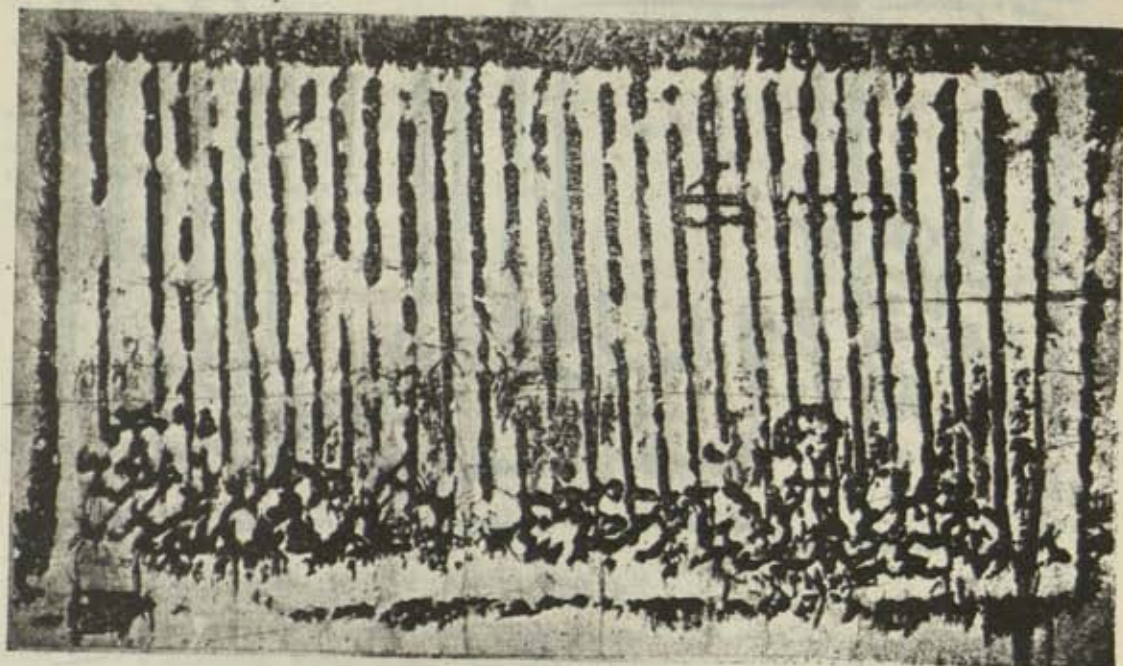
(b) Inscription, dated A. H. 912, from Kumāri (p. 42)



SCALE : .25

PLATE IX

(a) Epigraph of Muḥammad Khān, dated A. H. 913, same place (p. 43)



SCALE : .23

FĪRŪZ KHĀN III

(b) Record, dated A. H. 933, from Nāgaur (p. 44)



SCALE : .21

The style of writing is *Naskh*. Whatever of the calligraphy has survived, is sufficient to proclaim its fine quality. Though small, the letters appear to have had the same sharpness of outline and artistic flourishes as their other counterparts at Nāgaūr. The smallness of the letters, of the size of hardly one fourth of the total height of the slab, has been pleasantly contrasted with their elongated shafts raised right to the top.

The epigraphical tablet measures 60 by 33 cms. The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

بنیاد کرد این مسجد بتوفیق رحمان در عهد دولت بندگی خان اعظم و خاقان (؟) معظم
[محمد خان]... فی التاریخ ثلث صفر المظفر (؟) من سنة ثلاث عشر و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

This mosque was built by the grace of the Compassionate, in the reign of His Highness the great *Khān* and the magnificent *Khāqān* [Muḥammad *Khān*].....On the third of the victorious (month of) *Ṣafar* of the year (A.H.) thirteen and nine hundred (3 *Ṣafar* 913=14 June 1507).

A point that may easily strike to the discerning scholars is that this is the only of Muḥammad *Khān*'s five records studied here which uses the set of two titles that are almost invariably used in *Firūz Khān II*'s epigraphs. On the other hand, four of his epigraphs merely use the title 'great *Khān*'. Since the name of Muḥammad *Khān* is not legible in the damaged record, a doubt may arise if it belongs to his reign. But there should not be any such doubt on this score, as the date A.H. 913 is quite clearly legible on the stone as well as in the rubbing.

Firūz Khān III

The existence of this ruler was first made known by Dr. *Chaghtāi* in the Genealogy, where he is shown as having ruled from A.H. 915 to A.H. 922 in which year he is stated to have been succeeded by his son Muḥammad *Khān*. The latter is shown therein to have ruled till A.H. 933. Presumably this information was obtained from the *Aurūd-i-Qādirīyya*. But from this solitary record of his, it appears that *Firūz Khān* was ruling in A.H. 933. The implications of this evidence as also the probable date of accession of his successor Muḥammad *Khān II* have been discussed in some detail in the introductory lines (p. 19, *supra*) and need not be repeated here.

XVI, INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 933, FROM NĀGAUR

The last of the sixteen epigraphs of this study comes from Nāgaūr. It pertains to the reign of *Firūz Khān III*. The loose tablet, measuring 65 by 31 cms. on which it is inscribed, is now preserved into the Dargāh of *Ḥadrat Sayyid Imām Nūr*, is which situated outside the town to the south-east of the Delhi Gate.¹ The tablet, according to Mr. *Raunaq Uthmānī*, who brought it to my notice, was recovered from the demolished part of the city-wall. From the text it appears that the epigraph originally belonged to a tomb.

The inscription consists of a single line of writing in Persian. The tablet is slightly fragmentary, having lost a little portion on the right, but this has not affected materially the text except for a letter or two. It records the construction of a tomb and a mosque, evidently attached thereto, by a certain person, whose name is not clearly decipherable but reads something like *Adā Jānbū* or *Adā Chānbū*. The construction took place in 1527 during the reign of *Firūz Khān*.

¹ *ARIE*, 1965-66, No. D, 357.

The style of writing of this epigraph is *Naskh* of the usual variety with elongated shafts of letters. The writing is quite crowded and words have been placed one upon the other in horizontal as well as somewhat diagonal positions. Attention in particular may be drawn to the way in which the letters *nūn* have been designed almost flattish like *bā* and placed across the elongated shafts of letters.

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

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

بنا کرد این مسجد و حوضه (sic.) اداچانبو (اداچانبو؟) در عهد خان اعظم فیروز خان
سلمه الله تعالى بتوفیق رحمان بتاریخ نهم ماه ذی القعدة سنه ثلاث ثلاثین و تسعما[یه]

TRANSLATION

This mosque and the tomb were built by Adā Jānbū (or Adā Chānbū) in the reign of the great Khān Firūz Khān. may Allāh preserve him, by the grace of the Compassionate, on the date, ninth of the month of *Dhu'l-Qa'da* (of the) year (A.H.) three and thirty and nine hundred (9 *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 933=10 August 1527).

The importance of the record is evident. Incidentally, this is the only one-line *Khānzāda* record in which the sentence is complete in all respects. Thus, Adā Jānbū or Adā Chānbū, is shown in the text as the builder of the Tomb-cum-mosque complex. But the question would arise, whose tomb was constructed by him (or her)? In the few Tomb-records studied in the preceding lines, the names of the persons whose tombs were built have been mentioned. Could it be that it was Adā Jānbū or Adā Chānbū who was buried in the tomb? If the verb *binā kard* was used without an object, this would have been the interpretation. It may also be that the said person may have built the tomb for himself (or herself) while alive. But no definite conclusion can be reached on this point.

Likewise, I am not sure if I have correctly read the name of that person. The writing is quite clear, and there is absolutely no confusion in that regard. All the letters of the word are clear and legible, but due perhaps to the unusualness of the name, I am unable to decipher it correctly. It is possible that some of the readers may be able to hit upon the correct form of this name.

Before conclusion, I would like to mention once again the assistance and help I received in copying some of these inscriptions from the staff of H. H. the Mahārāja of Jodhpur who owns the Nāgaur Fort, and who has kindly permitted me to publish these records. I must also mention with admiration the indefatigable energy and interminable interest which Mr. Raunaq Uthmānī has for the history of the Nāgaur region; he was kind enough to accompany me in both of my visits to various places bearing inscriptions, and some of the records studied here might have escaped our notice but for his untiring zeal. Shri N. M. Ghanam also deserves our thanks for having traced some new inscriptions either on his own or through the information supplied by Mr. Raunaq Uthmānī and also for having accompanied me in one of my visits to Nāgaur.

Lastly, I genuinely regret that a couple of spotted epigraphs from the Nāgaur Fort could not be copied for want of proper equipment. I have a feeling that an extensive search may still uncover new epigraphs from the Fort or the remaining portion of the city-wall, if it is still intact.

* *Bā* could be taken as a suffix used as a term of respect for ladies, like *Bibi*.

SOME MORE DIRECTION-STONES OF THE NIZĀM SHĀHĪ DYNASTY

BY DR. A. A. KADIRI

Senior Epigraphical Assistant

I propose to study in this article a few interesting inscriptions of the Nizām Shāhī kings of Ahmadnagar, dealing with a single but an unusual aspect of history, namely that of communications. As is well known, contemporary chronicles contain scanty information about the administrative and public welfare institutions. Other sources of such important information in which at the most we can get stray references are literature, epigraphs, deeds and endowments, royal orders and the like.

In the whole domain of Indo-Muslim epigraphy, so far, no records have been found which served the purpose of direction-stones or direction-signs of our days, except those set up in the Ahmadnagar kingdom. As the readers of this series are aware, a few such bilingual direction notices in the official language (Persian) and the local language (Marāṭhī) were found some time back at Antur¹ and Kalamb.² Unfortunately, no systematic effort to locate more such epigraphs was made since then. In the past decade, however, some eight more records of similar nature have been found at various places, some of which are situated on the borders of the Nizām Shāhī dominions, to wit, Betul district in Central India and Kolābā district on the Western coast. These valuable records indicate the direction of roads leading to various places from the places of their installation.

Communication is the most vital link in the life of any nation or kingdom. No state could afford to neglect this important means of keeping its trade and commerce, functioning of its various departments, both civil and military, and administration of the kingdom, in order. It is but natural that the Muslim kings also must have taken adequate steps—as in the case of Sher Shāh Sūr—to ensure proper maintenance of the roads and their safety. But no details thereof have come down to us, except that in Deccan, we are told that measures to ensure the safety of roads were taken first by Muḥammad Shāh I Bahmanī (1358-75).³ Similar information in respect of other kings is not forthcoming from historical works. But fortunately, from a fragmentary record found at Cheul in Kolābā district, which incidentally appears to be the earliest of such direction records (and is included in this study), it is known for the first time that Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1591-95) immediately after his accession, issued a *farmān* directing that at every place in his dominions, where there was a confluence of roads, a sign-post should be set up to avoid confusion and inconvenience to the travelling public.⁴ This *farmān* affords a concrete proof of the said king's zeal for the welfare of the travelling public. As these epigraphs were intended for the benefit and use of the general public at large, it is but natural that their texts were also ordered to be inscribed in the official language Persian and the local language Marāṭhī.

¹ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1919-20, p. 15, pl. (IX a).

² *Epigraphia Indica Arabic & Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1955 and 1956, p. 115 (pl. XXIX c); *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission (PIHRC)*, vol. XI (1928), p. 92, where its gist was published. The record is now in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

³ Firāhta, *Tārīkh-i-Firāhta* (Kanpur, 1884), vol. I, p. 295; H. K. Sherwānī, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1956), p. 77.

⁴ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1959-60, No. D, 149.

As referred to above, so far only two such records, one each in the vicinity of the Antur Fort in Aurangābād district and from Kalamb in Yeotmal district of Mahārāshtra, have been published. Both were set up in the time of Burhān II. According to the Persian version of the Antur record whose Marāṭhī counterpart is not published, the road leads on the east towards Nāgāpur and Jālnāpūr, on the south towards Daulatābād and Ahmadnagar, on the west towards Mahūn and Chālisgāon and on the north towards Antūr and Burhānpūr. The Persian writing on the Kalamb pillar seems to have been scrapped up and is hence almost illegible. Its Marāṭhī version states that the road to right leads to Sālewaḍ¹ and that on the left to Nāchangāon.

Of the eight records studied in the following lines, seven are of Burhān II and one of Burhān III (1610-30). The earliest of these is from Cheul in Kolābā district of Mahārāshtra. Apart from alluding to the *formān* regarding setting up direction-stones as referred to above, it refers to the confluence of roads to Ashtānī, Nāgathanā, Pen and Revḍandā. The next is found at Bur, a district headquarters of Mahārāshtra. It points out to the road leading from the town of Bir to the city of Ahmadnagar. The third record is from Nimbāit in the Nāsik district of Mahārāshtra. It is inscribed on four sides of a pillar and points out to the roads on each direction—from Ningāon to Daulatābād on the south and Gālnā on the east; the stone having considerably weathered, the names of places on the north and west sides are illegible. The fourth record is from Somāripet in Betul district of Madhya Pradesh. It also refers to the *formān* and indicates the directions towards Ellichpur and Chāndā. The fifth record was found in the same neighbourhood, at Rāwanbāri. It points to Jiwāpūr on one side, to Bhanwar-garh on the other, to Asir on the third, to Pratāpgarh on the fourth and to Sāliyā on the fifth. The sixth record is from Mehkar in Bulḍānā district of Mahārāshtra. As in the Kalamb record referred to above, the Persian version is lost and the Marāṭhī text only contains the name of the king and the date. The seventh record is from Pāunār, in Wardhā district of Mahārāshtra. It is fragmentary and contains only the Marāṭhī text, the surviving portion of which is almost similar to that of the Mehkar record, but seems to have contained some additional information. The eighth record, the only one to be set up in the time of Burhān Nizām Shāh III, was found near Dive-Agar, to the right of the road towards Borlai Panchāyatan (about 2 kilometres away) in Kolābā district. It marks *pargana* Borlai on the east, the sea on the west, *pargana* Shriwardhan on the south and the district of Dāndā on the north. The Marāṭhī version also refers to a ferry at Dighi on way to Dāndā.

It will be noted that in these records, as in the case of two other records of similar nature referred to above, the date is given in words preceeded by the words *Shuhūr-i-Sana*. Now this term was commonly used in Islamic countries and also in India, when only the year is given but not the exact month and date. At the same time, in India, particularly in the Deccan, the term was also used to denote the Solar variation of the Hijra year which was commenced from A.H. 744 or 745,² and was called *Shuhūr San*—corrupted into *Sūr San* of Mahārāshtra.

Now in the text of the six inscriptions studied here (Inscription Nos. 2-7), the year 1000 is preceded by the term *Shuhūr-i-Sana*, but in the seventh (Inscriptio No. 1), the same year is clearly specified as of Hijra era. If in these six epigraphs which were set up in the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh, the *Shuhūr* era were meant, their dates—*Shuhūr* 1000 or A.H. 1008—would not fit in with the dates of the reign of either Burhān II (A.H. 999-1003) or Burhān III (A.H. 1018-40).³ Necessarily therefore, the date has to be taken in the Hijra era i.e. A.H. 1000, which,

¹ PIHRC, p. 92, has Deoli instead of Sālewaḍ.

² For details, see M. Nizām, *Bijāpur Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of India Memoirs, No. 49 (Delhi, 1936), pp. 96-102.

³ For this, see p. 59-60, *infra*.

it may be noted, is the date of the seventh record of the same king (Inscription No. 1). Moreover, as these epigraphs were set up in pursuance of the royal order issued *immediately after* the accession of Burhān NiẒām Shāh, both according to Inscription No. 1 where the Hijra year 1000 is clearly given and also according to Inscription Nos. 2-7, where the year 1000 preceded by the term *Shuhūr-i-Sana* is given, and since of the three Burhāns, the accession of Burhān II took place a few months before A.H. 1000, it is also indicated that Burhān II is meant. In other words, the term *Shuhūr* has to be taken to mean 'in the months of' and the date has to be taken to belong to the Hijra era.

But the date in the eighth epigraph (Inscription No. VIII) presents some difficulty. There the year is 1010, preceded by the word *Shuhūr-i-Sana*, and the king's name is Burhān. Here Burhān II cannot be meant, since the date of the epigraph whether taken as A.H. 1010 or *Shuhūr* 1010 (A.H. 1018) would not fit in with the dates of his reign. Therefore, the king has to be Burhān III, and the date will have to be taken as *Shuhūr* 1010 (A.H. 1018) and not as A.H. 1010, when Murtaḍā II was ruling and Burhān II was dead for six or seven years. It may appear somewhat confusing that in the case of the six epigraphs, the term *Shuhūr* has to be taken in the ordinary sense and in the case of the seventh, as denoting the *Shuhūr* era, but this has to be so in view of the explicit mention of the king and the year 1010 clearly given in the text.

The historical importance of these epigraphs is considerable. They provide through their findspots an idea of the boundaries of the NiẒām Shāhī kingdom even in the days when it was threatened by Mughal expansionist designs. That the NiẒām Shāhī sovereignty was acknowledged on the western coast of India is clearly shown by the Cheul and Dive-Āgar records, and therefore, there is no truth in the statement of the local records that the governors of Dāṇḍā-Rājpurī, which lies between Cheul and Divā-Āgar, were Mughal officers.¹

Secondly, Somāripet and Kherlā-Rāwanbāpi near Betul are also proved to have been included in the Ahmadnagar kingdom, thus corroborating the statement of the Ahmadnagar historian, Sayyid 'Alī Tabāṭabā that during Mirzā 'Azīz Koka's governorship of Mālwa (c. 1593-95), Hāndiā, situated to the north-west of these places, was the border between Mālwa and NiẒām Shāhī kingdom.² Towards Bidar, the town of Bir, and on the east north-east, Mehkar, Kalamb and Pāunār were under the authority of these kings.³

But still greater importance of these records lies in their providing an idea of the network of roads in the various parts of the kingdom and the towns of some consequence at that time. The towns where these records were put up must have been famous for something or the other. Some of them are now reduced to small unimportant villages, but in the old days, they commanded sufficient importance. It would be interesting to reconstruct, on the basis of the information contained in these epigraphs and casual references to the army's marches in the area, the important routes that were commonly taken by the travellers.

The epigraphs are also important in another respect: they have faithfully recorded how these place-names were spelt in those days. For example, Ellichpur—which has been now changed to Achalpur—must have been pronounced as Ellichpur as recorded in the text of the Somāripet inscription.

¹ *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Kolaba District (MSG, Kolaba)*, Bombay, 1964, p. 80.

² 'Alī Tabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āzīr* (Hyderabad, 1936), p. 549; Dr. Rādhē Shyām, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar* (Delhi, 1968), pp. 179-80, 209, 270 (where Hāndiā is mis-spelt as Hindya).

³ The NiẒām Shāhī occupation of Berār is also commemorated in a few inscriptions from Fatehkhelḍā, Gawilgarh and Rohankhed (*ARIE*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 117-19 and *ibid.*, 1965-66, Nos. D, 200, 202).

Burhān Nizām Shāh II

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The earliest inscription of the set is reported to have been found almost eight decades ago in the field belonging to one Vishnu Joshi, at Cheul in Alibāg Tāluka of Kolābā district.¹ Its inked rubbing seems to have been taken by an officer of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, in about 1893-94, but was very probably transferred in 1953 to the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund (now Chief Epigraphist, Mysore) and thence transferred to the office of the Superintending Epigraphist for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Nagpur, in 1958. The impression being quite worn out, it was intended to have its fresh impressions prepared when we visited Cheul in 1959, but attempts to locate the tablet proved unsuccessful. It is therefore from the old impression that the record had to be edited here.

Cheul, now reduced to a village of little importance, was the most important port-town in the Nizām Shāhi kingdom and was also the headquarters of the province of that name.² It was through it that the foreign trade of the kingdom was transacted.³ Therefore, it is but natural that the order directing sign-posts on stone to be put up in various parts of the kingdom, immediately after the accession of Burhān II, was first implemented here.

The inscriptional slab seems to have been considerably damaged due to inclemencies of weather at the time when its rubbing was taken : letters have peeled off in quite a few places. The text occupying a space of about 55 by 80 cms. consists of ten lines of writing in Persian carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters. It is unfortunate that the damage to the slab as also the worn out condition of the impression has rendered part of the text illegible. The readable portion of its text imparts the information that in the year when Burhān Nizām Shāh ascended the throne, a *farmān* was issued to the effect that at every place in the dominions where many routes met, a sign-post indicating the directions should be set up so that the travellers may not experience any difficulty. It then lays down the directions to the towns of Ashṭam, Nāgoṭhanā, Pen and two more places which could not be deciphered. It also mentions a mountain temple, the route to which lay to the south. The epigraph was set up in 1591-92.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate X(b)

- (۱) باعث این علامت آن است که در سال جلوس نواب کامیاب (؟)
- (۲) جمجاه سلیمان سپاه برهان نظامشاه خلد ملکه و سلطانہ فرمان واجب
- (۳) الاذعان صادر شد کہ ہر مکانی از ممالک محروسہ کہ اختلاف طرق
- (۴) باشد علامتی نصب نمایند تا مترددین را اشکالی نہاند لهذا
- (۵) مسافرائی کہ از دروازہ کرلہ (؟)..... شونہ بدانند کہ اگر متوجہ

¹ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 149. For the history and description of the town of Cheul, see *MSG*, Kolaba, pp. 715-55.

² Rādhē Shyām, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

³ For the strategic and commercial importance of Cheul, see *MSG*, Kolaba, pp. 720-25 ; Rādhē Shyām, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-56.

NIZAM SHĀHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

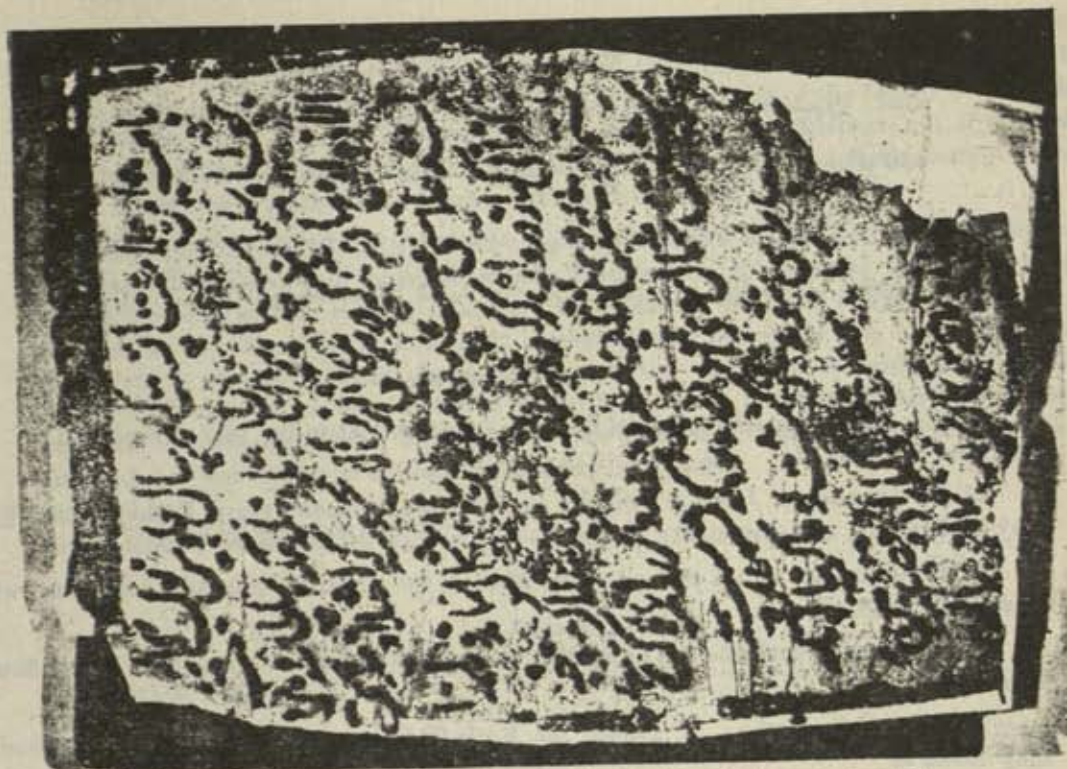
BURHĀN NIZĀM SHĀH. II

(b) Epigraph of the same date, from Cheul (p. 48)

(a) Record, dated A. H. 1000, from B'r (p. 50)



SCALE : 1/16



- (۶) [۱] شتم باشند روی آفتاب را..... کرده بروند و اگر..... باشند
 (۷) بین مشرق و شمال روی نموده از راه روند(?) که مشهور است
 (۸) راهی شوند کنشت کوه..... اگر بناگوتانه
 (۹) و اگر اراده قصبه بین
 (۱۰) ریگدنده(?) است و کان ذالک فی الف من الهجره

TRANSLATION

- (1) The reason (for setting up) of this sign (-post) is that in the year of accession of the successful Nawwāb,
 (2) the possessor of Jamshīd's dignity (and) having Solomon's army, Burhān Nizām Shāh, may his kingdom and sovereignty be perpetuated, a royal decree (*farmān*) commanding
 (3) obedience was issued that at every place in the royal (lit. guarded) dominions where there is diversity of roads,
 (4) a sign-post should be set up so that the travellers may not encounter any difficulty. Therefore,
 (5) the travellers who.....from the Korle (?) Gate, should go....., and if they intend to
 (6) go to Ashtam, they should turn their face towards the sun and proceed; and if they want to go to.....
 (7) they ought to turn their face towards north-east and take up the familiar (lit. famous) route;
 (8) and if they proceed towards south, the route (leads to) the mountain temple; and if [they wish] to go to Nāgotāna (modern Nāgoṭhanā).....
 (9) and if the intention is to go to the town (*qasba*) of Pen.....
 (10) is Regdanda (modern Revḍandā). And this was (inscribed) in (the year) one thousand of the Hijra era (A.H. 1000=1591-92 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The second direction-notice of Burhān II's reign was found inscribed on a pillar locally called Rankhamb, which is fixed in the ground by the side of the road near the Collector's office at Bir, a district headquarters in Mahārāshṭra.¹ Occupying a total space of 73 by 60 cms., the text is bilingual comprising one line in Persian and three lines in Marāṭhī.² Bir has a number of inscriptions and old monuments. Dr. G. Yazdānī who had made an extensive survey of these, had published their texts also.³ It is surprising how the epigraph under study, the only Nizām Shāhī record to be found at Bir, escaped his notice.

¹ For the antiquities and inscriptions of Bir, see *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. Nizām's Dominions* for the year 1920-21, pp. 4-14.

² *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 183, No. B, 335.

³ *EIM*, 1921-22, pp. 13-30.

The record is dated 1591-92 in the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh II and indicates that the road leads from the town (*qasba*) of Bir to the city of Ahmadnagar. Both the Persian portion and the Marāṭhī versions are carved in relief. The style of writing of the former is somewhat crudish *Naskh*, which is partly responsible for the difficulty in the decipherment of the text. It will be noted that the *Nāgarī* version is almost the same as the Persian version except for two Marāṭhī words used in place of their Persian equivalents in line 4.

Though the contents of the record were known, albeit not completely, the exact object of the pillar has been a matter of conjecture so far. Traditionally, it is believed to be a Rankhamb and was described as such recently in a Marāṭhī journal by Shri N. S. Pohnerkar.¹ Dr. V. B. Kolte, former Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, who referred to it in one of his articles and quoted its contents almost completely, except the city-name Ahmadnagar (to which the road led), endorsed the view expressed by Mr. Pohnerkar. But there is no basis for such assumption or assertion. From the text, it is quite clear that it has nothing to do with a Rankhamb but was set up as a direction-stone like many others.

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate X (a)

(i) Persian version.

(۱) در زمان حضرت برهان نظام شاه شهور سنه الف قصبه بیر راه احمدانگر

(ii) Marāṭhī version.

दर जमाने हजरत बुरहान निजा
म स्या सुहर सन अलफ कसबा बी
ड मार्ग स्याहर अहमदानगर

TRANSLATION

(i) (1) In the reign of His Majesty Burhān Nizām Shāh (in the) months of the year one thousand (A.H. 1000=1591-92 A.D.), the route from the town (*qasba*) of Bir to the city of Ahmadānagar.

(ii) (2-4) As in line No. 1.

It will be noted that the name of the city Ahmadnagar has been inscribed as Ahmadānagar. This is not an uncommon spelling being found in inscriptions as well as on coins.²

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

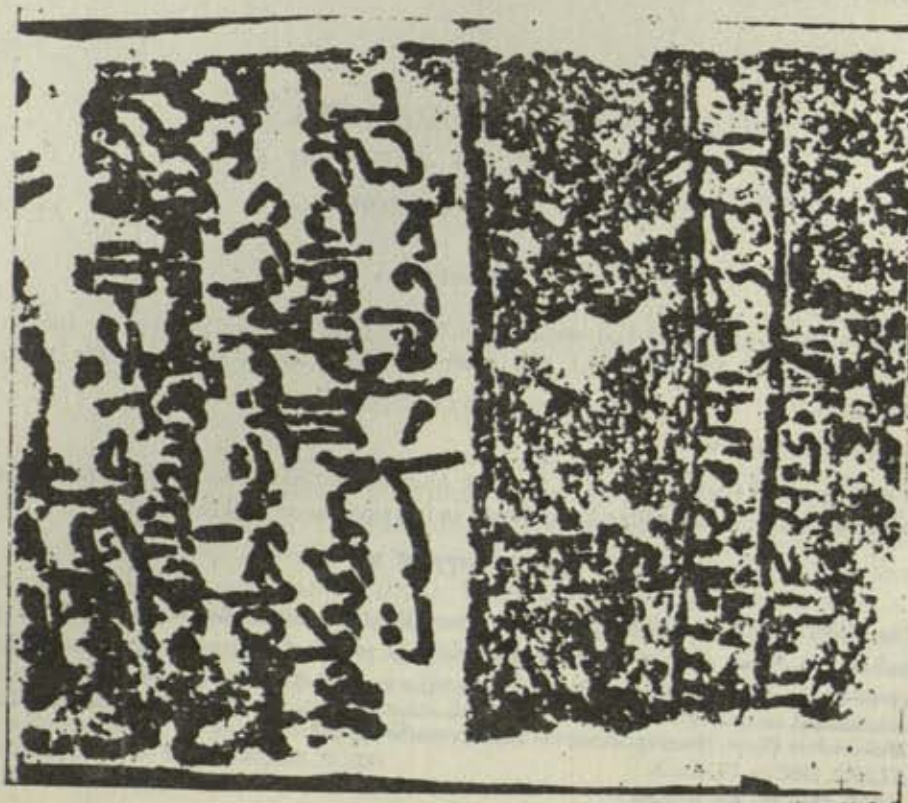
The third sign-post of Burhān II, a stone-pillar, was found buried in the local graveyard at Nimbāit, in Nāsik district.³ Its inked rubbings prepared by an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Poona, some time in 1936-37, were preserved in the old records.

¹ *Maharashtra Times*, Bombay, dated the 29th November 1970.

² *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 74, f.n. 3.

³ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 198.

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 1000, from Nimbāit (p. 51)



SCALE : 3

(b) Another record of the same date, same place (p. 51)



SCALE : 21

These being somewhat worn out, I had fresh ones prepared when I visited the place in 1961, and it is from these that the epigraph is being edited here. It is not known if the record is published or noticed anywhere. It is inscribed on all the four sides with bilingual text on each side. But the writing on two sides is badly damaged, rendering its decipherment uncertain as well as incomplete.

The readable portion of the text yields the information that the road towards south leads to Daulatābād from Nīngām and that towards the east side to Gālnā, also through Nīngāon. The places to which the roads going towards north and west led are not clearly legible. The pillar is stated to have been set up in 1591-92.

The text occupies a total space of about 40 by 50 cms., 40 by 55 cms., 37 by 50 cms. and 40 by 35 cms. respectively on the south, east, north and west sides. The style of writing of the Persian text is *Naskh* of somewhat crudish type, which coupled with the fact that the writing is badly affected has rendered its complete decipherment difficult. The language of the record is mediocre—containing words from the local dialect and the spellings are also wrong in a number of places.

The epigraph has been read as under :—

TEXT

(a) South side.

Plate XI (b)

(i) Persian version :

- (۱) الله محمد علی
..... (۲)
(۳) در زمان حضرت برهان نظامشاه
(۴) سورصن الفا واهی بالای موزی رگویی...
(۵) مارگ دولتا باد است

(ii) Marāṭhī version :

- (१) मार्ग नीवगांवां बरुन दील
(२) तावादेस जातो

(b) East side.

Plate XI (a)

(i) Persian version :

- (۱) الله محمد علی
(۲) در زمانی حضرت
(۳) برهان نظام شاه
(۴) سورصن الفا در جانبی قنوت
(۵) از پای موزی نیم گام راهی قلاهی کلنا

(ii) Marāṭhī version :

- (१) मार्ग नीवगावा बरुन गाळणिया
(२) स जातो



(c) North side.

Plate XII (a)

(i) Persian version :

(۱) الله محمد على

..... (۲)

..... راه (۳)

(۴) در زمان حضرت برهان نظام شاه

(۵) کام (?)

(ii) Marāṭhī version :

(१) मार्ग नीवगावा वरून वेळें

(२) गावास जातो

(d) West side.

Plate XIII (b)

(i) Persian version :

(۱) رسول الله الله محمد على

..... (۲) لا اله الا الله

..... (۳) راه

(۴) در زمان حضرت برهان نظامشاه

(ii) Marāṭhī version :

(1-2) Obliterated.

TRANSLATION

(a) (i)

(1) Allāh, Muḥammad, 'Alī.

(2)

(3) In the reign of His Majesty Burhān Nizām Shāh

(4) [in the] months of the year one thousand (A.H. 1000=1591-92 A.D.). The road above the village Regāvī..... is the route to Daulatābād.

(ii)

(1-2) The route from Nivagāon (i.e. Nimgaon) goes to Daulatābād.

(b) (i)

(1) Allāh, Muḥammad, 'Alī.

(2-3) In the reign of His Majesty Burhān Nizām Shāh

(4-5) [in the] months of the year one thousand (A.H. 1000=1591-92 A.D.) in the direction of Q [K]inwat, from the foot of the village Nimgām the route leads to Gālnā hill.

(ii)

(1-2) The route from Nivagāon leads to Gālnā.

- (c) (i)
 (1) Allāh, Muḥammad, 'Alī.
 (2-3)road (leads to).....
 (4) In the reign of His Majesty Burhān Nizām Shāh
 (5)[leads to].....gām(?).
 (ii)
 (1-2) The route from Nivagāon leads to Belegāun (?).
- (d) (i)
 (1-2) There is no God but Allāh, [Muḥammad] is the prophet of Allāh. Allāh, Muḥammad, 'Alī.
 (3)road.....Nimbāiti
 (4) in the reign of his Majesty Burhān Nizām Shāh.
 (ii)
 (1-2)¹

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This direction-stone was found at Somāripet, a village close to Kherlā, towards its south-west, in Betul district of Madhya Pradesh.² The slab measuring 80 by 140 cms. is fixed up into the ground in the village and contains ten lines of writing of which six are in Persian and four in Marāṭhī.³ The Persian text refers to the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh (II), bears the date 1591-92 and states that the road on one side goes to Ellichpūr and that on the other side leads to Chāndā. In the text reference is also made to the royal order in pursuance of which the sign-post was set up. The Marāṭhī portion only mentions the name of the king, the date and the route to Ellichpūr.

The epigraph was first noticed in the District Gazetteer, but due to its incomplete and incorrect reading the name of the Ahmadnagar monarch was taken to be that of a Muhammadan governor under the king of Mālwa.⁴ From the reading quoted below, the epigraph is proved beyond any doubt to contain a Nizām Shāhī record.

The Persian and Marāṭhī texts are carved in relief in *Nasta'liq* and *Nāgarī* characters, whose only merit is their boldness. This is an extremely important record. Like the Kherlā-Rāwanbāri record to be studied next, it was found not only in what can be reasonably called the north-easternmost limit of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom but in the heart of the Kherlā kingdom, which figures prominently in the events of the Bahmanī rule, and fills up a gap in its history intervening the Mālwa and the Mughal rules. It also corroborates as stated in the introductory lines, the statement of the Nizām Shāhī historian 'Alī Tabāṭabā, that during Mirzā 'Azīz Koka's governorship of Mālwa (c. 1593-95), Hāndiā, now in Hoshangābād district, formed the border between the province of Mālwa and the kingdom of Deccan.⁵ It is also proved from these two epigraphs from Betul district (which borders on Berār) that the Nizām Shāhī occupation of Berār had also included the region upto Betul and possibly Hāndiā.

¹The writing in this part has totally peeled off.

²ARIE, 1966-67, No. D, 48 and No. B, 17c.

³Apparently the fourth line of the Marāṭhī text is buried in the ground.

⁴Central Provinces District Gazetteers (CPDG), Betul District (Allahabad, 1907), pp. 36, 246. Also see B. B. Hirālāl, *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the C.P. & Berar* (Nagpur, 1916), p. 79, No. 111.

⁵Tabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 649; Rādhā Shyam, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-80, 209, 270.

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII (b)

(i) *Persian version :*

- (۱) در زمانه حضرت
 (۲) برهان نظام شاه
 (۳) شهر سنه الف
 (۴) بر حکم فرمان سلطانی
 (۵) صادر شد که یک جانب
 (۶) راه ایلچ پور دیگر راه چاند

(ii) *Marāṭhī version :*

- (१) दर जमाने हजरती बु
 (२) रहान निजाम स्याहा सु॥ अ
 (३) छफ येक वाट अळछपुर
 (४)

TRANSLATION

(i)

- (1) In the reign of His Majesty
 (2) Burhān Nizām Shāh
 (3) [in] the months of the year one thousand
 (4-5) in pursuance of the royal *farmān* which was issued (it is notified that) on one side, the
 (6) road leads to Illichpūr (i.e. Ellichpūr) (and) the other road is to Chāndā.

(ii)

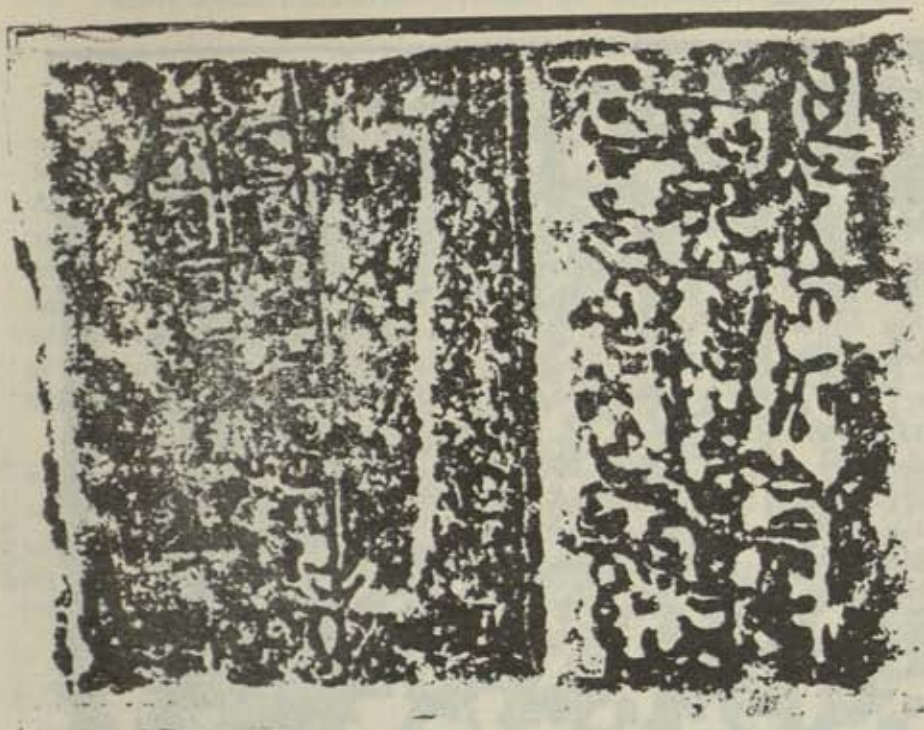
(1-2) In the reign of Hajrati Burhān Nijām Syā (i.e. Shāh), months of the year one thousand (A.H. 1000=1591-92 A.D.).

(3) One route leads to Alachhpūr (i.e. Ellichpūr).

(4)

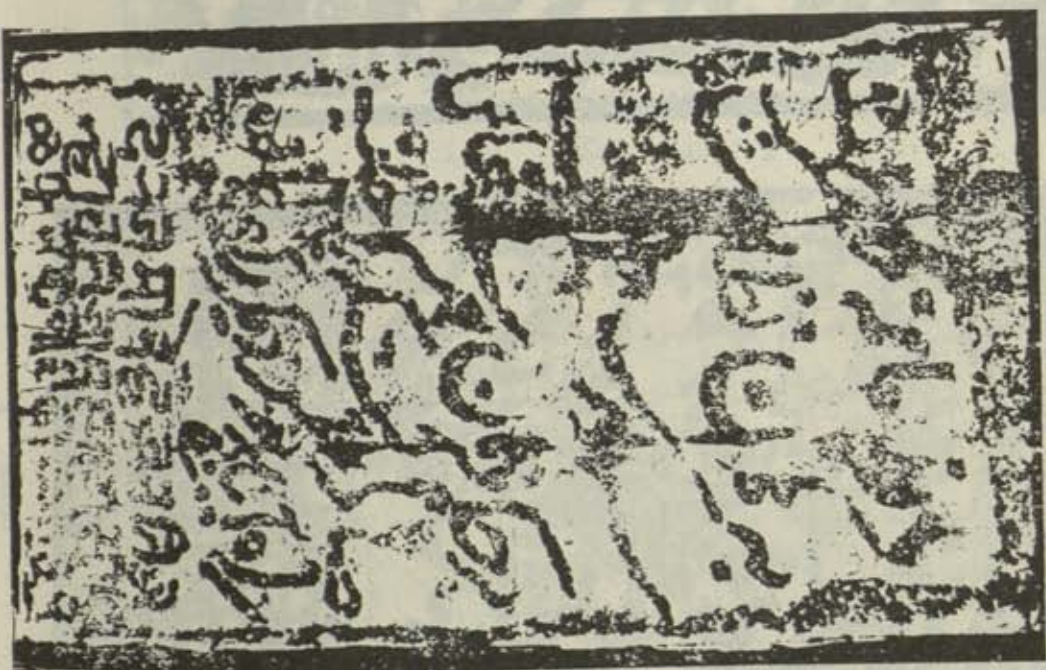
The towns mentioned in the record viz. Ellichpūr and Chāndā are well-known. The epigraph shows that this part of the country was connected even in those days to Ellichpur, the capital of Berār (now in Amrāoti district of Mahārāshṭra) on the south-west and to far off Chāndā, now a district headquarters in Mahārāshṭra, beyond Nāgpur on the south-east, on the trunk line to Madras,

(a) Damaged epigraph, from Nimbūt (p. 52)



SCALE : .22

(b) Record, dated A. H. 1000, from Somāripet (p. 51)



SCALE : .1

PLATE XIII

(a) Epigraph, dated A. H. 1000, from
Rāwanbāri (p. 55)



SCALE: .1

(b) Damaged record from Nimbāit (p. 52)



SCALE: .3

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The next epigraph of Burhān NiẒām Shāh II in this group is also bilingual and appears on a slab fixed in at Rāwanbāri situated very close to Kherlā in Betul district. The tablet is lying loose by the side of a cart track at a distance of about a kilometre from Rāwanbāri,¹ and measures 80 cms. by 1.40 m. It contains a text of seven lines in Persian followed by three in Marāṭhī carved in relief. The Persian text, as in the case of the Somāripeṭ record, is engraved in bold *Nasta'liq* letters, otherwise of no distinctive merit, and while referring to its being set up in the reign of Burhān NiẒām Shāh (II) in the months of the year (A.H.) 1000 (1591-92 A.D.), purports to indicate the road in one direction to Jiwāpūr, in another to Bhawargāh, in the third to Asīr, in the fourth to Pratāpghāh and in the fifth to Sāliyā. The Marāṭhī portion as in the case of the Somāripeṭ record merely refers to the reign of the king and quotes the date.

In the Betul District Gazetteer, reference has been made to 'two stone pillars on which the distances are marked, which are signed by Burhān Shāh, Gond Rāja of Deogarh, and are of comparatively recent origin'.² It is difficult to say for certain if the two inscriptions under study are intended, but the purport given including the name of the king strongly points to that being the case. If so, the present study will make it clear that these records have nothing to do with the Gond king but were set up by Burhān NiẒām Shāh II of Ahmadnagar.

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIII(a)

(i) Persian version.

- (۱) در زمان حضرت برهان
 (۲) نظام شاه شہور سنہ
 (۳) الف یک جانب راہ
 (۴) جیوا (؟) پور و دیگر راہ بہور گروہ
 (۵) سیوم راہ اسیر
 (۶) چہارم راہ پرتاب
 (۷) گرہ پنجم راہ سالیہ

(ii) Marāṭhī version.

- (१) दर जमाने हजरती
 (२) बुरहान निजाम स्या
 (३) सू ॥ अळफ

¹ *ARIE*, 1966-67, Nos. D, 47 and B, 175.

² *CPDG*, Betul District, p. 246.

TRANSLATION

(i)

- (1) In the reign of His Majesty Burhān
- (2) Nizām Shāh (in the) months of the year
- (3) one thousand (A. H. 1000=1591-92 A. D.). On one side is the road to
- (4) Jiwāpūr and on the other is the road to Bha(n)wargarh.
- (5) On the third (side) is the road to Asīr.
- (6) On the fourth (side) is the road to Pratāp-
- (7) garh and on the fifth (side) is the road to Sāliyā.

(ii)

- (1) In the reign of His Majesty
- (2) Burhān Nizām Syā (i. e. Shāh)
- (3) (in the) months of (the year) one thousand (A. H. 1000=1591-92 A. D.).

Both the Somāripet and Rāwanbāri records are situated within a couple of kilometres from each other and also within a radius of about a kilometre from Kherlā which was conquered by Firūz Bahmanī but was restored to its ruler.¹ Afterwards it was taken by Hoshang Shāh of Mālwa. It is believed to have continued as part of that kingdom till 1560, when Mālwa was taken by Akbar. But that this is not correct, is shown by this as well as the previous record. These records clearly show that sometime before 1591, the date when these were set up, the region had been occupied by the Nizām Shāhī kings of Ahmadnagar and formed part of their kingdom. In other words, as stated above, these records fill a gap in our knowledge of the history of the region.

One of the places mentioned in the text is Asīr. The celebrated Asīrgarh is situated at a distance of about 160 kilometres to the west south-west. There is one more Asīrgarh in Betul district itself which is situated about 65 kilometres to the north-east of the district headquarters.² This is perhaps likely to be the place mentioned in the epigraph. Of the rest, Bhawargarh is very probably Bhanwargarh of the maps: Situated at a distance of about eleven kilometres due west of the Barbatpur Railway Station, on the Betul-Itārsi section of the Central Railway, it lies north north-west of Rāwanbāri. Sāliyā of the record is perhaps Sālaiyā of the maps. There are three places bearing this name. Of these Sālaiyā situated in 22° 05' and 78° 05' at a distance of about thirty kilometres north-west of Bordahi Khās Railway Station on the Amla-Parasia section of the Central Railway, is likely to be the one mentioned in the record.³ The other two places bearing the name are further up, at a distance of more than 80 kilometres towards north and north-east respectively, of this Sālaiyā, which is nearer to and to the north north-east of the findspot of the record. Sālaiyā is a market place also. As to Pratāpgarh, two places bearing this name could be traced on maps: one is situated in 22° 25', 79° 35' (about 160 kilometres to the east north-east of Betul) and another 23° 15', 78° 35' (about 155 kilometres to the north north-east of Betul). One of these places has to be identical with Pratāpgarh of our record. The remaining place Jiwāpūr could not be located on the maps available to me.

¹ Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57. For a somewhat coherent history of the region, see CPDG, Betul District, pp. 25-38.

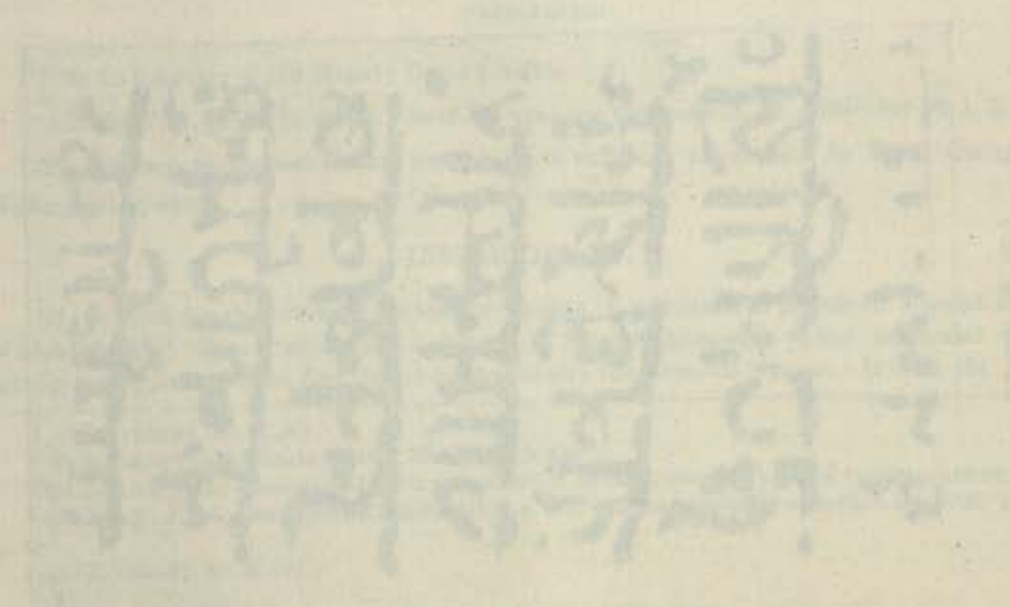
² CPDG, Betul District, p. 233.

³ It is shown in Half Inch Sheet No. 55 J/SW of the Survey of India Maps.



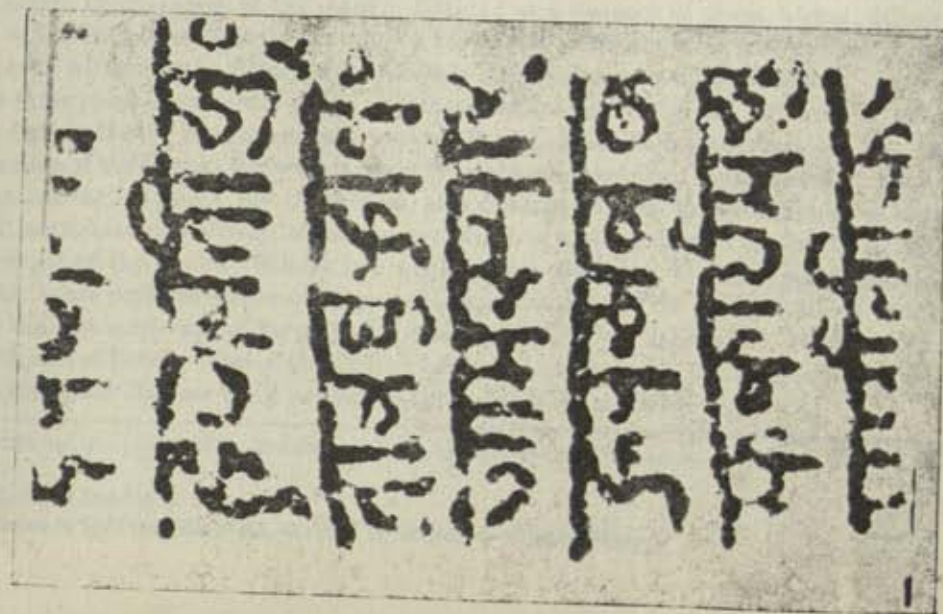
100-100000-100000

- (1) 100-100000-100000
- (2) 100-100000-100000
- (3) 100-100000-100000
- (4) 100-100000-100000



100-100000-100000

(a) Epigraph of A. H. 1000, from
Pāmār (p. 58)



SCALE : 24

(b) Inscription of the same date, from
Mehkar (p. 57)



SCALE : 22

INSCRIPTION NO. 6

This epigraph is also bilingual. It is from Mehkar in the Buldāpā district of Mahārāshṭra.¹ The slab is reported to have been found by Mr. R. A. Thengade, Lecturer in History, Arts and Commerce College, Mehkar, who sent its inked rubbing, prepared perhaps by him, to Dr. V. B. Kolte, then Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University. The latter, who referred to it in his article referred to above,² was kind enough to give it to me at my request, for which I am extremely grateful. It is not known if the record is published anywhere else.

Mehkar, the headquarters of a Tāluka, is a place of some antiquity.³ It was the headquarters of a *sarkār* in the time of Akbar.⁴

Unfortunately, the portion containing the Persian text has broken off and only the Marāṭhī version has survived. The latter consists of five lines of writing carved in relief in *Nāgarī* characters occupying a space of about 30 by 50 cms. As in the other records, this version mentions only the name of the king and the date A. H. 1000 (1591-92 A. D.), and the information on directions which was evidently contained in the Persian version is not available.

The Marāṭhī text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(b)

- (१) दर जमाने
(२) [ह]जरती बु
(३) रहान निजाम
(४) स्या सुदुर स
(५) न झळफ

TRANSLATION

(1-3) In the reign of His Majesty Burhān NiẒām

(4-5) Syā (i. e. *Shāh*), in the months of the year one thousand (A. H. 1000=1591-92 A. D.).

The epigraph shows that Mehkar was a town of sufficient importance in Berār during the NiẒām Shāhī period.

INSCRIPTION NO. 7

The seventh direction-stone of the time of Burhān II was found at Pāunār in Wardhā district of Mahārāshṭra.⁵ Pāunār situated at a distance of about 8 kilometres to the north-east of the district headquarters, is the first station on the railway line towards Nāgpur. It is an old village

¹ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. B, 201.

² *Maharashtra Times*, Bombay, dated 29th November 1970.

³ For the history and description of the town, see *CPDG*, Buldana District (Calcutta, 1910), pp. 448-60.

⁴ Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), p. 484. For an inscription of Mehkar, see *EIM*, 1907-08, p. 20.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. B, 201.

and has a history behind it.¹ Now shorn of its earlier importance, it has the traces of the old fort, one of the gateways of which, a large imposing structure of stone, was standing at least in the closing years of the last century.² Upon the gateway was an inscription in *Nāgarī* characters according to H. Cousens, and following him the District Gazetteer, but its contents were left undescribed.³

The gateway is now no more, but the epigraphical tablet is the same as one now fixed into the compound-wall of the house of Mr. Viṭṭhal Chimmāji Bangre—as was gathered by Mr. S. A. Rahim, then Epigraphical Assistant, who had visited the place to copy the record.⁴

As in the case of the Mehkar record, here too the Persian text is cut off and lost, with the result that the places to which the roads from Paunār led cannot be determined. The text in *Nāgarī* characters has survived the hand of neglect or vandal, but it merely states that the slab was set up in 1591-92, during the reign of Sultān Burhān Nizām Shāh. The Persian text, now lost, evidently contained the purport proper of the epigraph. It is a pity that the Persian texts of all the three Nizām Shāhī direction-stones found so far in the Berār region, including the one from Kalamb referred to above, are either damaged beyond recognition, as in the case of the last mentioned or lost as in the case of this and the previous epigraph. It may be more than a coincidence. While it is difficult to say if these have been purposely destroyed, the fact remains that the information sought to be conveyed has been lost to us for ever.

It may be noted that the language of the *Nāgarī* record is Persian. It reads as under :-

TEXT

Plate XIV(a)

- (१) दर जमाने
(२) हजरती मुळ
(३) तान बुरहान नि
(४) जाम स्या सु
(५) हूर सन अळ
(६) फ काइम सु [द]^१
(७) मार्ग.....फ.....

TRANSLATION

(1-7) In the reign of Hajrati Sultān Burhān Nizām Syā (i. e. Shāh), in the months of the year one thousand (A. H. 1000=1591-92 A. D.), this was set up. The road.....

¹ For the history and description of Pāunār, see *CPDG*, Wardha District (Allahabad, 1906), pp. 252-53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 253. The description of the fort is taken from H. Cousens, *List of Antiquarian Remains in the Central Provinces and Berar* (Calcutta, 1897), p. 10.

³ *CPDG*, Wardha District, p. 263; Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1966-67, No. B, 201. There is only one Arabic-Persian record at Pāunār. It contains only religious text and is assignable to 16th-17th century on palaeographical grounds (*ibid.*, No. E, 182).

⁵ This phrase was commonly used in Marāṭhī records.

Burhān Nizām Shāh III

INSCRIPTION NO. 8

This is the only epigraph of Burhān III in the present group and also its last. On enquiry I had informed Dr. V. B. Kolte about the Marāṭhī version of this epigraph, the impression of which was prepared at his instance by an officer of the Department of Archaeology, Government of Mahārāshṭra, Bombay. The slab is fixed on the side of a road to Borlai Panchāyatan, from Dive-Agar, in Shrivardhan Tāluka of Kolābā district of Mahārāshṭra, at a distance of about a kilometre from either place. Dr. Kolte who published a reading of its Marāṭhī portion in his article referred to above,¹ was kind enough to make its rubbing available to me. It is from that impression that the Persian text of the epigraph is being published here for the first time.

This is also a bilingual inscription occupying a total writing space of 40 cms. by 1.20 m. and runs into twentyfour lines of which the first eight are in Persian and the remaining sixteen in Marāṭhī, all carved in relief. The Persian text is engraved in *Naskh* characters of a fairly good type but the letters have lost their prominence of relief and have peeled off at a few places due to weathering of the slab.

The Persian part of the epigraph records that in the reign of the just king Burhān Nizām Shāh in the *Shuhūr* year 1010 (A. H. 1018-1609 A. D.), this road-direction stone was set up at *pargana* Div and that the road to the east leads to *pargana* Borlai; on west to the sea, on the south to *pargana* Shrivardhan and on the north to *ma'āmala* Ḍandā. The Marāṭhī text supplies an additional piece of information, namely that there is a ferry at Dighi on the route to Ḍandā.

This epigraph is a very valuable document not only because it adds one more to the seven records known so far, of Burhān Nizām Shāh III,² whose very existence in the Nizām Shāhī dynasty is primarily established on the basis of his inscriptions, but also because according to me, it is the earliest of his epigraphs hitherto discovered. As explained in the introductory lines, the date of the record is to be taken as *Shuhūr* 1010 i.e. A. H. 1018 (1609 A. D.), while his earliest known record is dated A. H. 1019.³ Dr. Yazdānī who was the first to establish his identity fixed the year of his accession as A. H. 1019 (1610 A. D.) on the authority of an inscription from the Antur Fort and also on the basis that the *Basātinu's-Salāṭīn*—a 19th century work—continues to mention Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh II till the year A. H. 1020 (1611 A. D.).⁴ But this does not appear to be a very sound basis. The events of the last days of Murtaḍā II may perhaps be recounted here. From the time that Murtaḍā II had intrigued with some nobles to dispose off Malik 'Ambar in A. H. 1016 (1607 A. D.), the latter wanted to depose Murtaḍā II, but desisted on the intervention of Ibrāhīm II 'Ādil Shāh, and marched, with the king, to Junnār.⁵ According to the *Basātin*, in *Shuhūr* 1009 (A. H. 1017-1608 A. D.), Murtaḍā II shifted his capital from Junnār to Daulatābād.⁶ In 1609, when Malik 'Ambar became free from all troubles, he turned his atten-

¹ In Dr. Kolte's reading, the 22nd line is not given. Since listed in *ARJE*, 1970-71, No. D 116 and No B 103.

² *EIM*, 1919-20, p. 12 (pl. VIII), p. 14 (pl. VII a and b); *ibid.*, 1933-34 (Supplement), p. 22 (pls. XIIIc and XIIIa); *ibid.*, 1949-50, p. 6 (pl. IIIa); *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 58-59 (pl. XV).

³ *EIM*, 1919-20, p. 12.

⁴ *EIM*, 1919-20, pp. 13-14. There seems to be a misprint in the equivalent of the dates A. H. 1020 (1610 A. D.) on p. 13 and A. H. 1019 (1611 A. D.) on p. 14. Dr. Rādhē Shyām, *op. cit.*, p. 292, also follows Dr. Yazdānī's reasoning.

⁵ Firāhta, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 166; Zubairī, *Basātinu's-Salāṭīn* (Hyderabad), p. 270; Rādhē Shyām, *Life and Times of Malik Ambar* (Delhi, 1968), p. 82.

⁶ Zubairī, *op. cit.*, p. 270. According to Dr. Rādhē Shyām, *loc. cit.*, p. 82, Malik 'Ambar brought him from Junnār to Daulatābād to keep him nearer to himself.

tion towards Murtaḍā II, to settle the score.¹ Now according to our record, dated *Shuhūr* 1010 (A. H. 1018-1609 A. D.), Burhān III was the king, which shows that 'Ambar must have ultimately succeeded in doing away with Murtaḍā II in 1609 itself.

This assumption is corroborated by other contemporary evidence too: The Mughal emperor Jahāngīr despatched Prince Parwīz on the Deccan assignment on the 14th Rajab 1018 (October 1609).² But before the latter reached Burhānpur, Jahāngīr received the news that 'Ambar had killed Murtaḍā II.³ Assuming that the journey from Āgrā to Burhānpur took one or even two months, Murtaḍā II must have been dead by the end of December 1609, if not earlier.

In view of the above, as well as of the epigraph under study, it would appear that Burhān III had ascended the throne in A. H. 1018 and not in A. H. 1019 as assumed by Dr. Yazdānī and others.⁴

Apart from this, the record under study helps us in dispelling the doubts about the Nizām Shāhī sovereignty over the Konkan region. It has been asserted that though Malik 'Ambar is stated to have recovered most of the territory from the Mughals soon after the fall of Ahmadnagar in 1600, local records seem to show that till 1618, the governors of Pāndā-Rājpurī were Mughal officers.⁵ But from the present record, it is clear that at least until 1609, this area was under the Nizām Shāhī rule.

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

TEXT

Plate XV

(i) Persian version.

- (۱) در زمان بادشاه عدالت پناه خلافت
 (۲) دستگاه برهان نظامشاه خلد الله
 (۳) ملکه و [سلطان] انه و زاد عدله و
 (۴) [۱] حسانه شهبو[ر] سنه الف عشر در پرگنه
 (۵) دیو نشان راهها ثبت کرده شد
 (۶) راه مشرق پرگنه بورلیه و جانب مغرب
 (۷) دریاء شور و جانب جنو[س] (؟) ب [پر] گنه شریور
 (۸) دهن جالب [شمال] معامله دندا

¹ Rādhē Shyām, *loc. cit.*

² *Tārūkh-i-Jahāngīrī* (Aligarh, 1864), p. 75.

³ 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nahāwandī, *Mas'ā'ir-i-Rāḥimī*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1925), p. 516.

⁴ *EIM*, 1919-20, p. 13; Rādhē Shyām, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 292 and *Life and Times of Malik Ambar*, p. 83.

⁵ *MSG*, Kolaba District, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁶ This should have been جنوب to correspond with the Marāṭhī text.

(ii) *Mārāṭhī version.*

- (१) दर जमाने पातस्या ज
- (२) म ज्या आदाळ[त]
- (३) पन्हा खिळाफत दस्त
- (४) गाह बुरहान निजा
- (५) म स्या खुळदळ मु
- (३) लकहु व सुळातानुहु
- (७) जाद अदळहु व अह
- (८) स्यानहू सुहर सन अळ
- (९) फाह आशर परगणे
- (१०) दिव निशान वाटा पुर्व
- (११) दिसे परगणे बोरलाए दक्षे
- (१२) णे श्रीवधन पण्चि
- (१३) मे दरीया उत्तरे परग
- (१४) णे दण्डा वाटन दिधीस
- (१५) तरी आहे मार्ग
- (१६) [इ] जे ॥१॥

TRANSLATION

(i)

(1-2) In the reign of the king, the asylum of justice, the possessor of the dignity of caliphate, Burhān Nizām Shāh, may Allāh perpetuate

(3) his kingdom and sovereignty and increase his justice and

(4) benevolence! (in) the Shuhūr year one thousand and ten (Shuhūr 1010=1609 A. D.), in the *pargana* of

(5) Div, the sign-post of roads was set up.

(6) The road to the east (leads to) *pargana* Borlai and on the west

(7) is the sea and on the south is the *pargana* Shriwar-

(8) dhan (and) on the north is the district (*mu'āmalā*) Dandā.

(ii)

(1-13) As in lines 1-8 above.¹

¹ Lines 9-21 constitute the Nāgarī transcript of the Persian version.

(14-15) There is a ferry on the route to Dandā at Dighi Road.....

(16)

Dive-Āgar--Āgar Panchāitan of the Survey maps¹ is now reduced to a small village, situated about two kilometres to the west of Borlai, which is mentioned in the text as a *paigana*. Shriwardhan is a Tāluka headquarters situated towards south, while Dandā mentioned as a district towards north, known as Dandā-Rājpurī in earlier times, is now reduced to a small village situated on the other side of the Rājpurī Creek. Dandā was approached as stated in the Mārāthi text by the ferry at Dighi which can also be seen on the maps.

¹ Sheet No. 47 B & F.

SOME MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARĀT

By DR. Z. A. DESAI

A considerable number of Arabic and Persian inscriptions from Gujarāt belonging to different periods of its history have been brought to light in recent years by the Archaeological Survey of India,¹ and quite a few of them have been studied in the past numbers of this Series, such as for example, seventeen epigraphs of the Pre-Muslim or Rajput period,² twenty four of the Pre-Sultanate or *Khilji* and *Tughluq* period³ and fifty of the Sultanate period.⁴ Here it is proposed to study fifteen records, belonging to the time of Akbar and Jahāngir, out of a total of about sixty records of the post-Sultanate or the *Mughal* period.⁵ A few of these do not make an explicit mention of the reigning monarch, but being important in one way or the other, they have also been included.

The findspots of these inscriptions make an interesting study in itself. They belong to places situated almost in all the parts of the present boundaries of Gujarāt—Kadi and Pātan in northern, Māngrol in western, Baroda, Cambay and Sarkhej in central, and Vāsraṇi in southern Gujarāt. Again, Pātan has the largest number, totalling 7, Cambay and Māngrol coming next with 2 each and the remaining places having 1 each. This is not without interest, corroborating as it does the statement of Professor M. S. Commissariat that 'as under the Sultanate, also during the *Mughal* imperial rule, the towns to the north and north-east of Ahmadābād, in the region now represented by the newly created districts of Mehsānā, Banās Kānṭhā and Sābar Kānṭhā , play a part in Gujarāt history not less prominent than the perhaps better known towns to the south of the capital.'

That these epigraphs constitute an important source for the history of Gujarāt under the early *Mughals* is too obvious to be emphasised here; they supply, as will be clear from their study in the following lines, important information even in the political field. They indicate, on the other hand, a somewhat larger area of building activities than is generally known. The largest number of these, or to be exact, seven, pertain to the construction or repairs of mosques (along with a tomb in one case). Among other non-secular buildings, the erection of tombs is mentioned in two, while one fragmentary record, now set up at a place other than to which perhaps it originally belonged, is an epitaph. On the secular side, two epigraphs refer to the foundation of a suburb, and one each to the construction of a market-place, a step-well and a fort-gate.

Also, these epigraphs provide new names in the list of local officials and noblemen, supply some new information about their personal and political career, particularly in the matter of dates and contain interesting information about some of the saints, their associates or descendants and the like, which is not to be had from available sources. For example, two of the inscriptions under study name trustees of two famous saintly establishments of Gujarāt—one at Pātan and the other at Sarkhej. The inscription set up to commemorate the construction of a market-place

¹ These are listed, as and when found, in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (A.R.I.E.)*.

² *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, pp. 1-24; *ibid.*, 1965, pp. 1-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 1962, pp. 1-40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1963, pp. 5-50; *ibid.*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 49-77.

⁵ A study of eight inscriptions of Shāh Jahān, originally included in this article had to be omitted for want of space. Incidentally, of the post-Shāh Jahān epigraphs, those of Aurangzeb form the largest number.

⁶ M.S. Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat*, vol. II (Bombay, 1957), p. 37.

—corresponding perhaps to the agricultural marketing yard of the present days—indicates the efforts on the part of the administration to ensure an equitable dealing to the producer;¹ this incidentally must have also ensured the proper and correct payment of the sales or purchase-levies to the state.

The language of these inscriptions in most cases is Persian. Arabic is employed only in five of them, which pertain to the reign of Akbar. The rest, including five more epigraphs of the time of that monarch are in Persian, mostly in verse. Palaeographically, there is nothing very remarkable about these inscriptions, except that among the scripts represented here, viz. *Naskh*, *Thulth* and *Nasta'liq*, we have some specimens of calligraphy of a fairly high order.

The impressions of these epigraphs were obtained, except otherwise stated, in the course of my official tours as well as that of some of my colleagues, to various parts of Gujarāt.

Akbar

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 982, FROM PĀṬAN (N. G.)

The inked rubbing of this inscription was received in 1961-62 from the then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroḍā. It seems to have been originally prepared by an officer of the Archaeological Department of the erstwhile Baroḍā State of which the region (roughly comprising the present Mehsānā district) in which Pāṭan, the findspot of the inscription is now situated, formed part.²

The loose slab bearing this epigraph was some time back reported to have been lying in the mosque attached to the Tomb of Maulānā Ya'qūb, situated about four hundred metres to the north-west of the famous Sahastralinga Tank outside the town.³ My efforts to trace it in 1969 proved futile, and on inquiry, I was told that the epigraphical tablet did lie for some time in the mosque but had disappeared a few years back.

Occupying a writing space of about 65 by 24 cms., the three-line Arabic text is executed in *Naskh* style which is somewhat akin to the style of writing employed in the late *Tughluq* and early Sultanate records of Gujarāt. The writing is affected by weather, and as a result, the letters having lost their prominence of relief, the text is not clearly intelligible in one or two places; particularly the word indicating the *nista* of the person mentioned therein does not admit of correct decipherment.

The epigraph, apart from quoting the famous Quranic verse occurring in mosque inscriptions records the construction of a mosque and a mausoleum 'for its master or occupant Sultān Dost Muḥammad Sultān a'n-Najrāvi(?)', in 1574, during the reign of emperor Akbar. The text being somewhat ambiguous, it is not possible to say for certain whose mausoleum was constructed, particularly since the tablet was not *in situ* and it is not known to what building it originally belonged. But very likely, the text seems to indicate that the mausoleum belonged to Dost Muḥammad Sultān who, it may be pointed out, is mentioned as deceased. The text could also

¹ That it was so is explicitly stated in an inscription of Shāh Jahān's time omitted from the present study, recording the construction of a *ganj*, i.e. a market (*ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 66).

² For the history and inscriptions of Pāṭan, the ancient capital of Gujarāt, see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1939-40, p. 3; *HIAPS*, 1961, p. 15 (where, in fn. 4 reference to books containing an account and history of the town of Pāṭan will be found); *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 1, 7, 8, 15; *ibid.*, 1963, pp. 11, 12, 13, 15, 23, 34, 35; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 51-103; *ibid.*, 1956-57, Nos. D, 90-103; *ibid.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 59-66; *ibid.*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 20-41; and *ibid.*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 38-65.

³ *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 38. The inscription on the mosque itself is studied in the following lines.

be interpreted to mean that Dost Muḥammad Sulṭān constructed the mosque and the mausoleum of his master or the master of the mosque, but in that case the omission of the name of the latter cannot be explained satisfactorily.

The importance of the record lies in the fact that it is the earliest record of Akbar found so far in Gujarāt, which was first conquered by that emperor in 1573. Also, from the tenor of the text, the occupant of the tomb, Dost Muḥammad Sulṭān, who could not be traced in available records, appears to have been a man of consequence, or perhaps a local official.

The text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ وَ إِنْ الْمَسَاجِدَ لِلَّهِ فَلَا تَدْعُوا مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحَدًا
(۲) بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ وَالْقُبَّةَ لِصَاحِبِهِ دُوسْتُ مُحَمَّدٍ سُلْطَانِ النَّجْرَآوِي (؟) تَعْمَدَاهُ (sic) اللَّهُ بِغُفْرَانِهِ
(۳) فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ الْمُظْفَرِ جَلَالِ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدِ الْكَبِيرِ بَادِشَاهِ غَازِي تَارِيخُهُ (؟) الثَّانِي

ربيع الاول سنة ۹۸۲

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh'.¹

(2) This mosque and this dome (i. e. mausoleum) for its occupant (lit. master) Dost Muḥammad Sulṭān an-Najrāwī (?), may Allāh cover him with His Forgiveness, were built.

(3) in the reign of the greatest king, the victorious, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī. Its date is second of Rabi'ul-Awwal year (A. H.) 982 (2 Rabi' I 982=22 June 1574).

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 985, FROM THE SAME PLACE

This neatly executed record also comes from Pāṭan. The tablet on which it is inscribed, measuring about 125 by 65 cms., was found on the central *mihrāb* of the Baṭī or Jāmi' Mosque of Maḥalla Mukhātawādā, by Dr. A. A. Kādiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant.² More than one third part of the slab is carved with three ornamental ogee-shaped pointed arches, the middle of which is inscribed with the First Creed. The text proper runs into five lines and is composed in Arabic of a somewhat florid and literary style, unlike in the case of most of the epigraphs. The style of writing is *Naskh* of quite a pleasant type. Even as the letters are written quite closely and are moreover slightly weather-beaten, the calligraphical effect is picturesque which speaks of the skill of its designer, whose name is unfortunately not mentioned. Incidentally, there appears to have crept in a couple of orthographical mistakes in the execution of the text.

The inscription records the construction of a mosque³ in 1577, by Ṣāliḥa Bānū, wife of Khwāja Khalīlu'llāh. The latter is stated in the text to have descended from Ḥaḍrat 'Abdu'llāh bin Jarīr

¹ *Qur'ān*, Chapter LXXII, verse 18.

² *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D. 64.

³ In view of the fact that a large number of Pāṭan inscriptions are not in situ, it is difficult to say if it is the same mosque on which the epigraph now occurs that was constructed.

a'l-Lishī al-Bajālī, who is described as one of the closest Companions of the Holy Prophet. The *Khwāja* is further mentioned in the text to have been, at the time of the construction of the mosque, the governor of Pāṭan. The array of titles used for emperor Akbar is worth notice. Such titles, which occur in the early Delhi Sultanate inscriptions, are found in quite a few epigraphs of Akbar pertaining to the early part of his reign.¹

The epigraph has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(a) Under the middle arch.

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(b) Below the above.

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ رَبَّنَا تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّا إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ قَدْ بَنَيْتَ هَذِهِ الْبُقْعَةَ الْمِيمُونَةَ فِي عَصْرِ السُّلْطَانِ الْأَعْظَمِ وَالشَّاهِ الْأَكْرَمِ مَانَكْ رَقَابِ أَمَّا (الْأَمَمُ؟)

(٢) سُلْطَانُ الْهِنْدِ وَالْعَجَمِ صَاحِبُ التَّاجِ وَالْعِلْمِ نَزَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَى الْعَالَمِ الَّذِي قِيلَ فِي حَقِّهِ عَدْلٌ مِائَةِ مِائَةٍ بِعَمَلِ الثَّقَلَيْنِ يُوَازِي جَلَالَ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدٍ أَكْبَرَ بِأَدْنَاهُ الْغَازِي خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ الْعَفِيفَةُ الصَّالِحَةُ الْكَرِيمَةُ الْمُحْسِنَةُ فَاطِمَةُ النَّسْوَانِ ذِي (فِي) طَاعَةِ

(٣) اللَّهُ مَرْيَمُ الزَّمَانِ فِي رَضْوَانِ اللَّهِ الْمُبْتَغِيَةِ بِنَاءَ هَذَا الْبُقْعَةِ إِلَى ثَوَابِ اللَّهِ الْجَلِيلِ وَالرَّاجِيَةِ إِلَى عَفْوِ اللَّهِ الْمَلِكِ الْعَلِيِّ صَالِحِهِ بَانُو مَنْكُوحِهِ خَوَاجَه خَلِيلِ اللَّهِ وَهُوَ مِنْ أَوْلَادِ مَنْ هُوَ أَحَبُّ الصَّحَابَةِ لِلرَّسُولِ الْعَرَبِيِّ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنِ جَرِيرٍ اللَّيْشِيِّ الْبُجْلِيِّ

(٤) فِي الْخَامِسِ عَشَرَ مِنْ شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْأُولَى سَنَةِ خَمْسٍ وَثَمَانِينَ وَتَسْعِمَايَةِ مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ وَكَانَ خَوَاجَه خَلِيلِ اللَّهِ الْمَشَارِ إِلَيْهِ حَاكِمًا وَغَامِلًا مِنَ الْحَضْرَةِ الْعَلِيَّةِ فِي هَذِهِ الْبَلَدَةِ الْمَشْهُورَةِ بِهِ يَتَنَ حَمَاهَا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى

(٥) عَنْ الْفَتَنِ فِي السَّنَةِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ بِكَرَمِهِ تَتِمُّ الْبَالِحَاتِ (؟) وَبِنِعْمَتِهِ جَعَلَ هَذَا الْعَمَلُ مِنَ الْبَالِحَاتِ الصَّالِحَاتِ كَمَا قَالَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَالْبَالِحَاتِ خَيْرٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّكَ ثَوَابًا وَخَيْرٌ أَمَلًا

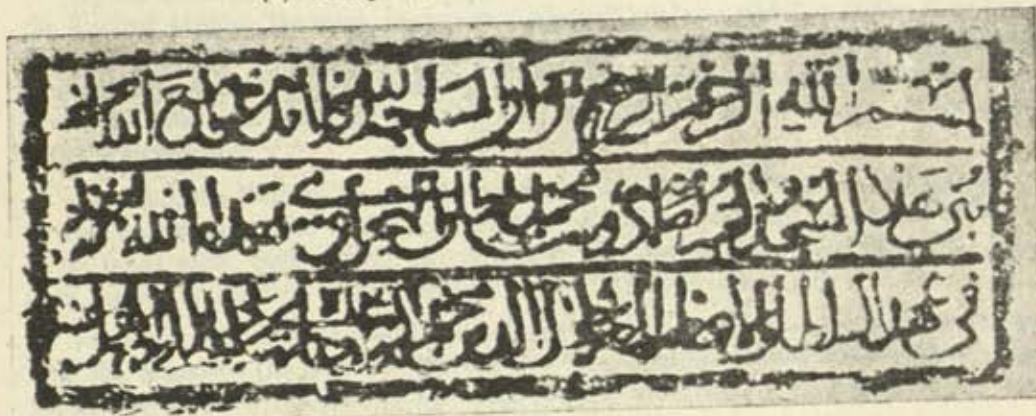
TRANSLATION

(a) First Creed.

¹ Cf. *FIAPS*, 1969, pp. 54, 63, 67, 68, etc.

AKBAR

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 982, from Pāṭan (p. 65)



SCALE : 22

(b) Record, dated A. H. 985, same place (p. 66)



SCALE : 14

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(b) (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'O Our Lord, accept (this) of us; verily, Thou art the Hearer, the Knower'.¹ The Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and blessings be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'. This auspicious edifice was built in the reign of the greatest Sultān and the most noble king, lord of the necks of nations,

(2) the monarch of Arabia and 'Ajām, master of the crown and the banner, the shadow of the Exalted Allāh on the earth, in respect of whom it has been said that justice done (by such a king) for a short while is equivalent to the (good) action of both the worlds (namely) Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh al-Ghāzī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, by the chaste, the pious, the noble and the benevolent lady, the Fāṭima² among the women (of the world) who is in the servitude of

(3) Allāh, the Mary of the age aspiring for the pleasure of Allāh, one who intends to seek, by the construction of this edifice, merit from the Manifest Allāh, and the hopeful of the pardon of the Great Allāh, Ṣāliha Bānū, wife of Khwāja Khalīlu'llāh who is descended from one of the most beloved Companions of the Arabian Prophet, 'Abdu'llāh son of Jarīr a'l-Līshī a'l-Bajālī,

(4) on the 15th of the month of Rabī 'u'l-Awwal, of the year five and eighty and nine hundred from the Migration (15 Rabī' I 985=2 June 1577). And the aforementioned Khwāja Khalīlu'llāh was the governor and the 'Āmil (i. e. Agent) appointed from the exalted court for this town, better known as Patan, may the Exalted Allāh protect it

(5) from mischief, in the said year. Praise be to Allāh that through his grace this merit (†) was achieved and with His bounty this action became one of the enduring charitable deeds, as the Exalted and Glorified Allāh has said, 'And the ever-abiding, the good works, are better with your Lord in reward and better in expectation'.³

This epigraph is one of the very few records pertaining to women. Also, it furnishes an interesting piece of information about the pedigree of the builder's husband, and supplies material for local history, disclosing as it does, one important link in the chain of local officials. The name of Khwāja Khalīlu'llāh is not met with in the annals of the period, not even in the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, which is somewhat surprising, for Pāṭan even after it ceased to be the capital of Gujarāt in the Sultanate period, continued to be an important place, to which generally, men of sufficient prominence were appointed. Khwāja Khalīlu'llāh who thus appears to have been one of the notable men of his time, held Pāṭan at least in 1577, the date of the record.

According to the text, the Khwāja's ancestor 'Abdu'llāh bin Jarīr al-Līshī al-Bajālī had the distinction of being a companion of the Holy Prophet. Now the doyen of Traditionists Imām Abū Ismā'īl Muḥammad Bukhārī (d. A.H. 256) mentions Jarīr son of 'Abdu'llāh al-Bajālī among the Companions of the Prophet and devotes a small section to him.⁴ Subsequent writers, like 'Abdu'l-Karīm Sam'ānī (d. A.H. 562)⁵ and Ḥāfiẓ Saḥīd-Dīn al-Anṣārī (tenth century A.H.),⁶ also call him Jarīr bin 'Abdu'llāh. But our epigraph calls him 'Abdu'llāh son of Jarīr. It is

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter II, verse 127.

² Daughter of Prophet Muḥammad.

³ Qur'ān, Chapter XVII, part of verse 46.

⁴ Imām Muḥammad, *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī Sharīf ma'a Muqaddama*, vol. I (Maṭba'a Hāshimī, Meerut, A. H. 1328), p. 539.

⁵ 'Abdu'l-Karīm a's-Sam'ānī, *Kitābu'l-Ansāb*, vol. II (Hyderabad, 1963), p. 91.

⁶ Ḥāfiẓ Saḥīd-Dīn al-Anṣārī, *Taḥḥīb al-Taḥḥīb li'l-Kamāl fi asmā'ir-Rijāl* (Cairo, A. H. 1301), p. 61. I was able to consult these works through the kindness of Maulānā Sayyid Aḥmad of the Madrasa Maḍīnatu'l-'Ulūm, Nagpur, to whom I am extremely grateful.

difficult to say which of the text is corrupt, though the possibility that 'Abdu'llāh had also a son named Jarir who was, like his father, a companion of the Prophet cannot be ruled out. But Sam'ānī's account indicates that the one mentioned by him is Khaillu'llāh's ancestor, as his account corroborates the statement of the epigraph that he was one of the loving companions of the Prophet.¹

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1006, FROM THE SAME PLACE

This inscription is from the tomb of one of the most celebrated exponents of the science of Tradition—Ḥadīth literature—that India has produced, namely Shaiḫ Muḥammad son of Tāhir of Pāṭan. It is engraved horizontally in four lines on a tablet measuring 85 by 25 cms. The tablet is fixed over the doorway of the Shaiḫ's Tomb situated in a large enclosure, on the outskirt of Pāṭan, just without the Khān-Sarovar Gate.² The record which is in Persian verse is incomplete, and it appears that some part of the tablet, on the left side, which contained the remaining portion of the text, is now missing.³

The metrical record is composed by Rāḍī and states that the construction of the tomb of Shaiḫ Muḥammad Tāhir who rendered yeomen services to the cause of the Ḥadīth literature took place in 1597-98 and that the Shaiḫ had expired on the 6th December 1578. As part of the text is missing, the person who constructed the mausoleum cannot be made out. The style of writing is Naskh of a fairly good type, but the overall effect is not equally pleasing as the alignment and arrangement are not quite perfect. The quality of verse is mediocre.

Shaiḫ Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, entitled Maliku'l-Muḥaddithīn (lit. Prince among the Traditionists), was celebrated throughout the Islamic world as an eminent Traditionist. Originally born of Bohrā parents, he was a great zealot for orthodoxy in religion. Born in A.H. 914 (1508 A.D.), he went to Hijāz at the age of thirty, after completing his education in India, and pursued higher studies particularly in the science of Tradition under great savants like Shaiḫ 'Alī Muttaqī and others. On his return to India, he zealously took up the cause of introducing religious reforms in his community and was killed on his way to Delhi to see emperor Akbar to seek his promised intervention and help in the matter. He also made great efforts for the spread of education, and being a man of substantial means, even helped deserving students with board, lodge and incidental expenses. He compiled a number of books on the science of Tradition, the most important of which, the voluminous Majma'u Biḥārī'l-Anwār, purporting to be an exhaustive dictionary of both the Ḥadīth and the Qur'ān, has been judged by competent critics to have 'almost eclipsed all the previous works of its kind'.⁴

The text of the inscription runs as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVII (c)

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| کاشف اسرار بشیر و نذیر | (۱) روضہ ربانی خیر خیر |
| ناکس اعلام طغاة شریر | دافع دایات حدیث ہدی |

¹ Sam'ānī, *op. cit.*

² *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. D. 85.

³ As far as it can be judged, about one third of the slab is missing.

⁴ M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature* (Allahabad, about 1946), pp. 43-44, 52, 152, 254, 403, where a complete list of the Shaiḫ's works as well as references to books containing his account will be found. To the latter may be added, Hakīm 'Abdu'l-Ḥayy, Yād-i-Ayyām in Urdu (Lucknow, 1926), pp. 55-56 and Nuzhatu'l-Khawāṣir in Arabic, part IV (Hyderabad, 1954), pp. 298-301. His biography entitled *Tadhkiratu'l-Allāma Shaiḫ Muḥammad bin Tāhir*, by 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb has been published by 'Idwatul-Musaniffa (Delhi, in 1945), but I have not seen it.

| Year | Month | Day | Time | Place | Event |
|------|-------|-----|-------|----------|---------|
| 1901 | Jan | 1 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Arrived |
| 1901 | Jan | 2 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Left |
| 1901 | Jan | 3 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Arrived |
| 1901 | Jan | 4 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Left |
| 1901 | Jan | 5 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Arrived |

1901 Jan 1-5

| Year | Month | Day | Time | Place | Event |
|------|-------|-----|-------|----------|---------|
| 1901 | Jan | 6 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Arrived |
| 1901 | Jan | 7 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Left |
| 1901 | Jan | 8 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Arrived |
| 1901 | Jan | 9 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Left |
| 1901 | Jan | 10 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Arrived |

1901 Jan 6-10

| Year | Month | Day | Time | Place | Event |
|------|-------|-----|-------|----------|---------|
| 1901 | Jan | 11 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Arrived |
| 1901 | Jan | 12 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Left |
| 1901 | Jan | 13 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Arrived |
| 1901 | Jan | 14 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Left |
| 1901 | Jan | 15 | 10:00 | St. Paul | Arrived |

1901 Jan 11-15

PLATE XVII

(a) Record, dated A. H. 991, from Kadi (p. 73)



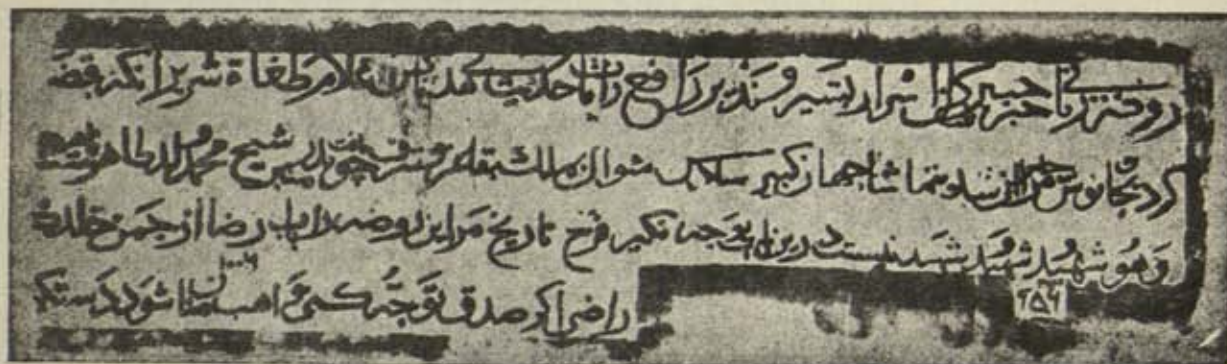
SCALE: .15

(b) Epigraph, dated A. H. 994, from Cambay (p. 74)



SCALE: .11

(c) Inscription, dated A. H. 1006, from Pāṭan (p. 68)



SCALE: .2

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | آنکه فضا |
| شد بتما شا [ء] جهان کبیر | (۲) کرد بجان نوس مران جامرا |
| عز و شرف یافت چو بدر منیر | سادس شوال بملکه بقا |
| نام ه | شیخ محمد ولد طاهر است |
| | |
| نیست درین باب بوجه نکیر | (۳) و هو شهید و شهید و شهید |
| | ۹۸۶ |
| باب رضا از چمن خلد گیر | فرخ تاریخ مرا این روضه را |
| ۱۰۰۶ | |
| | |
| | |
| واهب مفان شود د سنگیر | (۴) راضی اگر صدق توجه کنی |

TRANSLATION

(1) The good and divine mausoleum of the learned, the revealer of the secrets of the Bringer of good news and the Warner (i.e. Prophet Muhammad),

the upholder of the standards of the Tradition of the Guide, the humbler of the banners of the mischievous rebels,

he whom Divine Decree.....

(2) with pleasure he drank the cup (of death) (and) left for the sightseeing of the great (i.e. the other) world.

On the sixth of Shawwāl he was honoured with rank and position in the kingdom of eternity like the resplendent full moon.

He is Shaikh Muhammad, son of Tāhīr, the name.....

(3) 'And he is a Martyr, a Martyr, a Martyr'—(A.H.) 986 (6 Shawwāl 986-6 December 1578)—in this regard there is no denying the fact.

For the auspicious date of (construction of) this mausoleum, take (the words) 'the gate of Divine pleasure' (A.H.) 1006 (1597-98) from the garden of Paradise.

(4) O Rāḍī, if you sincerely pay attention (i.e. desire), the obliging Munificent (Allāh) will certainly help.

The dates for the two events as described above are given both in figures as well as in chronograms.

IV. FRAGMENTARY EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 991, FROM BAROḌĀ

The arch-shaped tablet measuring 53 cms. from apex to bottom and 35 cms. in width, on both sides of which this fragmentary but interesting epitaph is engraved in relief, was found by me in 1959 at the head of a grave in the courtyard of the Jāmi' Mosque of the famous city of BaroḌā.¹ The chief importance of the record lies in the fact that it has now been proved to be the epitaph of the famous Mughal nobleman and official Nawwāb Quṭb-i-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, youngest brother of emperor Akbar's foster-father Shamsu'd-Dīn Ataga Khān, who was governor of BaroḌā and Broach and was murdered by the orders of Sultān Muẓaffar III of Gujarāt in 1583.² There should be little doubt that the tablet is not *in situ*, for it must have been originally set up at the head of the grave of the Nawwāb who lies buried at BaroḌā itself in a grandiose mausoleum, situated at Danteshwar on the road leading to the Makarpurā palace of the Mahārājā of BaroḌā. The mausoleum, locally called Hajira—corruption of Ḥajira—is a massive brick structure octagonal on plan, built on an elevated platform, and is perhaps the only impressive extant Muslim monument of the city.³ It would be interesting to know when and why was the tablet detached from the Nawwāb's grave and how did it come to be fixed at the present place.

As the tablet is built up into the ground, it is difficult to ascertain if there was some inscribed portion thereof at the bottom, and if so it is missing or is underground. It is possible that the slab had already broken when it was brought and fixed up in the ground in the Jāmi' Mosque. In its present state, at least one fourth of the tablet is missing.

As stated above, the record is inscribed on both the sides, the text on each side comprising a Quranic verse between the bordered arch and a two-verse Persian Fragment in the two vertical borders. Like the Quranic texts, the two Fragments are incomplete, but their meaning is quite clear; each purports to give a chronogram for the martyrdom of the Nawwāb. In one of them, the full name Quṭb-i-Dīn Muḥammad has survived, while in the other, the title Nawwāb and the word Quṭb (lit pivot) are extant. These as well as the date of martyrdom, which according to the two chronograms, was A.H. 991 (1583 A.D.) leaves no room whatsoever for doubt that the epitaph relates to none other than Nawwāb Quṭb-i-Dīn Muḥammad Khān. It will be noted that it was this very year in which the last Gujarāt Sultān Muẓaffar III was able to regain, albeit temporarily, his throne.⁴

The calligraphy of the record is of a very high order, the text having been written in different scripts. The religious text is inscribed partly in plain *Naskh* and partly in plain *Tughrā* or *Tughrā-i-Ma'lūs*, while the versified historical text is executed in pleasing *Nasta'liq*.

¹ *ARIE*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 87-88.

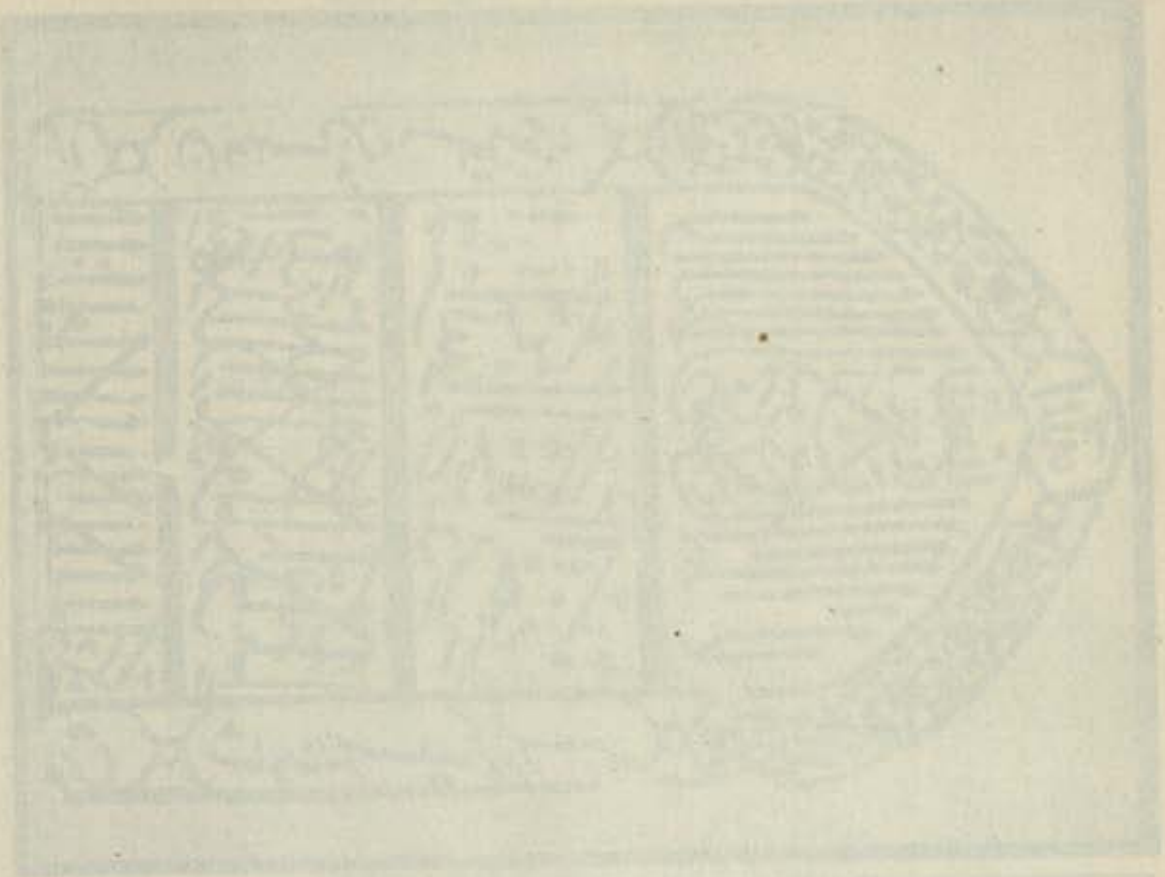
² For his career, see *Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ma'āthir-i-Umarā*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 56-59; H. Blochmann, *Eng. tr. Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1939), p. 354. The murder episode has been narrated in *Commisariat*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

³ *Commisariat*, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22 and plate facing page 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

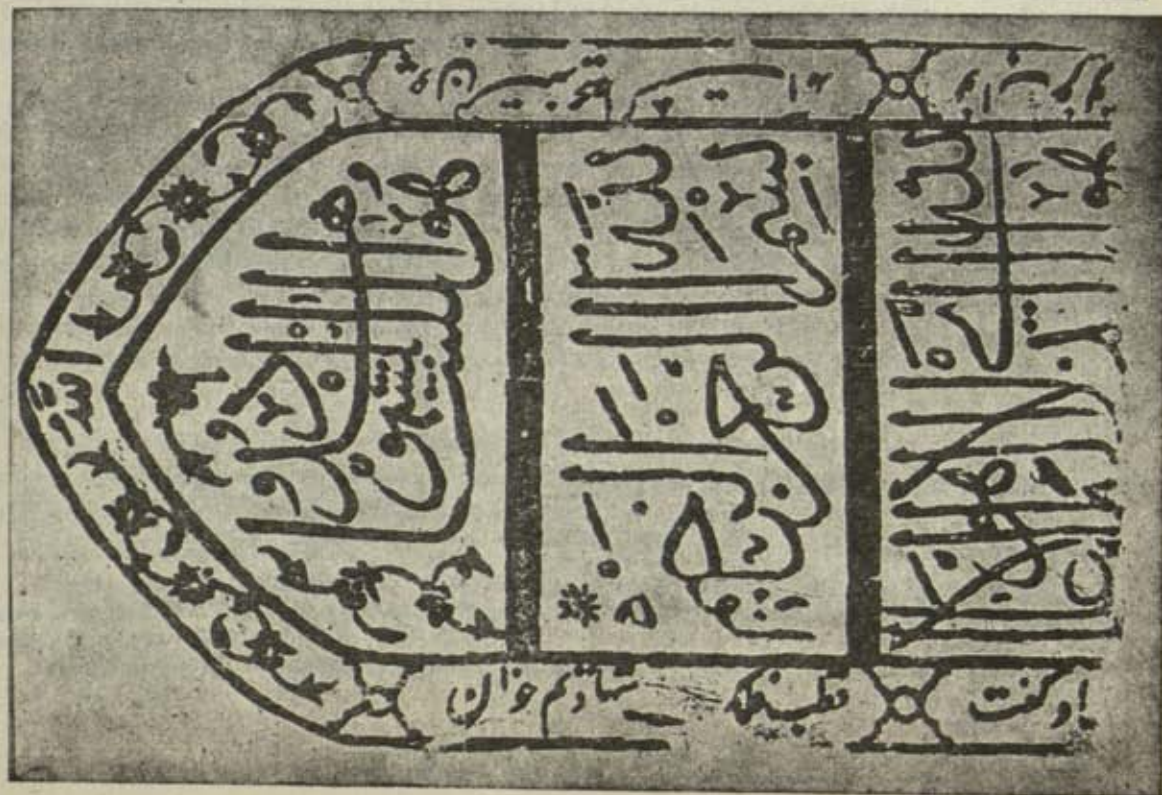
Printed and sold by J. B. Nichols, 100 Nassau Street, New York.

(1877) Printed in U.S.A.



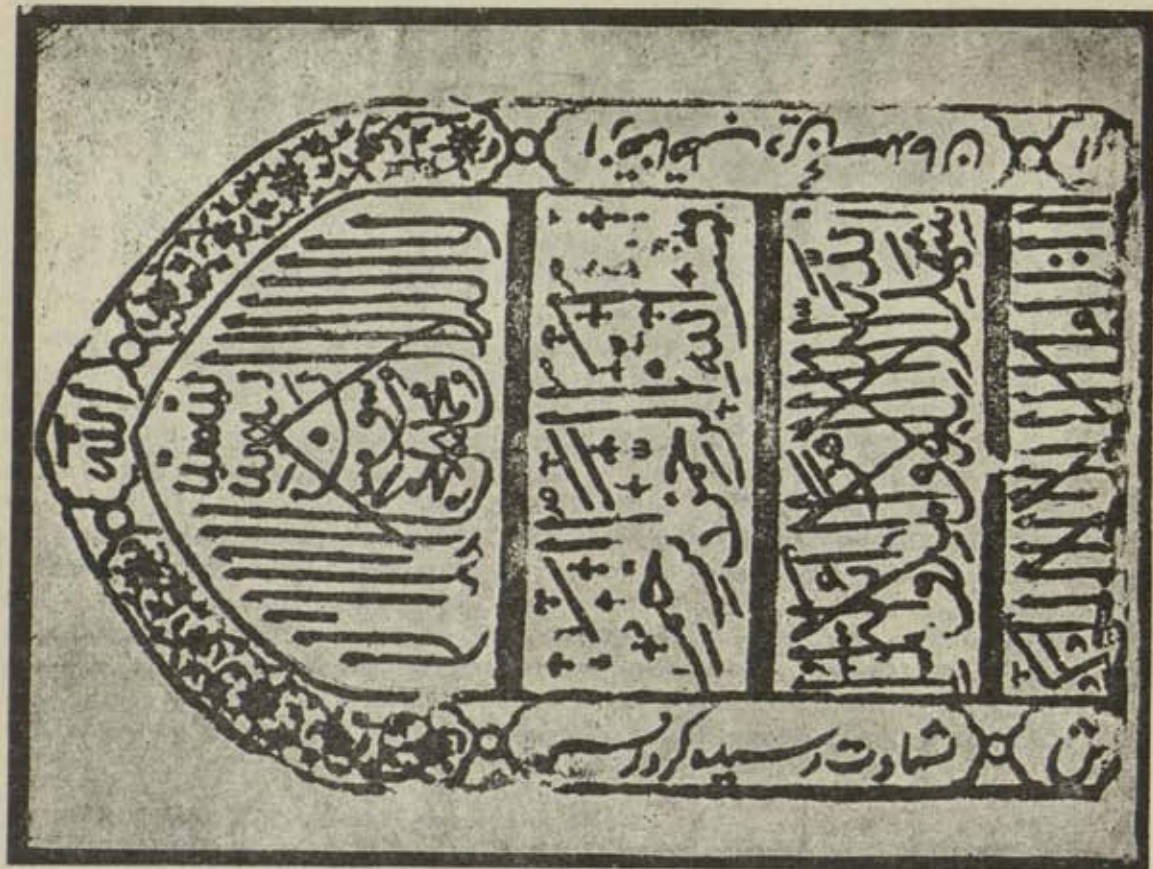
Fragmentary Epitaph, dated A. H. 991, from Baroḡā

(a) Reverse (p. 72)



SCALE: 26

(b) Obverse (p. 71)



SCALE: 26

The text on the obverse of the slab reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII(b)

(a) In the border.

(i) At the apex:

الله

(ii) Right and left sides :

آن از قضا قطب دین محمد خان
بشهادت رسیده کرد رقم [تاریخ] ش

(b) In the middle.

(i) Within the arch :

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(ii) Below it :

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(۲) شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا
(۳) العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم
..... (۴)

TRANSLATION

(a) i. Allāh.

ii. By the Divine decree, Quṭb-i-Dīn (i.e. Quṭbu'd-Dīn) Muḥammad Khān, that..... for his date,
..... wrote, 'he attained martyrdom' (A.H. 991=1583 A.D.).

(b) i. There is no god except Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

ii. (1) In the name of Allāh, the Benificent, the Merciful.

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

(3) [Surely, the true religion with Allāh is Islām and those to whom the book had been given did not show opposition but after knowledge had come to them out of envy among themselves].¹

¹ It appears that one more inscribed panel after this which probably contained the remaining Quranic text (supplied in the translation) is missing.

² Qur'an, Chapter III verses 17 and part of 18.

The text on the reverse reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII(a)

(a) *In the border.*

(i) At the apex:

الله

(ii) Right and left sides:

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| نواب غريق | چون فتنه محیط کشت آمد |
| قطب فلک شهادت خوان | او گفت |

(b) *In the middle.*

(i) Within the arch:

هو الشاهد و المشهود

(ii) Below it:

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 (۲) هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم
 (۳)

TRANSLATION

(a) i. Allāh.

ii. When Sedition encompassed everything (like an ocean), the Nawwāb became immersed in he said,
 "Call me 'the *Qutb* (pole-star) of the sphere of martyrdom'."

(b) i. And He is the Witness and the Witnessed.

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

(2) He is Allāh besides whom there is no god, the Knower of

(3) [the Unseen and the Seen. He is the Beneficent, the Merciful].¹

V. INSCRIPTION, ALSO DATED A.H. 991, FROM KADI

This epigraph, which pertains to the time of another famous Mughal official who was viceroy of Gujarāt for some time, namely Shihāb Khān, surprisingly omits any reference to the Mughal

¹ One more inscribed panel after this which must have contained the remaining part of the Quranic text (supplied in the translation) is missing.

² *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22.

emperor. The inscriptional tablet is of white marble and measures 85 by 45 cms. It was originally set up on the Jāmi' Mosque of the town of Kaḍi in Mōhsānā district, but seems to have been detached when the mosque was rebuilt in 1957; it was still lying loose when I had its impression taken in 1964.¹

Kaḍi now divested of any importance seems to have been an important strategic place in old days, particularly during the Muslim period. Unfortunately, all its early monuments have since disappeared, except the small but imposing citadel built by Nawwāb Martadā Khān Bukhārī in A.H. 1018, that is to say in the time of emperor Jahāngir according to its inscription.² The earliest Muslim epigraphical record in the town noted so far is of the time of Firūz Tughluq.³

The epigraph, which consists of four Persian verses, states that a mosque was built in the *khitta*⁴ of Karī (i.e. Kaḍi) in 1583-84,⁵ in the time of the great Khān Shihāb Khān. The year of construction is given both in figure as well as in a chronogram. There is no indication in the text about the name of the builder. As to Shihāb Khān, he is none other than Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad Khān, a noble of great abilities and reputation who replaced Wazīr Khān as the viceroy of the province towards the end of 1577 and continued in the post till 1583. The month of the year not being specified, it is not known in what part of that year the construction took place, but it may be of interest to know that it was to Kaḍi, the findspot of the inscription under study, where Shihāb Khān had repaired, on his recall as viceroy and en route to the royal court, towards the end of A.H. 991 and it was at this place that he was prevailed upon by the new viceroy I'timād Khān to assist him against Sulṭān Muzaḥḥar III who had already entered Ahmadābād. Shihāb Khān, a capable administrator and a revenue expert, has gone down in the history of Gujarāt as one of its best Mughal viceroys. He is stated to have constructed or repaired and strengthened in all about eighty forts at different strategic places in the province. He died at Ujjain in 1590.⁶

The text is executed in fair *Nasta'liq* and reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVII (a)

- (۱) در عهد خان مکرم آئین شهابخان
 کز وی امور ملت و دین بانظام شد
 (۲) تعمیر یافت مسجدی از خطه کروی
 مانند کعبه سجده که خاص و عام شد
 (۳) کردم چو فکر از پی تاریخ مال او
 کلکم باین کلام متین مشکفام شد
 (۴) ز احاد او اگر شماری بجز یکی
 گوید خرد که مسجد جامع تمام شد
 (۵) سنه ۹۹۱

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of the munificent Khān, Shihāb Khān, by whom the affairs of the community and the religion were properly conducted,

¹ *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 32.

² *Ibid.*, No. D, 33. It was published in G. Yazdāni and R. G. Gyāni, *Muslim Inscriptions in Baroda State* (Baroda, 1944), pp. 8-10. Also see Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47.

³ *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. D, 30.

⁴ For the connotation of this term, please see *ETAPS*, 1968, p. 10.

⁵ Only first three days of the year 1584 fell in A. H. 991 which ended on 3rd January, 1584.

⁶ For an account of his career, see *Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit.*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 567-70; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-53; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-15, 17-19.

(2) a mosque was constructed in the *khitta* of Karl (which), like Ka'ba, has become the place of prostration for the high and the low.

(3) When I pondered to find out the date of its construction, my pen became musk-coloured by (writing) this firm text :

(4) ' If you do not take into account its first digits except 1, Wisdom says (that the words) *the Jāmi' Mosque was completed* (will afford the date).

(5) Year (A.H.) 991 (1583-84 A.D.).¹

The date, as will be seen above, is afforded by the chronogram contained in the last couplet, yielding A.H. 991, which is also inscribed in figure. The ingenuity of the chronogram, whose composer has chosen to remain anonymous, lies in the fact that the date will be worked out only if its letters having the numerical values represented by the first digits other than 1, i.e. 2 to 9, are omitted in reckoning.

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 994, FROM CAMBAY

Cambay, the findspot of the inscription under study, was the capital of the erstwhile State of the same name and is, now, a Tāluka headquarters in the Kairā district. It was a flourishing commercial emporium and a world-mart in the 14th century and also the Sultanate and the post-Sultanate periods.²

The inscriptional tablet measuring 122 by 35 cms. is reported to have been fixed on the Three Gates of the town,³ which like its more famous counterpart in Ahmadābād, opens out into the business thoroughfare. The record is quite interesting in that it refers to the construction of a ' beautiful and wonderfully planned ' market-place (*sūq*) which was completed in 1585-86 in the reign of emperor Akbar. It is difficult to say if the original market exists or not. Very probably, it does not.⁴ From its brief description contained in the text it seems to have comprised a number of shops. Also of interest is the reference, by implication, in the text, to the custom of decorating the market with silk and brocade evidently to attract the customers. Though not specifically mentioned so in the text, the market seems to have been constructed by the government. The year of construction is given both in the figure as well as by a chronogram.

The text of the epigraph comprises three Persian verses of a fairly high order which are inscribed vertically on the slab in *Nasta'liq* characters of a fairly pleasing type and read as under :

TEXT

Plats XVII (b)

(a) Right vertical panels.

بدیع الطرح سوق دل فریبا

بدور شاه اکبر شد مکمل

¹ See foot-note 5, on p. 73.

² For a brief account of Cambay and its monuments and inscriptions, in addition to the references cited in *SIAPS*, 1961, pp. 3 (f. n. 7), 4 (f. n. 1-5), please see *ibid.*, 1957 and 1958, p. 29; *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 4, 7, 9, 17, 19, 22; *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 3, 5-6, 19, 20, 26-27, and *ibid.*, 1963, pp. 10, 18, 21, 32, 36, 39, 42, 49; *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 36.

³ *ARIE*, 1964-65, No. C, 43. Its inked rubbing was received from the office of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda.

⁴ This market must have been on the pattern of the Iranian Bazaars of Tehrān, Isfahān, etc.

(b) *Middle vertical panels.*

چه مرغوب قلوب آمد چه حاجت کز استبرق بیارایند و دیبا

(c) *Left vertical panels.*

خرد تاریخ اتمامش رقم زد عمارتها عجیب و سوق زیبا

TRANSLATION

- (a) (1) In the time of the king Akbar, was completed
 (2) a heart-ravishing market of marvellous plan.
 (b) (1) Since it has (already) captivated (the) heart (of everybody), what is the need
 (2) of adorning it with silk and brocade?
 (c) (1) Wisdom wrote down the date of its completion (in the words):
 (2) *Wonderful buildings and a beautiful market* (A.H.) 994 (1585-86 A.D.).

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 996, FROM PĀṬAN

This is one of the few inscriptions which give some more detailed purport than is generally met with in the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of India. The epigraphical tablet measuring 95 by 40 cms. is fixed over the central *mihrāb* of the mosque situated in the compound of the saint *Makhdūm Ḥusāmū'd-Dīn Mūltānī* (d. A.H. 736), one of the eminent disciples of the celebrated *Ḥaḍrat Nizāmū'd-Dīn Auliya* of Delhi, and contains eight lines of closely written text in Arabic which furnishes the information that the renovation of the mosque¹—for that is evidently intended by the words 'this place' in the text, which begins with the famous religious formulae usually occurring in mosque inscriptions—inside the enclosure of the *Dargāh* of the pious *Shaikh* and holy *Imām*, namely *Ḥusāmū'd-Dīn*, who expired in A.H. 736 (1336 A.D.)—as yielded by the chronogrammatic phrase describing him as 'Master of inspiration *Ḥusāmū'd-Dīn*'—was carried out in 1588 by the orders of the noble and brave Sayyid and the magnificent chief, Sayyid *Qāsim* son of Sayyid *Maḥmūd*,² under the supervision of *Manjhla*, son of *Jalāl Bahlīm*. The last-mentioned is spoken of in the text as an old retainer or attendant of the Sayyid. Reference is also made in the text to the fact that the saint was a spiritual successor of the celebrated *Ḥaḍrat Nizāmū'd-Dīn Qāshī* of Delhi. It further states that the work was undertaken at the suggestion of *Hāfiz Shaikh Kabīr Muḥammad* son of *Ishāq*, the hereditary trustee of the place, the latter having been advised (in a dream) by the *Makhdūm* (i.e. the saint) to have it renovated. The Arabic text is stated to have been composed by 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf son of Abu'l-Qāsim an-Nāgaurī (i.e. of Nāgaur) al-Anṣārī, and inscribed by 'Abdu'l-Qādir son of 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf. That the scribe and the composer are not son and father, as may otherwise be suggested

¹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 92.

² The mosque was originally built, according to the inscription now appearing over its left *mihrāb*, in 1495 during the reign of *Sulṭān Maḥmūd I* of Gujarāt (*ibid.*, No. C, 91 and *ELAPS*, 1963, p. 35, pl. Xa).

³ For an account of the saint, see *Faḍl Abmad, Aḡkār-i-Abrār* being the Urdu translation of *Muḥsin ma d bin Ḥasan Qāshī's Gulzār-i-Abrār* (Agra, A. H. 1328), pp. 102-03; 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq Dihlawi, *Aḡlār-i-Abrār* (Delhi, A. H. 1332), pp. 89-91; 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i-Aḡmadī*, Supplement (Faroda, 1930), p. 113; *Qulām Sarwar, Khāzina-i-Aḡfiyā*, vol. I (Kanpur, 1902), p. 343; 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān, *Tadhkirat-i-Auliya-i-Dakan*, vol. I (Hyderabad, A. H. 1332), pp. 287-90.

⁴ The epitaph of Sayyid *Maḥmūd* may still be seen at *Majhera* in *Muzaffarnagar* district of *Uttar Pradesh* (see *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 302).

by the name 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf, is clear from another inscription from Pāṭan studied in the following lines (p. 82, *infra*), where his full name is given as 'Abdu'l-Qādir son of 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf al-Yamanī.

The inscription thus provides quite useful information, particularly in regard to the hereditary trustee and attendant of the shrine of the saint; this is all the more important as this type of information is not generally available from any source other than the Pedigree-Trees (*shajara*) which are generally frowned upon as unreliable by historians. That these Pedigree-Trees are not unreliable is proved by the present epigraph also.¹ In the Family-Tree supplied by the present Sajjāda of the saint, Mr. Shujā'u'd-Dīn Fārūqī, M.A., B.T., who is seventeenth in line from the saint, the names of Muḥammad Ishāq and Kabīru'd-Dīn occur as the fifth and sixth descendants. Our epigraph, while corroborating the Tree, however, gives the correct names as Kabīr Muḥammad and Ishāq respectively.

As to Sayyid Qāsim, who belonged to the Bārha Sayyid family, that came into greater prominence some time later, he took a leading part in the conquest of Gujarāt by Akbar and also during the early critical years of Mughal rule in the province.² Our record also speaks of an old retainer of his, Manjhla son of Jalāl, whose clan-name was Bahlīm. Nothing is known about him as also about the composer of the text and the one who inscribed it. The composer appears to have been well-versed in Arabic language, but the same cannot be said about the calligraphical skill of the scribe. The calligraphy is of no particular merit, the style of writing being *Naskh*.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (b)

- (١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر
الاية و قال عليه السلام من بنى لله مسجدا بنى الله تعالى بيته في الجنة صدق رسول الله
(٢) قد جدد بنا [هـ] هذه البقعة بوسعة له في الروضة المنيفة للشيخ التقي و الامام التقي الذي
قبل في تاريخ وصاله صاحب الكشف حسام الدين و هو خليفة سلطان المشايخ نظام
(٣) الملة و الدين الجشتي قدس الله تعالى ارواحهم بامر السيد الاكرم الشجاع و الامير
المعظم الرفيع الطالب باعمال البر ذات واجب الوجود
(٤) سيد قاسم بن سيد محمود متع الله المسلمين بطول بقايه ابتغاء لمرضاته تعالى و باستعواب
من له في امر التولية ولاية كاملة و من الحضرة المخدم له في هذا الامر اشارة
(٥) باهرة و عليه آثار العناية و التعطف منه ظاهرة الا و هو الشيخ الحافظ خادم هذه
الروضة ابا عن جد بالجد و الاستحقاق الشيخ الاوحد شيخ كبير محمد بن اسحاق و باهتمام

¹ It will be recalled that in a similar case, the correctness of two steps in the Pedigree-Tree of the present Sajjāda of Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nāgaurī was established by a couple of epigraphs at Nāgaur (cf. *ELAPS*, 1961, p. 35 and f.n. 1).

² For details of his career, please see *Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 377-78, 409-10; 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.*, part I (Baroda, 1928), pp. 154, 175, 176; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 461, No. 105, etc.

(a) Inscription, dated A. H. 1009, from Cambay (p. 84)



SCALE: 3

(b) Epigraph, dated A. H. 996, from Pāṭan (p. 76)



SCALE: 15

五十二

...

...

...

...

(٦) من هو اوثق الناس و اوسطهم الخادم القديم للسيد الكريم منجهله^١ بن جلال^٢ بهليم
تقبل الله منهم اجمعين منشى هذه

(٧) الرقيمة الفقير الى الملك العاصم البارى عبد اللطيف ابى القاسم بن عبد اللطيف الناكورى
الانصارى غفر الله له و لابايه اجمعين فى الثانى من شهر رمضان المبارك سنة ست و تسعين و تسعمائة
(٨) حرره العبد الضعيف عبد القادر بن عبد اللطيف

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The exalted Allāh says, 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. the day of Judgement)—(to the end of) the verse'.¹ And (the Prophet), may (Allāh's) peace be upon him, has said, 'He who builds for Allāh, a mosque, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'. Verily, the Prophet of Allāh has spoken the truth.

(2) Renovated was, in all its spaciousness, the structure of this edifice situated in the eminent Mausoleum of the excellent Shaikh and the pious Imām, for the date of whose death it is said (i.e. is obtained from the words) 'Master of inspiration, Husāmu'd-Dīn' who was the spiritual successor of Sultānu'l-Mashāikh Nizām-

(3) u'l-Millat wa'd-Dīn al-Chishtī, may the Exalted Allāh sanctify their souls, by the order of the brave and munificent Sayyid and the lofty and magnificent nobleman, one who seeks through good deeds the Essence of the Self-Existent Lord,

(4) (namely), Sayyid Qāsim son of Maḥmūd, may Allāh benefit the Muslims through his long life. (This he did) for the sake of obtaining the pleasure of the Exalted Allāh, at the suggestion of one who wields perfect authority in the matter of guardianship (of the shrine) and who had received a clear indication from the presence of the Master (i.e. the saint) in this matter

(5) and who enjoys manifest traces of kindness and favours from him, (namely) the Shaikh who is Hāfiẓ (i.e. one who knows the Qur'ān by heart), the hereditary attendant of this Shrine by his own exertion and right, the unique Shaikh Kabīr Muḥammad son of Ishāq, and under the superintendence

(6) of one who is the most trustworthy and moderate among men, and old retainer of the generous Sayyid, namely Manjīla son of Jalāl Bahlīm, may Allāh accept (this good deed) from all of them. The author of this

(7) text is the one who is dependant upon the Protecting and Omnipotent (Allāh), 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf, son of Abi'l-Qāsim son of 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf an-Nāgaurī, al-Anṣārī, may Allāh forgive him and his forefathers, all of them. On the second of the auspicious month of Ramaḍān, year (A.H.) six and ninety and nine hundred (2 Ramaḍān 996=16 July 1588).

(8) This was written by the weak creature 'Abdu'l-Qādir son of 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf.

¹ The name of the father is written in very minute hand below these words.

² Qur'ān, Chapter IX, verse 18. Incidentally, it is somewhat unusual that the Quranic verse has not been fully inscribed but it has been indicated to be taken as granted through the words *al-āya*, i.e. (till) the end of the verse—an equivalent of etc., etc.

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 996, FROM THE SAME PLACE

This epigraph, recording the construction of a mosque by the same Sayyid Qāsim Bārha, is from the mosque situated in the enclosure of the Dargāh of Maulānā Ya'qūb, popularly known as Maulānā Maḥbūb, referred to above.¹ The tablet on which it is inscribed measures 1.30 m. by 30 cms. and is fixed above the central *miḥrāb*.²

The record consists of five lines of writing in Arabic executed in fairly good *Naskh* characters, the calligraphy resembling, to quite some extent, that of the inscription dated A.H. 982 studied above (No. I). It states that the blessed mosque in the Dargāh of the great saint and pole-star, namely Ya'qūb, was built in 1590, by Sayyid Qāsim son of Sayyid Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī, a resident of Bārha. The inscription also furnishes this information about the saint that he was an attendant (*Kāḥilīm*) i.e. a disciple of *Shāikh* Zainu'd-Dīn, a spiritual successor of *Shāikh* Burhānu'd-Dīn who was in his turn the spiritual successor of Ḥaḍrat Nizāmu'd-Dīn *Chishtī*.

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ
الْأَلَهُ وَتَوَكَّلَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ بَنَى لِلَّهِ مَسْجِدًا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا فِي الْجَنَّةِ قَدْ عَمِرَ هَذِهِ الْمَسْجِدَ الْمَيْمُونُ
فِي الْمَرْقَدِ مَعْصُونُ
- (٢) لَلْقَطْبِ الْعَالَمِ الرَّبَّانِي وَ الْغَوْثِ الْعَارِفِ الصَّدَاقِي الَّذِي خَرَجَ تَارِيخَ وَصَالِهِ لَقْبُهُ
الْمُصْطَفَى صَلَى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَ الْبَرِيَّةِ فِي مَعَامَلَةِ حَضْرَةِ الشَّيْخِ حَكَكَ شَيْخَ حَرَمِ الْمَدِينَةِ
- (٣) عَلَى سَاكِنِهَا التَّحِيَّةُ قَدْ سَرَّهِ الْعَزِيزُ وَ هُوَ "يَعْتُوبُ هُوَ مَحْبُوبِي وَ مَعْشُوقِي" وَ كَانَ
قَدْ سَرَّهِ الْعَزِيزُ خَادِمَ الشَّيْخِ زَيْنِ الْحَقِّ وَ الدِّينِ وَ هُوَ خَلِيفَةُ
- (٤) الشَّيْخِ بِرْهَانَ الْحَقِّ وَ الدِّينِ وَ هُوَ خَلِيفَةُ سُلْطَانِ الْمَشَايِخِ مَحْبُوبِ اللَّهِ الشَّيْخِ نَهَامِ
الْمَلَةِ وَ الدِّينِ الْجَشْتِي السَّيِّدِ الْأَشْجَعِ الْأَكْرَمِ
- (٥) السَّيِّدِ الْأَوْرَعِ الْأَعْظَمِ بِاسْطِ الْعَدْلِ وَ الْإِحْسَانِ وَ بَالِغِ الْبَذْلِ وَ الْإِمْتِنَانِ الطَّالِبِ بِأَعْمَالِ
بِرَّةٍ مَحْضِذَاتِ رِيهِ وَ مُوجِدِهِ الْعَاصِمِ أَبُو الْمَكْرَمِ السَّيِّدِ قَاسِمِ ابْنِ السَّيِّدِ الْمُوَدُّودِ الْوَدُودِ السَّيِّدِ مُحَمَّدِ
الْحُسَيْنِيِّ سَاكِنِ بَارِهِ عَلَيْهِ تَعَايِفُ الطَّافِ الْحَقِّ الْمَعْبُودِ فِي سَنَةِ تِسْعِوِ تِسْعِينَ وَ تِسْعِمَايَةِ فِي شَهْرِ
الْمَحْرَمِ اللَّهُمَّ تَقَبَّلْهُ (?)

¹ For an account of the saint, see Faḍl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-22; 'AllMuḥammad Khān, *op. cit.*, Supple-
ment, p. 114.

² *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 102. The mosque has on its northern *miḥrāb* another epigraph which comprises
religious text (*Qur'ān*, Chapter LXXII, verse 18), executed in beautiful *Thulūṭ* characters (*ibid.*, No. C, 103).

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The Exalted Allāh has said, 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allāh who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. the Day of Judgement) - (to the end of) the verse'.¹ And (the Prophet), may peace be upon him, has said, 'He who builds for Allāh, a mosque, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'. Verily, this auspicious mosque in the enclosed (lit. guarded) resting place

(2) of the Qutb (lit. pole-star), who is learned in divinity, the Ghauth (lit. rescuer)² and the divine gnostic, the date of whose death can be extracted from what the Chosen (Prophet), may Allāh's salutations and peace and also those of the Creation be on him, entitled him in the incident of His Holiness Shaikh Hakkāk, the Shaikh (chief of) the Prophet's Sanctuary at Madīna—

(3) may on its residents be (Allāh's) blessings—may his honoured secret be sanctified (by saying), 'What? Are you asking about Ya'qūb? He is liked and loved by me',³ and who (i.e. Ya'qūb), may his honoured secret be sanctified, was the servant (Khādim) of Shaikh Zainu'l-Haq wa'd-Dīn, the spiritual successor (Khalīfa)

(4) of Shaikh Burhānu'l-Haq wa'd-Dīn, the spiritual successor of Sultānu'l-Mashā'ikh, the beloved of Allāh, Shaikh Nizāmu'l-Millat wa'd-Dīn al-Chishtī, was built by the most munificent and brave Sayyid

(5) and the most magnificent and pious Sayyid, spreader of justice and bounty, provider of munificence and gift, the seeker, through his good actions, of the Essence of his Nourisher and his Protecting Creator, Abu'l-Makārim (lit. Father of virtues) Sayyid Qāsim, son of the loving and the lovable Sayyid Maḥmūd al-Ḥusainī, inhabitant of Bārha, may the favours of the Truth (i.e. God), worthy of worship, be showered upon him, in the year (A.H.) nine and ninety and nine hundred, in the month of Muḥarram (Muḥarram 999=October-November 1590 A.D.).

(6) Allāh, accept (this).

The importance of this epigraph is considerable. It furnishes some new and also supplementary information about the saint as well as the builder, who are otherwise quite wellknown. For example, about Sayyid Qāsim, it provides an important piece of information that he was a Ḥusainī Sayyid;⁴ it also calls him Abu'l-Makārim, which must have been his *kunya*, and it specifically states that he was an inhabitant or resident (*sākin*) of Bārha. The etymology of this word which has more or less come to signify the clean-name is uncertain and a satisfactory meaning or connotation of the term has yet to be found.⁵ Though unfortunately our epigraph does not provide any explicit answer to this controversial question, it does provide valuable indication which restricts the sphere of etymological derivations to only one, viz. that the term Bārha has nothing to do with *bāḥir* meaning outside or *bārāh imām* i.e. the twelve Imāms of the Shī'as, or *abrār* meaning pious,⁶ but it has a geographical connotation. Of course, whether

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter IX, verse 18. Also see foot-note on page 77, *supra*.

² In Shīfī hagiocracy, a Qutb occupies the first place and a *auth* the second.

³ This phrase—a slight variation of the hemistich from an Arabic Qasida—purporting to be the words used by the Prophet about Maḥmūd Ya'qūb, as well as explained presently, constitutes the chronogram for the date of his death.

⁴ The claim of Sayyid Maḥmūd to be a Sayyid-e-descendant of the Holy Prophet was not accepted beyond any doubt in his own life time, as is evident from the incident related by emperor Jahāngir (Jahāngir, *Tārūkh-i-Jahāngīrī*, Aligarh, 1864, p. 366). Cf. Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

⁵ An exhaustive note on Bārha and the Sayyids of Bārha, will be found in Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-32. Also see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 377.

⁶ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 425, 429, where the etymology has been discussed at some length.

the term represents a village or a region, it is not clear beyond doubt, but very likely the term as used in the epigraph might be taken to indicate a village rather than region.¹

Secondly, the inscription helps to clear up some confusion that seems to prevail about the identity of Maulānā Ya'qūb. Perhaps, the earliest account of the saint is contained in the *Tadhkira-i-Husāmīyya* composed in Persian in A.H. 855, hardly fifty-five years after his death by one Husām son of Siddiq whose main object was to make available to the Indian admirers and disciples of the saint a Persian translation of the *Qasida-i-Hakkākiyya* which Shaiḫ Hakkāk of Madina had composed in Arabic, describing the extent of Prophet's love for Maulānā Ya'qūb as communicated to him by the Prophet himself—as will be elucidated presently.

Among the hagiological works available to me, the earliest reference to him and a somewhat detailed account of his to be found is in Muḥammad Ghauthi's hitherto unpublished *Gulār-i-Abrār* composed about two decades after the date of the epigraph under study. According to this account, the saint entitled Tāju'd-Dīn died in A.H. 789,² which is evidently wrong as our epigraph and other sources place his death in A.H. 800. His brief account in the *Mi'āt-i-Aḥmadi* seems to have been taken from an earlier work on the subject.³ But unfortunately, in the Barodā edition of that work, there is confusion about the year of the saint's death, stated to be A.H. 890 in words, while the chronogram quoted yields A.H. 800.⁴ A somewhat fuller account of the saint is contained in a modern work on the saints of Deccan, where the details including the date of the death (given in figure as well as by quoting the same chronogram as given in the *Mi'āt-i-Aḥmadi*) are factually correct.⁵ Our epigraph, which quotes an altogether different chronogram, now establishes beyond doubt that the saint had expired in A.H. 800, which fits in with the fact, mentioned in the inscription as well as the last mentioned two works, that he was a disciple of the fourteenth century saint, Shaiḫ Zainu'd-Dīn of Daulatābād.

It will be observed that while seeking to give the chronogrammatic phrase for the saint's death, the text makes a reference to what the Prophet himself conveyed to Shaiḫ Hakkāk, a constant attendant of the shrine at Madina, about his feeling for Maulānā Ya'qūb; this communication—*a-Ya'qūbu, huwa maḥbūbī wa ma'ḥūqī* (i.e. What? Are you asking about Ya'qūb? He is liked and loved by me)—forms the chronogram, yielding A. H. 800. This episode in the life of the saint wherein he was recommended to Shaiḫ Hakkāk by the Prophet himself, forms the subject of an Arabic *Qasida* composed by the said Shaiḫ and may be briefly described here: Maulānā Ya'qūb in the course of his travel to the holy cities met at Zabīd, Shaiḫ Ismā'il al-Jabreṭi,

¹ Blochmann's following comments are still true to day: A more exhaustive History of the Sādāt-i-Pāsha, based upon the Muhammadan Historians of India—now so accessible—and complete from inscriptions, sanads and other documents still in possession of the clan, would be a most welcome contribution to Indian History—(Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 431, f. n. 2).

² Faḡl Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 121. In another place, Ghauthi mentions Sayyid Tāju'd-Dīn Qāḍiri who expired in A. H. 1007 when Pāṭan was held in *jāgīr* by Sayyid Qāsim (*ibid.*, p. 442). He is evidently a different person. It is apparent that Ghauthi who was almost a contemporary of Sayyid Qāsim did not take pains to trace particulars and his account of the saint's life, may have been inspired by the epigraph under study.

³ Alī Muḥammad Khān *op. cit.*, Supplement, p. 114.

⁴ The Bombay lithograph edition has A. H. 800 in words also.

⁵ Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 119-20. A more recent account of the saint gleaned from the above as well as two more works including one manuscript (*Manāqib-i-Auliya*) is contained in Sayyid Fyāra Ṣāhib, *Tadhkira-i-Dawām fi Hālāt-i-Auliya-i-kirām* (Pāṭan, N. G., 1958), part 2, pp. 23-26. A Gujarātī pamphlet containing the biography of the saint and description of his tomb etc., compiled by Mr. Ulārā Muḥammad Walli Sandāgar of Pāṭan, has been published in 1969 by the Sirat Committee of Pāṭan. It contains an illustration of the epigraph under study and its purport in Gujarātī, but unfortunately the rendering, particularly of the chronogram referred to above is incorrect.

who having been impressed by the former's sanctity, gave a recommendatory note to Shaiḡh Ḥakkāk who was his disciple. Now the latter was so much steeped in the love for the Prophet that he would never do anything that was not approved by the Prophet, and so when Maulānā Ya'qūb reached Madina and met him, Shaiḡh Ḥakkāk without immediately responding to his greetings went into contemplation and received the call of the Prophet that if he were asking his opinion about Ya'qūb, he should know that he was his beloved.¹ As a result of this mention of endearment by the Prophet, the saint was popularly known as Maulānā Maḥbūb.

Before passing on to the study of the next epigraph, I feel it necessary to state that the contents of the inscription in certain parts—lines 2-3—containing a reference to Shaiḡh Ḥakkāk of Madina and to the Prophet were not wholly intelligible to me despite the complete decipherment of the text. I had occasion to mention the difficulty in the course of my visit to Pāṭan in July 1969 to my esteemed friends Sayyid Fayyāz Husain Qādirī, Mr. Shujā'u'd-Dīn Fārūqī and Sayyid Ruknu'd-Dīn. It was then that not only this episode in the life of the saint was related to me, but a manuscript of the *Tadhkirat-i-Husāmīyya* in possession of one Mr. Barkatullah was also made available to me for a cursory perusal. Subsequently, Mr. Fārūqī also sent to me a copy made by him of the Persian translation, by Husām, of the *Qasida-i-Ḥakkākīyya*. I am thankful to all these gentlemen for their help and their interest in the matter.

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1008, ALSO FROM PĀṬAN

This is another important inscription which furnishes new information about a member of the family of Sayyid Qāsim — a son — who is not mentioned in historical works and who seems to have been associated with Pāṭan in official capacity, most probably as governor or holder of a *jāgīr*. The epigraphical tablet measuring 85 by 30 cms. is fixed above the central *mihrāb* of the mosque situated in the enclosure of the Dargāh of another celebrated saint of Pāṭan, Sayyid Husain, popularly called *Khing-sawār* (lit. horse-rider),² which is situated at a little distance to the west of the above-mentioned Sahastralinga Tank.³

The six-line text in Arabic records the fact that the reconstruction of the mosque as well as the Tomb—though not so specifically stated, these evidently refer to the Tomb of Sayyid Husain and the mosque attached to it—was carried out by the great and brave Sayyid and just and bountiful Amīr, Sayyid 'Alī son of Sayyid Qāsim and grandson of Sayyid Maḥmūd in 1599-1600. The date for the work has been given both in words as well as in a chronogram stated to have been composed by a scholar whose name has not been disclosed. At the end of the text occurs the name 'Abdu'l-Qādir son of 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf Yamānī, preceded by the phrase 'I am entirely dependant upon His covert favours'. This is evidently that of the scribe, and he must be identical with the scribe of the inscription in the mosque of Maḥdūm Husāmu'd-Dīn Multānī (No. VII, *supra*); in view of his *nisha* Yamānī, he must be different from the father of the composer of the epigraph under reference, namely, 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf Nāgaūrī, as pointed out above (p. 75, *supra*). The calligraphy is *Nasḡh* of no particular merit. From the *nisha*, he appears to have been of Arabian descent, which would not be surprising, as the town of Pāṭan has been the home of many Arab settlers, mostly traders, and there are still a few families there which have business relations with Arabia.

¹ The actual hemistich from the *Qasida* is : *Ya'qūbu, huwa maḥbūbun*.

² For an account of the saint, please see Faḡl Abmaṣ, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117; 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.*, Supplement, p. 113; 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān, *op. cit.*, part I, pp. 283-84; Sayyid Pyārā Shāhib, *op. cit.*, part 2, pp. 20-22.

³ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 97. Over the left *mihrāb* of the mosque occurs another inscription comprising a Quranic text (Chapter LXXII, verse 18), executed in *Kāfi* and *Thulṡ* of a very high order (*ibid.*, No. C, 98.).

The language of the epigraph is, as in the case of the other inscriptions from Pāṭan, of sufficient literary merit, and as compared to majority of the Arabic inscriptions of India, flawless; the benedictory phrases used for the renovator may be noted in particular.

The text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ رَبَّنَا تَقَبَّلْ مِنَّا إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ قَدْ أَقْبَلَ عَلَى تَجْدِيدِ
بِنَاءِ هَذِهِ الْبَقْعَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ
- (٢) وَ الْقَبَةِ الْمَنِيفَةِ ابْتِغَاءَ لِمَرْضَاتِ رَبِّهِ الْكَرِيمِ طَلِبًا لِنَوَائِبِهِ وَ احْسَالِهِ الْعَمِيمِ السَّيِّدِ الْأَجَلِ
الْأَكْرَمِ الْأَشْجَعِ وَ الْأَمِيرِ الْأَعْدَلِ الْأَفْضَلِ
- (٣) الْمُوَيْدِ بِتَأْيِيدِ اللَّهِ الْمَلِكِ الْوَدُودِ السَّيِّدِ عَلَى ابْنِ السَّيِّدِ قَاسِمِ ابْنِ السَّيِّدِ مُحَمَّدٍ لَا زَالَ
ظِلَالُ سَيَادَتِهِ مَمْدُودَةٌ
- (٤) إِلَى الْيَوْمِ الْمَوْعُودِ وَ أَطْنَابِ خِيَامِ دَوْلَتِهِ مَرْبُوطَةٌ بِأَوْتَادِ الْخُلُودِ وَ بَنِيَانِ قَعْرِ رَفْعَتِهِ
مَحْفُوظَةٌ عَنِ الْإِنْهَادِ وَ الْإِخْتِلَالِ
- (٥) وَ أَرْكَانِ إِيوَانِ حَشْمَتِهِ مَصْنُوءَةٌ عَنِ إِصَابَةِ عَيْنِ الْكَمَالِ فِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَ أَلْفٍ مِنْ هِجْرَةِ
الْمُصْطَفَى صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَ عَلَى آلِهِ وَ أَصْحَابِهِ الْأَتْقِيَاءِ
- (٦) وَ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ أَوَّلًا وَ آخِرًا قَالَ فِي تَارِيخِهِ وَاحِدٌ مِنَ الْفَضَلَا مِنْ دَخَلِهِ يَكُونُ آمِنًا
وَ عَزِيزًا وَ إِنَّا الْمَحْتَاجُ بِلُطْفِهِ الْخَفِيُّ عَبْدُ الْقَادِرِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْأَطْفِ الْيَمْنِيُّ غُفِرَ ذُنُوبُهُ

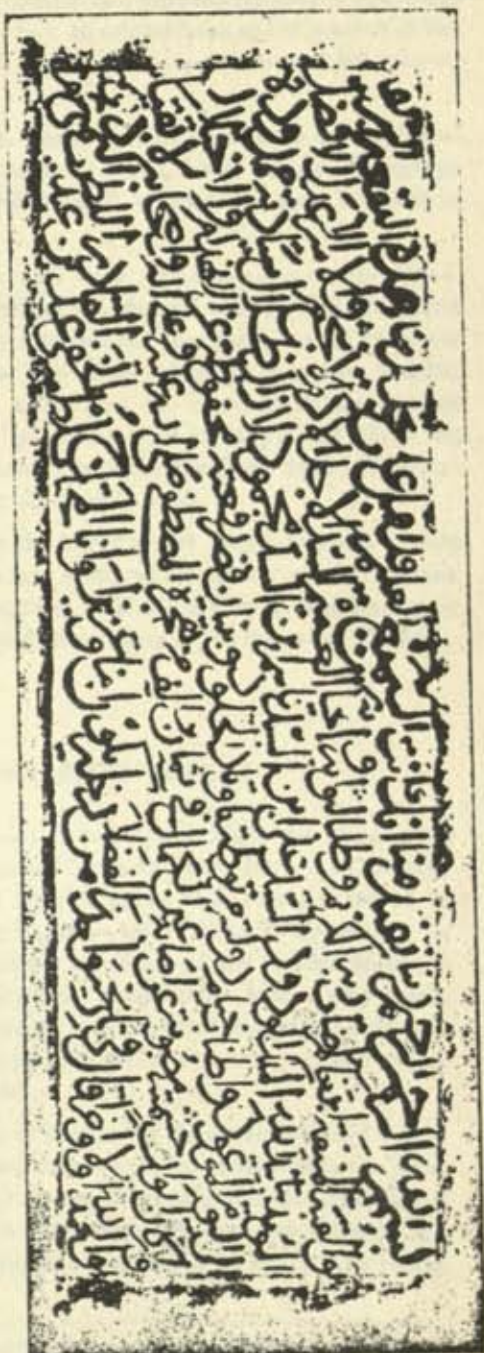
TRANSLATION

- (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'Our Lord! accept from us; surely, Thou art the Hearing, the Knowing'.¹ Undertaken was the renovation of this noble place
- (2) and the eminent dome, (the renovator) being desirous of the pleasure of his Generous Lord and intending to seek His all-embracing merit and bounty, the greatest, the noblest and the bravest Sayyid, and the most just and excellent Amir,
- (3) one who is supported by the help of Allāh, the Loving and the Master, (namely) Sayyid 'Alī son of Sayyid Qāsim son of Sayyid Maḥmūd, may the shadows of his chiefship (*siyādat*)² remain spread
- (4) till the Promised Day (i.e. Day of Judgement), may the ropes of the tent of his government be tied with the pegs of eternity, may the palace of his high station remain secure from demolition and damage,

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter II, part of verse 127.

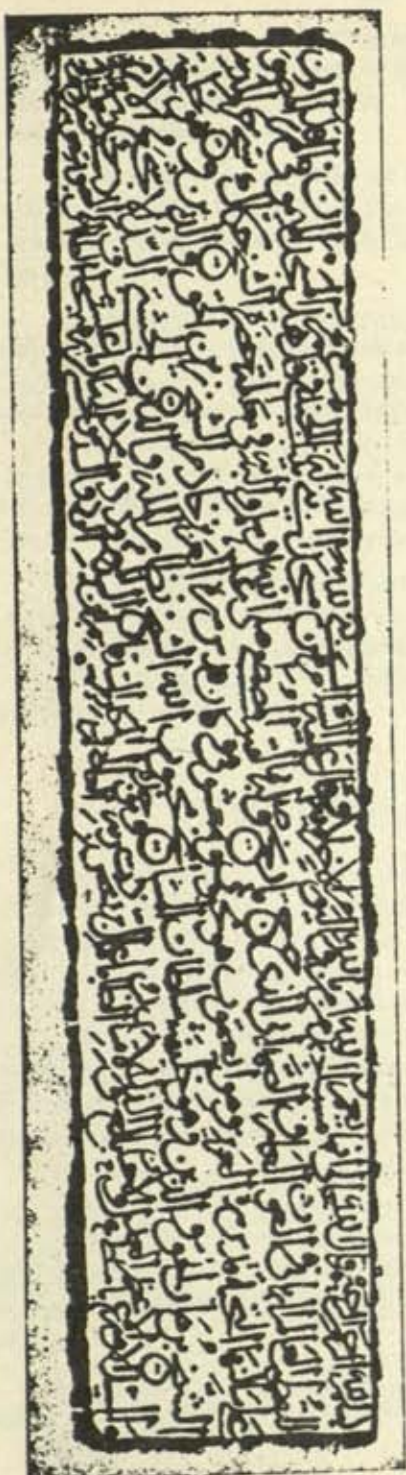
² Reference to his being a Sayyid.

(a) Record, dated A. H. 1008, from Pāṭan (p. 82)



SCALE : 2

(b) Another epigraph, dated A. H. 996, same place (p. 78)



SCALE : 14

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general
 introduction of the subject and a brief review of the
 literature. The second part is devoted to a detailed
 description of the experimental apparatus and the
 results of the experiments. The third part is devoted
 to a discussion of the results and a comparison with
 the theoretical predictions. The fourth part is devoted
 to a conclusion and a summary of the results.

2. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general
 introduction of the subject and a brief review of the
 literature. The second part is devoted to a detailed
 description of the experimental apparatus and the
 results of the experiments. The third part is devoted
 to a discussion of the results and a comparison with
 the theoretical predictions. The fourth part is devoted
 to a conclusion and a summary of the results.

(a) and may the pillars of the hall of his grandeur remain safe from the striking of the malignant eye (lit. Eye of Perfection), in the year eight and one thousand from the Migration of the Chosen (Prophet) (A.H. 1008=1600 A.D.), may Allā's blessings be upon him and his progeny and his pious Companions.

(6) And praise be to Allāh, the First and the Last. As to its date, one of the accomplished men has said, 'One who enters it becomes safe and honoured'.¹ And, I am utterly dependant upon His covert favours, 'Abdu'l-Qādirson of 'Abdu'l-Laṭif al-Yamanī, may his sins be pardoned.

H. Blochmann, in his extremely exhaustive and also very valuable notes on the *A'in-i-Akbari* could trace, from historical works, only two sons of the Sayyid viz. Sayyid Ādam and Sayyid Sulaimān.² And now the epigraph under study discloses for the first time the existence of at least one more son, named Sayyid 'Alī. With the help of the epigraph it is now possible to identify almost with certainty Sayyid 'Alī Bārha mentioned by emperor Jahāngir in his Memoirs. The emperor speaks of having granted an increase in rank to Sayyid 'Alī Bārha on or about the 30th March 1615 and again an elephant on or about the 8th June 1615.³ Unfortunately, Jahāngir does not give any details about him or the post he held.

Equally important is the information contained in the record about 'Alī's implied official status. The high-sounding titles used for him and the long array of eloquently worded phrases invoking perpetuity for his life, authority and grandeur, leave little doubt that he held some post of considerable authority; very likely, he had succeeded his father in the *thānadārī* of Pāṭan, when the latter died in A.H. 1007.⁴

X. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1009, FROM CAMBAY

The tablet bearing this inscription, when its rubbing was taken in 1959, was lying in the Stores office of the Public Works Department—and presumably it still lies there—at Cambay.⁵ Measuring 38 by 25 cms., it contains a six-line text in Persian prose and verse, executed in what may be basically described as *NasKh*, but having flourishes traceable to *Ta'liq* variety of the Arabic alphabet. The letters are small and very closely written, and the tablet seems to have been exposed to inclemencies of nature and neglect for considerable time. As a result, the writing has been affected, and the task of decipherment was rendered somewhat difficult. Fortunately, however, the text has been completely deciphered, except for one or two words purporting perhaps to be the honorific titles of the builder.

The exact findspot of the epigraph is not known, but as it refers to the construction of a step-well, it must have originally belonged to one in or around Cambay, at the most within the jurisdiction of the Public Works Department, Cambay Sub-division. The record states that *Mīrzā Khān*, son of *Nawwāb Mīrzā Abu'l-Qāsim*, constructed a large step-well as an act of merit and endowed it for the use of the general public in 1601, during the reign of *Jalālud-Dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Akbar*.

¹ The original Arabic comprising the chronogram for the date of reconstruction is a variation of a famous Quranic text (Chapter III, part of verse 96).

² Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

³ Jahāngir, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 145.

⁴ *Shāh Nawāz Khān*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 409-10.

⁵ *ARI*, 1959-60, No. D, 104. It has been removed, it is now ascertained, to the local College Museum.

The epigraph has been deciphered to read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

- (۱) در زمان سلطنة سلطان السلاطين جلال الملة و الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح جلال الدين
اکبر بادشاه
- (۲) غازى بتوفيق ربانى و تائيد يزدانى تعمير نمود و بنا ساخت..... و لاه(؟)..... آصف
خان(؟).... ميرزا خان خلف نواب
- (۳) نامدارى خورشيد اشتهاى ميرزا ابو القاسم اين سبيل را خالصا مخلصا لوجه الله
تعالى الكريم و ابتغاء لمرضاته
- (۴) العميم و وقف كرد اورا براى كفه انام از خواص و عوام فى غره شهر ذى الحجة
الحرام سنة تسع
- (۵) و الف من الهجرة النبوية عليه الف الف صلوة الله و الف الف تحية
اين بر كه كه هست آبى از آب حيات (۶) چيزى كه عيان بود چه حاجت بصفات
هر كس كه از و جرعه آبى نوشيد
مانند خضر گشت فارغ ز ملمات

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of the sovereignty of the Sultān of the Sultāns, Jalālu'l-Millat wa'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Jalālu'd-Dīn Akbar Bādshāh-i-

(2-3) Ghāzī (and) through the Divine guidance and heavenly support..... Mirzā Khān, son of the illustrious Nawwāb of sun-like reputation, Mirzā Abu'l-Qāsim, laid the foundation and constructed this step-well (*sabīl*), purely and solely for the sake of the Exalted and the Generous Allāh and for seeking His pleasures

(4) (which are) all-embracing, and he endowed it for the use of the general public, whether high or low, on the first day of the month of the Holy Dhu'l-Hijja in the year nine,

(5) and one thousand from the Migration of the Prophet, may thousand-thousand salutations of Allāh and thousand-thousand blessings be upon him (1 Dhu'l-Hijja 1009=24 May 1601).¹

Verse : This reservoir whose water is from (the Fountain of) the Water of life—

(6) a thing which is apparent, where the need of describing it—

whosoever drank a mouthful of water therefrom, became immune to death like the Prophet Khidr.

¹ In *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 104, the date was inadvertently printed as 11 Dhu'l-Hijja 1009 (3 June 1601).

JAHĀNGIR

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1020, from Sarkhej (p. 85)

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| کبکی بو تو لیت را داد | یرا با القاسم بزرگ زاد |
| که جبسان مثل او ندارد | محمد خاست و سر کج |
| کنست التیق بی احواد | سال تا بخش از خرد چستم |

SCALE : 3

الله أكبر
 بقاها از اسرار بر کبریا است
 این بن را از ار جبر است
 لغز چای اندر زان ترتر
 لعل پلور را که معدنی کبر است
 لعل غلب چو بانگ تار است
 بر منک زین حساب کدک است
 در کبریا پیر سیه ماه کبر است

SCALE : 31

It is difficult to identify the builder. While no person of the name of Mirzā Khān who flourished at about this time—excepting of course Mirzā Khān, the famous Khān-i-Khānān who is altogether a different person—is met with in wellknown historical works, we come across a number of noblemen with the name of Abu'l-Qāsim, who enjoyed high status and authority under Akbar and Jahāngir. These are Abu'l-Qāsim Tabrizī who held the office of the Diwān of Gujarāt in A. H. 991; Nawwāb Abu'l-Qāsim Namkīn, who expired in A. H. 1057; Mirzā Abu'l-Qāsim Nishāpūrī, about whom not much is known; Abu'l-Qāsim, brother of Āṣaf Khān, etc. But the available details of the career of these gentlemen are too meagre to provide a clue for the satisfactory identification of the builder. The only reasonable guess is that Nawwāb Abu'l-Qāsim, father of the builder, is very likely identical with Abu'l-Qāsim Tabrizī who was the Diwān of Gujarāt for some time under Akbar.

Jahāngir

XI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 1020, FROM SARKHEJ

The loose tablet bearing this inscription is reported to have existed some years back in the premises of the Dargāh of the celebrated saint Ḥadrat Shāikh Aḥmad Khāṭṭū (d. A.H. 849) at Sarkhej, a small village, situated just on the outskirts of the city of Ahmadābād.¹ The tablet is not traceable and inquiries made by me on the spot regarding its present whereabouts and original findspot have met with no result.² Fortunately, an inked rubbing of the epigraph was taken in May 1941 by the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, then situated at Poona, and it is from that rubbing that the inscription is edited here for the first time. There is no doubt that the epigraph originally belonged to a mosque at or near Sarkhej, since it is clearly so stated in the text.

The record consists of three Persian couplets, arranged in as many lines and states that Mir Abu'l-Qāsim of noble lineage who discharged the duties of the trusteeship (of the Dargāh) most satisfactorily, built a wonderful mosque on the road to Sark(h)ej in 1611-12. The date is contained in an ingenious chronogram which, as in the case of the one contained in the Kadī inscription studied above (p. 73, *supra*), requires the deduction of the first digits from the values yielded by each letter of the chronogrammatic phrase.

The chief importance of this inscription, apart from its beautiful calligraphy, lies in the fact that it furnishes an important piece of information about the trusteeship of the Dargāh and its incumbent; this is particularly valuable since in written records, we do not usually come across this type of information. As to Mir Abu'l-Qāsim who held the trusteeship, it is not possible to make any satisfactory identification; it is difficult to say if he is identical with any of the persons so named, mentioned in the study of the previous epigraph though it is not unlikely.

The text occupies a writing space of 45 by 25 cm. The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of quite a pleasing type, but curiously enough there are two mistakes in the written text as will be observed from the reading quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(۱) میر ابو القاسم بزرت نژاد کہ بحق بو(نور؟) تولیت را داد

¹ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D. 84. For an account of the saint, please see 'Ali Muhammad Khān, *op. cit.*, Supplement, pp. 33-34; Commissariat *op. cit.*, vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 131-32; etc.

² However, I understand from other sources that the tablet is kept in one of the rooms in the enclosure.

(۲) مسجد (ی) ساخت در ره سرکیج که جهان مثل او ندارد یاد
 (۳) سال تاریخش از خرد جسم گفت بیت العتیق بی احاد

TRANSLATION

(1) Mir Abu'l-Qāsim of noble lineage who, to tell the truth, added lustre (?) to trusteeship,

(2) constructed a mosque on the road to Sarkej (Sarkhej), the like of which the world does not remember.

(3) I sought the year of its date from Wisdom (who) said, "It is to be found from the phrase 'the Ancient House'¹ without the first digits".

The Arabic equivalent of the phrase 'the Ancient House' has two letters, the numerical value of each of which according to the Abjad system is represented by first digits. These are 2 and 1, the total of which is to be deducted from the total numerical value 1023 of the said phrase to obtain the date A. H. 1020 (1611-12 A. D.).²

XII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1026, FROM PĀṬAN

This epigraph is from the Tomb of Qāḍī Aḥmad Jūdha (or Jodh) situated on the outskirts of the town of Pāṭan, just without the city-wall between the Motī Shāh and Khān Sarowar Gates. The marble slab on which it is engraved measures 22 by 34 cms. and is built up into the eastern wall of the Tomb, which is a modern structure.³

The credit of bringing this epigraph to light—apart from a mere reference to it in the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*⁴—goes to the late Professor M. S. Commissariat who published a translation thereof in his valuable work.⁵ His rendering is substantially correct except for the name of the builder as will be pointed out at the proper place.

Qāḍī Aḥmad was greatly respected in his time for piety. He is much better remembered in connection with the foundation of the city of 'Ahmadābād—to which reference is also made in the text; as is wellknown, he is stated to have been one of the four Aḥmads who laid the actual foundation of the city, each representing one direction.⁶ Qāḍī Aḥmad is stated to have died in 1437,⁷ almost two centuries before the inscription under study.

The epigraph is in Persian verse, but the quality of verse is mediocre. On the other hand, the *Nasta'liq* style of its calligraphy is fairly good. The text which runs into five couplets assigns the construction of the Mausoleum of Qāḍī Aḥmad Jūdha (or Jodh) which 'provided Pāṭan with the light of sanctity' to one of his grandsons, Farīd (and not Ḥumaid as given by Professor Commissariat)⁸ son of Faqīh, the work having commenced in August-September 1616 and completed in June-July 1617. It also furnishes the information that the saint was a spiritual successor of

¹ This usually denotes Ka'ba.

² In *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 84, through oversight, the year A.H. 1029 (1619-20 A.D.) was given.

³ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 84.

⁴ 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.*, Supplement, p. 2.

⁵ Commissariat, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 92-93.

⁶ For details, see Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* (Baroḍā, 1961), p. 34; 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.*, Supplement, p. 2.

⁷ For an account of the saint, see 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 118; Pyārē Šāhib, *op. cit.*, part 1, p. 34.

⁸ Commissariat, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 93.

Shaikh Ahmad Khattū who lies buried at Sarkhej and who was also one of the four Ahmads at whose hands the foundation of the city of Ahmadābād was laid

The letters of the text, even originally inscribed in bas-relief, have further flattened, but the text is quite legible, as will be seen from the reading that follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (۱) عطا فرمود از لطف و عنایت | (۱) چو شیخ احمد که تو خرقه خلافت |
| (۲) به بین در مرتش نور ولایت | (۲) بمخدوم قاضی احمد جوده مرتاض |
| (۳) یکی ایشان بودند صاحب هدایت | (۳) ز چار احمد بنا شد احمدآباد |
| (۴) که کرد این مقبره از سر بدایت | (۴) نبیره وی فرید ابن فقیه است |
| (۵) چه روضه به برج شد نهایت | (۵) مه شعبان تو سن آغاز وی دان |

سنه ۱۰۲۶

سنه ۱۰۲۵

TRANSLATION

- (1) When Shaikh Ahmad Khattū bestowed, through kindness and favour, the Robe of Succession
- (2) upon His Holiness (Makhdūm) the pious (lit. ascetic) Qāḍī Ahmad Jūdha (or Jodh), see there is in his resting-place, light of saintliness.
- (3) The city of Ahmadābād was founded with (the help of) four Ahmads: he, the master of guidance, was one.
- (4) His grandson is Farīd son of Faqīh, who started afresh the construction of this mausoleum.
- (5) Know it to have started (in) the month of Shā'bān, year (A.H.) 1025 (Shā'bān 1025= August-September 1616). What a tomb! Wonderful! Its completion was in Rajab, year (A. H.) 1026 (Rajab 1026=June-July 1617).

The epigraph is thus quite important. The information about Qāḍī Ahmad's participation in the foundation of Ahmadābād may have been borrowed from the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* which was composed a few years before the date of this epigraph.¹ In any case, it must have been the current belief, though it may be of interest to recall that in the verses of the contemporary Hulwī Shīrāzī, describing the foundation of the city, which have been quoted in the *Mir'āt*, no mention to this fact occurs.² Then, the inscription has at least preserved the name of a descendant of the saint who flourished about two centuries after his death. But even far more important to my mind is the light the inscription throws on the correct sobriquet or surname of the saint which is commonly believed to have been *jūd* (جود) meaning 'generosity'.³ There is no unanimity in historical works about the correct spelling of this name. It should be noted that of the two earliest available historical works on Gujarāt history in print, the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* merely gives the

¹ *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* is generally believed to have been composed in A. H. 1020.

² Sikandar, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-36.

³ Cf. Pyārā Shāhb, *op. cit.*, part 1. p. 2.

name as *Shāikh* Aḥmad;¹ it does not call him Qāḍī Aḥmad nor does it say anything about his being buried at Pāṭan or Nahrwālā as it was called in those days. In the other, the *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Gujarāt*, composed at about the same time or a little earlier, the name Qāḍī Aḥmad occurs, though it also does not make any mention of Pāṭan or Nahrwālā.² In none of these two works the sobriquet of the saint occurs. The only historical work in which the sobriquet occurs is the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, a late eighteenth century work, the two editions of which transcribe the name variously as 'Jayyid', 'Jahd', 'Iajihd' and 'bijihd'.³ In our epigraph, the surname is transcribed clearly as 'Jūdha' (or 'Jodh') which must represent the correct spelling, as the epigraph was caused to be set up by a descendant of the saint. The saint thus was called 'Jūdha' or 'Jodh', a surname (Yodh) which has to-date survived in Gujarāt, and therefore, the popular epithet 'Jūd' by which he is generally called⁴ should be taken as a misnomer. The famous Qāḍī Sayyid families of Pāṭan as well as of Rāikhad in Ahmadābād claim descent from the Qāḍī.⁵

XIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 1029, FROM VASRĀVI

Vasrāvi is now a small and out of the way agricultural village in the Māngrol Tāluka of Surat district, situated at a distance of about five kilometres to the south south-east of the Tāluka headquarters. That it was a place of importance in the past is established beyond doubt from the epigraph under study, and also from two earlier *Nāgarī* inscriptions, found there, which are unfortunately fragmentary: One of these is dateable on paleographic grounds to the thirteenth century, and the other, dated 1498, refers itself to the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt.⁶

The present epigraphical tablet, measuring 21 by 55 cms., is built up into the facade, to the right of the door of the Dargāh of a saint locally known as Ḥaḍrat Ganj-i-Aḥmad, and is evidently not *in situ*.⁷ It contains a brief text running into nine lines of writing in Persian, recording the construction of the gate of the fort of Basrāhī (modern Vasrāvi) in 1629. The epigraph also provides important information that the work was completed when the *jāgīr* was held by *Shāh* Jahān and the governor was *Shāh* Baig. The epigraph thus shows that Vasrāvi had already a fort in Jahān-gīr's time, which also establishes its strategic importance.

It will be recalled that *Shāh* Jahān held the viceroyalty of Gujarāt during 1618-22. But what is perhaps intended to be conveyed by the epigraph is that Vasrāvi (and perhaps the region around—which is quite fertile) was included in the personal fief of prince *Shāh* Jahān. As to *Shāh* Baig, in all probability he is identical with *Shāh* Baig Uzbek, who received the title of *Khān* in *Shāh* Jahān's first regnal year and rose to occupy high posts including the governorship of provinces like Berār and Aurangābād; he had held the rank of 1000 men, 400 horse in Jahāngīr's time.⁸ We also know of one *Shāh* Baig *Khān* whose mention occurs in the account of those of *Shāh* Jahān's nobles and retainers who laid down their lives before *Shāh* Jahān's accession; he is stated to have been killed while fighting bravely on the day of the attack on the Burhānpur fort.⁹

¹ Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

² Maḥmūd Bukhārī, *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Gujarāt* (Aligarh, 1964), p. 21.

³ 'Alī Muḥammad *Khān*, *op. cit.*, Supplement, pp. 2, 92; *ibid.* (Bombay, A. H. 1306), pp. 69, 78.

⁴ Pyārā Ṣāhib, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 34.

⁵ Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁶ *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. B, 310-11.

⁷ *ibid.*, No. D, 47. In copying these inscriptions, I received much help from Shri Usmān I. Desai, Police Sub-Inspector, Māngrol, and Shri Yūsuf Paṭel, Sarpanch, of Vasrāvi, to both of whom I am grateful.

⁸ *Shāh* Nawāz *Khān*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 665-67; Also 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhōrī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1867), part i, pp. 185, 280, 306, 321, 472, 543; *ibid.*, part ii, pp. 136, 160, 161, 163-165, 234, 296; *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 302, 308, 389, 481, 485, 565, 578, 603, 650, 651, 653, 721; Muḥammad Ṣāhib, *Anāl-i-Ṣāhib*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 154, 182, 464, 498, 502, 521-22; *ibid.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 6, 453-54.

⁹ 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, *op. cit.*, vol. I, part i, p. 124.

But he is already mentioned as Khān when he died while Shāh Baig Uzbek was not yet made a Khān until the accession of Shāh Jahān which should make his identification with the governor of the Vasrāvi area more probable.

The style of writing is ordinary *Nasta'liq* and the text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXII(a)

- (۱) الله اکبر
 (۲) دروازہ
 (۳) قلعه بسراہی
 (۴) در جاگیر شاہ
 (۵) جہان و در
 (۶) عمل بندہ درگاہ
 (۷) شاہ بیگ راست
 (۸) شد بتاریخ ۲ جمادی الآخر
 (۹) سنہ ۱۰۲۹

TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh is great.
 (2) The gateway
 (3) of the fort of Basrāhī (modern Vasrāvi),
 (4) situated in the *jāgīr* of Shāh
 (5) Jahān and in the
 (6) governorship of the servant of the court
 (7) Shāh Baig, was constructed
 (8) on 2 Jamādū'l-Ākhar,
 (9) year (A.H.) 1029 (2 Jumāda II 1029-25 April 1620).

XIV-XV. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 1033, FROM MĀNGROL

These two interesting inscriptions pertaining to the time of prince Dāwar Bakhsh's viceroyalty under Jāhāngīr, bear on an identical subject relating to the population of a suburb, called La'lpūra in Māngrol.¹

Māngrol, now a sub-divisional headquarters in the Junāgaḍh district, was a town of great importance. It was, in the pre-Sultanate period, the seat of the Sorath province and in recent times, the seat of a small principality, whose chiefs were called Shāikhs of Māngrol. A number of inscriptions of the imperial Tughluqs, the Sultāns and the Mughals are to be found there.²

¹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 154-55.

² For the location, history, monuments and inscriptions of Māngrol, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. VIII, Kathiawar (Bombay, 1884), pp. 542-43; *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari (CIB)* (Bhāvnagar, 1889), pp. 9-21; *Progress Report of the Western Circle Archaeological Survey of India*, 1898-99, pp. 15-16; *Commissariat, op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 71-77; *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, pp. 54, 57, 59; *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 23-26, 27-37, 38-40; *ARIE*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 135-58.

One of the two inscriptions under study was fixed into the outer face of the wall of a private house situated opposite the mosque in the Lālpurā quarter of the town, when its rubbing was taken in 1954.¹ It was found lying loose by me in the same house when I visited the place in July 1969 in the company of Mr. A. R. *Khush*tar, a prominent citizen and scholar of the town, who is greatly interested in the history of Māngrol and the neighbourhood. When the epigraph was first noticed in or before 1889, the house belonged to one Šadr Miyān.² It now belongs to Sayyid Qāsim 'Alī son of Ibrāhīm who has at the suggestion of Mr. *Khush*tar kindly agreed to its removal to the mosque for preservation. The other epigraphical tablet which was then lying loose in the same house, had already found its way to the mosque.

The tablet bearing the following record measures 22 by 42 cms., and contains an eight-line text mostly in Persian verse, which is executed in a somewhat crudish *Nasta'liq* style. The quality of verse too is rather on the mediocre side. The epigraph records the populating of a suburb proposed to be called La'lpūr evidently after the name of La'l Baig by whose order it was done in 1624. In the text the suburb is described as 'the mine of gems' but what is meant thereby is not clear. Very probably, this description is nothing more than poetic and may have suggested to the composer on account of the name La'lpūr, *la'l* meaning a precious stone, ruby. The tablet having considerably weathered, the date of writing cannot be deciphered beyond doubt.

The reading of the epigraph is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XXII(b)

(۱) الله اكبر

(۲) تا جهان را مدار برگز است

(۳) این بنا را قرار معتبر است

(۴) لعل بیگ امر دران فرمود

(۵) لعل پور را که معدنی گهر است

(۶) لعل غالب چو یافت تاریخش

۱۰۳۳

(۷) سرمدی زین حساب گنگ و کراست

(۸) روز شنبه بتاریخ بیست و سوم ماه رجب نوشته شد

TRANSLATION

- (1) Allāh is great.
- (2) As long as the pivot of the world rests on motion.
- (3) the stability of this edifice is assured.
- (4) La'l Baig, the noble, issued order
- (5) (to populate) La'lpūr which is the mine of gems.

¹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 154.

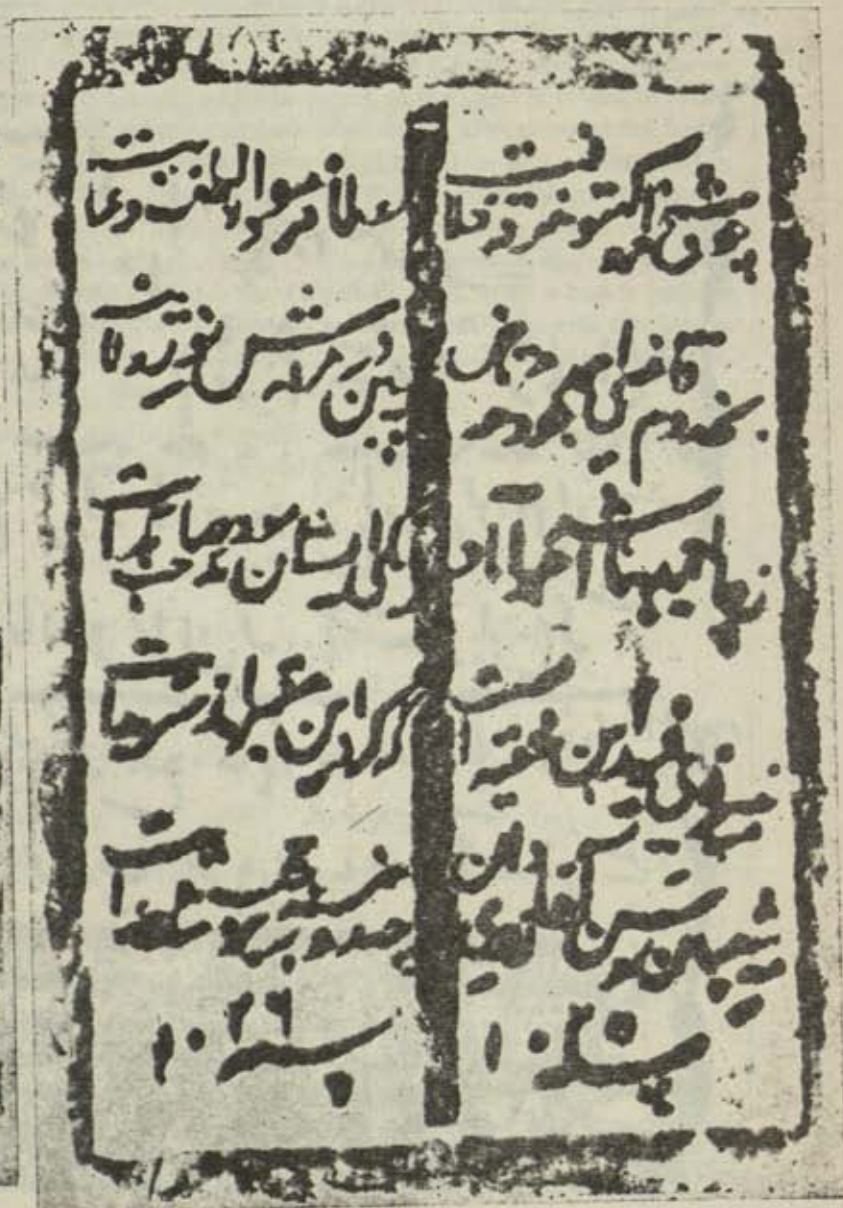
² *CIB*, p. 39.

(a) Record, dated A.H. 1029,
from Vasrāwi (p. 89)



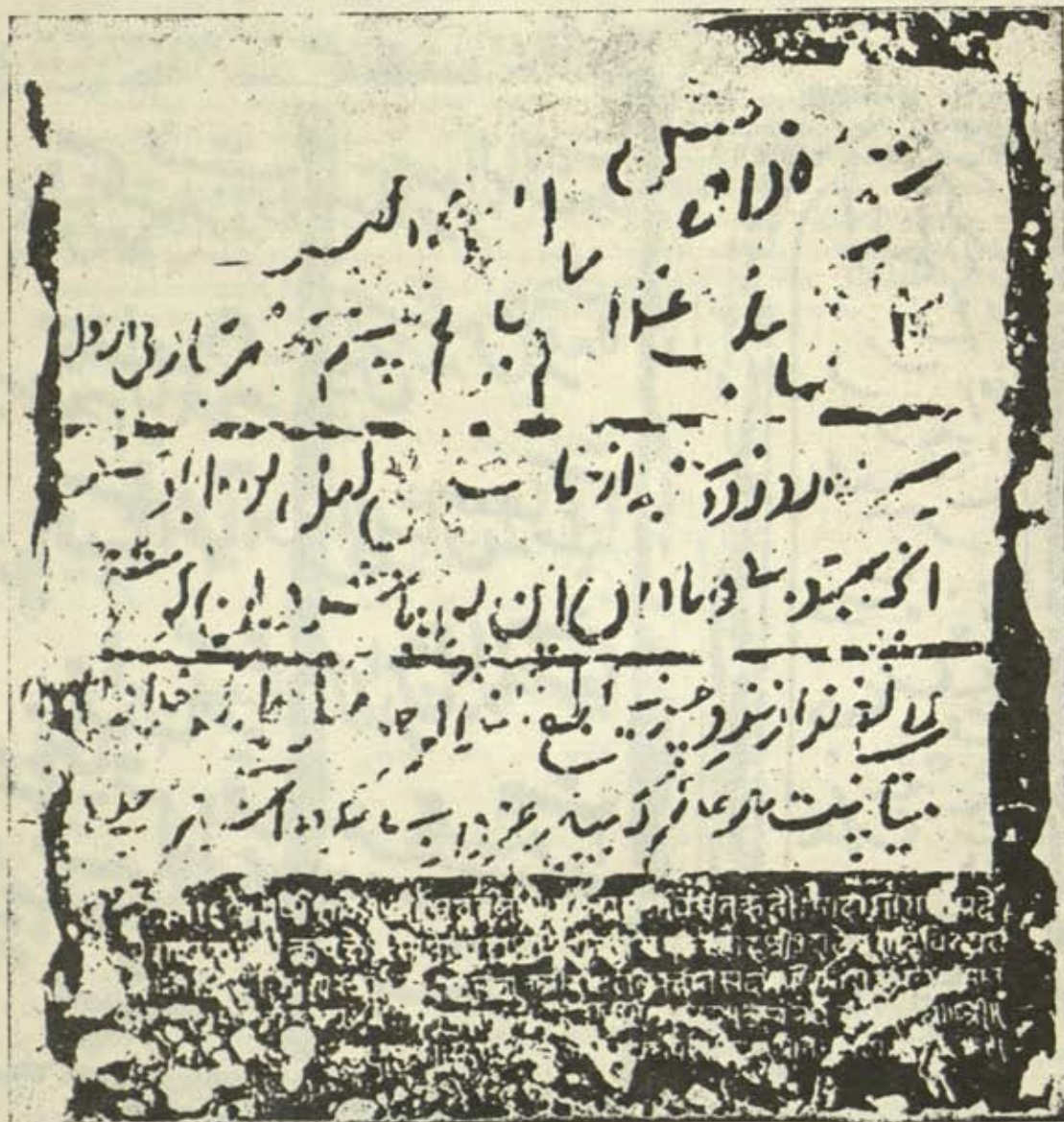
SCALE : 25

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1026, from Pāyan (p. 87)



SCALE : 5

Epigraph, dated A. H. 1033, from Māngrol (p. 91)



SCALE : 4

(6) Since La'l (Baig ?) found *ghālib* (lit. dominant) (A.H.) 1033 (1624 A.D.) as its date,

(7) Sarmadī is dumbfounded by this calculation.

(8) (This) was written on Saturday, the 23rd of the month of Rajab (23 Rajab 1033=1 May 1624).

The tablet bearing the other record which is bilingual, measures 35 by 40 cms., and was lying loose as already stated in the above-mentioned house in 1954 when its rubbing was taken;¹ it is now lying in the mosque. Its six-line text, inscribed in three panels, is badly damaged, and most of the letters have peeled off. It contains the same purport, but it further seeks the cooperation of all and sundry including the officials who might be posted at the place in future to strive for the prosperity of the newly founded suburb and look after it. It also provides the useful information that La'l Baig was the servant of prince Dāwar Bakhsh, whose name is inscribed in the top corner on the right, in the manner of *farmāns* and like official records, though it grammatically belongs to the second line of the text. Incidentally, the *Corpus* reads the portion containing the name of the prince as 'Prince Hasan Jahāngir Akbar'.² The date is given in figures, but these have completely flaked off. The reading quoted in the *Corpus* has A.H. 1033, which is perhaps derived from the previous record. It, however, appears to be correct, tallying with the date in the *Nāgarī* version and moreover, Prince Dāwar Bakhsh whose retainer La'l Baig professes to be, was viceroy of Gujarāt for slightly more than a year from Rajab 1032.

The six-line text in Persian is inscribed in three panels in ordinary or rather crudish *Nasta'liq* style similar to that in the other epigraph and has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII

- (۱) شاه داور بخش الله اکبر
(۲) لعل بیگ غلام شاه (۳) [؟] بتاریخ بیستم شهر جمادی الاول
(۳) سنه [۳۳۰۱ (؟)] روز دو شنبه از عنایت الهی لعل پوره آباد شد
(۴) آنچه بهبودی و آبادانی این پوره باشد دران کوشش
(۵) دریغ ندارند و چیزی طمع نکنند اگر طمع میکرده باشند خدا در
(۶) میانست هر حاکم که بیاید خبردار میکرده باشد برای خدا

TRANSLATION

(1) God is Great. *Shāh Dāwar Bakhsh*.³

(2) La'l Baig, the servant of *sh[āh]*.⁴ On the 20th of the month of *Jumādā'l-Awwal*

¹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 155. It was listed in the *Bhāvnagar Prāchīna Shōdhasaṅgraha* at p. 25 (No. 90 of the Catalogue of Inscriptions given at the end), where only the date (V.S. 1647) and the name of the king are quoted.

² *CIB*, p. 42.

³ As in royal documents, this name should be read along with the text in the second line to which it properly belongs.

⁴ *Shāh Dāwar Bakhsh* in the first line should be read after this.

(3) in the year (A.H.) [1033] (1624 A.D.) on Monday, through Divine favour, La'lpūrā was populated.

(4) For whatever is needed for the betterment and prosperity of this pūra (suburb), no effort

(5) should be spared and no undue expectations should be entertained (by anybody). If anybody entertains any (undue) expectations, God will

(6) intervene (lit. is in between). Every official who comes (to this place) should look after this for the sake of God.

These two inscriptions are thus quite important. If the present locality, now known as Lālpūrā, in one of the houses of which the two slabs were originally found, was also known by the same name, before their texts were made known in about 1889, it would mean that the suburb was located there. It was originally perhaps populated on the outskirts of the town in Jahāngir's time, but in course of time became part of the expanding town itself. In any case, the epigraph has preserved, in the form of a contemporary document, the history of this quarter. Also, it is only these epigraphs which have preserved the name of La'l Baig, who is otherwise totally unknown. He calls himself a slave of Prince Dāwar Bakhsh and therefore, it is a reasonable guess that his association with Māngrol must have been in official capacity.

The Persian version does not contain the name of the ruling emperor, Jahāngir. But the Sanskrit version refers itself to his reign, quoting his name Salīm Shāh, which is generally found used in such inscriptions. This version consists of 5 lines of closely written letters in a minute hand, and seems to be a little more detailed. But unfortunately, it is too badly damaged to admit of complete decipherment. According to the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, who was requested to examine it, 'the record appears to belong to the time of Pātasāha Salīm-Sāha and to contain the details of date such as Vikrama 1681 and Śaka 1546, Vaiśākha su. 12, Monday (=1624 A.D., April 19). The other details are not possible to make out'.

The Nāgarī version was earlier published by the late Mr. D. B. Diskalkar in 1940.¹ His comments on the epigraph are as follows: 'It opens with the date, Monday (?), the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V.S. 1687 or Śaka 1552 and refers to the reign of the emperor Salīm Shāh. It then mentions the name of the viceroy appointed over Saurāṣṭra, but unfortunately his name is missing. In the last line are preserved some letters of an imprecatory verse which shows that a grant was made by this inscription.'

He further remarks that the 'Emperor of Delhi at this time was Shah Jahan and not Salīm Shah which is the other name of Jahangir. Such a mistake is excusable in this distant part of the country'.² Needless to say, this explanation, even otherwise not warranted by facts, is quite contrary to the usual practice. A mistake about the name of the ruling monarch, particularly under the Muslim rulers, the mention of whose names in public was his exclusive prerogative, was considered inexcusable. But as pointed out earlier, Mr. Diskalkar was misled by the wrong reading of the date due to the damaged nature of the writing. Similarly, the purport of the record as determined by him is also incorrect. The imprecatory verse was intended in this case to ensure protection and proper upkeep of the newly founded suburb and not observance of any grant made therein.

¹ *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, No. 9 (December 1940), p. 339. A number of inscriptions from Saurāṣṭra were published by him in the series of articles entitled 'Inscriptions of Kathiawad' in the first three volumes of the same journal. These were separately made available under the title *Inscriptions of Kathiawad*.

² *Ibid.*

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SOME FOURTEENTH CENTURY EPITAPHS FROM CAMBAY IN GUJARAT

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

India's relations with countries of the Middle East are believed to have existed not only from pre-Islamic times but even from times immemorial, but we do not have much in the form of written records or similar evidence for this. Anyway, the advent of the Arabs as a trading community and the growing world-consciousness (not in the material but geographical and one-world concept) which they brought with them must have naturally given further impetus to this traffic, which was and remained for centuries to come, as it is so even now, in the main commercial or exploratory, for in the very early years of Islam, even sporadic efforts to establish political authority on the Indian soil were firmly discouraged by the second caliph *Ḥaḍrat 'Umar* who has gone down in history, as is wellknown, as having severely reprimanded his general for his expedition to the place on western coast identified as *Thānā*.

No doubt, as distant lands of Africa, Central Asia, Persia, etc., gradually came within the fold of Islam, the eastward political penetration resulted in the Arab occupation of Sind in the early part of the 8th century. But the real political association of the Muslims with India came only three centuries later, through the invasions, from time to time, first of the rulers of the House of Subuktigin of *Ghazna* and subsequently of their *Ghori* supplinters, culminating in the establishment of the Muslim rule after the victory of *Muḥammad bin Sām* at the battle of *Tarāin* in 1193.

But even in this interregnum—between the conquest of Sind in 712 and the foundation of Muslim rule in northern India in 1193, the country particularly through its extensive coast-line did have relations with its neighbours in the Middle or Near East, as is amply born out by the accounts of a number of Arab authors in their geographical works or travelogues. But these works immensely valuable as they are—as a matter of fact, they contain authentic and eye-witness description of the various aspects of Indian life—they cannot fully satisfy the curiosity to know the nature of these relations in their details, because by their very nature, these works suffer from a limitation in that the information furnished by them was bound to be of a particular type. It is not unlikely that apart from the works of the geographers, there might be some unexplored material in Arabic and other foreign languages which might contain some information on the subject. Regrettably, no sustained efforts to trace these, if any, have been made nor does there appear any intention or likelihood to do so.

In any case, the material relating to these from the thirteenth century onwards, being available in somewhat greater degree, the pattern of relations becomes a little clearer. Here too, it may be pointed out, the available material is non-Indian and is mostly in the form of

biographical works in Arabic. But in this case, again the difficulty is that unfortunately, even published Arabic works, let alone manuscripts, pertaining to this branch of history, are not easily available in India.¹

There is one more source, unfortunately not so detailed, but more important in a sense, which has a bearing on this aspect. I refer to the epitaphs or rather such of those as have survived not so much the ruthless ravages of time as the thoughtless hand of the vandal and are found at different places of historical importance. In this article, it is proposed to study thirty such epitaphs of the fourteenth century, from an important seaport and commercial centre of the period in Western India, namely Cambay, in Kairā district of Gujarāt State.²

There is a considerable number of epitaphs to be found in this one-time port, majority of which is not *in situ*. They were set up from the first half of the thirteenth century onwards—when Gujarāt was still ruled over by the Chaulukyas and the Vāghelās, and refer to men in different walks of life—officials, scholars, merchants, sailors, craftsmen, etc.³ The group under study is fairly representative in this regard: Of the thirty persons and odd mentioned therein⁴ four were officials or men in authority—one of them was a (royal) Secretary and Minister; two (and perhaps one more) can be distinctly recognised as men of vast learning and erudition; at least three belonged to the community of merchants and business-men including those belonging to, what appear to be, prominent, local families; three were 'freed-slaves', that is to say, they started their career with bondage but were later freed by their masters whose names are also given in each case; and lastly, at least three of the deceased were ladies who, it can be easily surmised, came from families of status—as a matter of fact, one of them is clearly mentioned as having been the spouse of a great merchant and official, as will be presently noted. In the case of the remaining twelve persons or so, it is difficult to ascertain their vocations for want of any specific mention in the text, but it is a reasonable surmise that most of these also belonged to mercantile community.⁵

On the other hand, there is little doubt about the foreign origin of these persons. Almost all of them, with the possible exception of one or two, were settlers from Persia and adjoining territories, as the appellations to their names as al-Banānī, al-Gilānī, al-Hanādānī, al-Kāsarīnī, al-Ardastānī, a't-Tiflīsī, al-Baḡrī, al-Iṣfahānī, etc., tend to suggest. These persons mostly belonging to the mercantile class, had settled down, may be, from more than one generation for carrying on trade and business at Cambay which, being a flourishing port and wealthy town, was eminently suited for the purpose. This and the information about the places from which they originally hailed should provide some material for the nature of relations between different countries and pattern of the foreign settlers on the Indian soil, who must have subsequently merged in the local population.

¹ The importance of these works can be judged by a couple of articles published by me incorporating the information gleaned from a few works available to me: 'India and the Near East during 13th-15th centuries', *Malik Rām Felicitation Volume* (Delhi, 1972), pp. 209-27; 'Relations of India with Middle-eastern countries during the 16th-18th centuries', in *Professor H. K. Sherwani Felicitation Volume*, Hyderabad, 1975.

² References to works containing an account of Cambay and its monuments and inscriptions will be found in *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, pp. 3 (f.n. 7), 4 (f.n. 1-5); *ibid.*, 1962, pp. 3 (& f.n. 2), 6, 19, 20, 27; *ibid.*, 1963, pp. 10 (& f.n. 2), 18, 21, 32, 36, 39, 42, 49; *ibid.*, 1970, pp. 74 (& f.n. 2), 83.

³ As many as five thirteenth century epitaphs from Cambay, dated 1232, 1249, 1284, 1287 and 1291 were published in *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 7, 9, 17, 19, and 22 respectively.

⁴ Some of the epitaphs mention more than one person (apart from his or her father and fore-fathers), as for example, the masters of the freed slaves. Of course, in the absence of any information about the early careers of these freed slaves, their masters cannot be necessarily deemed to have lived in Cambay, but the specific mention of the relationship in the death-record should indicate that in all probability it was so.

⁵ The surname *Khawāja* in the case of a few of them, may perhaps be taken to indicate this.

The epitaphs of freed-slaves throw interesting sidelight on the life of this particular class, and the institution of 'slavery'. Apart from the indication contained in these and some other records about their social status (and indirectly financial too), the very fact that no attempt was made to conceal their antecedents shows that there was no stigma attached to, or any thing ignominious about, this state; it was evidently a case of economic condition. These records prove that these people must have enjoyed sufficient rights and could easily avail of the opportunities for showing their talents in different fields including state service.

The families known from these epitaphs to which a reference has been made above are Bamni, Irbili and 'Alamgar. The first has only one representative in the present group but two earlier members of the family were noticed in a previous number of the series.¹ The Irbilis are represented by two members in this group; one more member of this house also lies buried at Cambay.² Incidentally, in the later of the two Irbili epitaphs here, the sobriquet 'Fatolia' occurs, as was the case with the third Irbili record under reference. Likewise, 'Alamgar too has two representatives in the present group; a third member of this family had died, if not lived, at Rānder, an old habitation near Surat, where his tombstone may still be seen.³ If the family-name 'Alamgar meaning a lance- or banner-maker is any indication, its members might have been engaged in the manufacture of lances or banners.

About the officials and the learned men too, the present group supplies new and hence welcome though unfortunately scanty, information except in the case of one, Maliku'ah Shariq 'Urar al-Kāzarūni, who is mentioned only by the celebrated Moroccan traveller Ibn Battīṭā, as will be pointed out in the proper place.

Calligraphically too, these inscriptions provide a rich feast to the eyes. In general design they follow more or less the same pattern. I had occasion to dwell upon it at some length on a previous occasion⁴ but it may perhaps bear some repetition here. These epitaphs except in the case of one are engraved on arch-shaped tablets, usually of white marble, which are again divided into rectangular panels and arches of different shapes and decorative designs, and the texts comprising, almost as a rule, Quranic verses and the obituary proper are inscribed respectively in the arched portion, in the running borders of the stone as also in some of the horizontal lines of the vertical rectangular portion and in the remaining lines of the last mentioned. The style of writing, broadly speaking, is varied—it is basically *Naskh* or *uth* or rather *Riqā'* in the main text and *Kūfī* or *Thulth* in the headings or *Basmala*.

This pattern of tablets and their style of writing is found to have been more or less standardised in epitaphs to which it is exclusively found employed, more or less for two centuries, without any modification. Since many such epitaphs are found in Gujarāt, mostly at Cambay and also at other far-flung places like Ahmadābād, Rānder, Verāval (in the western part of the province), Pāṭan, etc., I was first led to describe the style as typical of Gujarāt, at least in India,⁵ but since those lines were written some more material has come to my notice which shows that this pattern was also in fashion in southern Arabia.⁶ I was also told, almost a decade and a half back, by an Indonesian delegate to the International Conference on Asian Archaeology held at New Delhi in

¹ *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³ *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 37, plate XXIIb. Rānder is now part of Surat city.

⁴ *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 2-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶ For a similarly executed epitaph from Zufār in Oman, see *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad-Dn., Vol. IX (1935), pp. 402-10, pls. A-1, B-1, A-2, B-2, and C.

1961 that in his country too, this type of tombstones was in vogue. But I have not been able to procure any further information in this regard.

A striking aspect of the epitaphs studied below is that as many as twenty-six out of the total thirty belong to persons who died in the first half of the century, the latter half only claiming four. Representing as they do a fair sample-survey of epitaphs from Cambay, this fact may not be without significance and may perhaps be taken to reflect the fluctuations in the social and economic life of Cambay. Could the diminishing number in the latter half of the fourteenth century have been due in some measure at least, to the fact that it was not as peaceful as the earlier half, politically speaking, both for the province and the town, or to any change in the status of Cambay consequent upon the concentration of political power in the north of the province, to wit, at Pāṭan (Nahrwālā of Muslim historians)?

As has been stated earlier,¹ most of these epigraphs, twenty-one to be exact, had been noticed and listed by the Archaeological Surveyor of the Western Circle more than half a century back,² but unfortunately, their notices are usually incomplete and incorrect.

It may be noted that all but three of these epitaphs are not *in situ*. The tablets of most of them are built up into the walls of the Tomb of a local saint popularly known as Parvāz Shāh, Parvār Shāh or Parvāz Shāhid, which is situated on the north-western outskirts of the town.³ The entire area around the tomb particularly on its west and south sides is strewn with tombs and graves. While most of their tombstones have either disappeared or lie buried in the ground, one can still see a few lying about here and there. It is from this burial ground that the headstones now preserved in the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh must have been removed. They were lying loose in the Tomb premises at the time of the survey referred to above (for they are mentioned in the Report as 'Tombstones collected in the Tomb') and must have been built up into walls, as of now, in 1946 when its present building was constructed.⁴ A few more headstones from this burial ground seem to have been removed to the Tomb of Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn, also situated in the same graveyard half way to the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid, while a few seem to have found their way to some Tombs and mosques of the town.

Of the epitaphs studied here, nineteen are from the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh (with two more from outside it) and two each from the Tomb of Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn, Tomb of Buhlūl Shāhid and Faras-pur ki-Masjid. The remaining three are the only ones *in situ*—two fixed at the head of graves

¹ *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 3-4.

² *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle (PRWC)*, for the year ending 31st March 1920 (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 49-54, Appendix Q, Nos. 1-9, 11, 14, 16-22, 32-33, 41, 57-58.

³ The tomb, a modern structure constructed about three decades back, comprises a large rectangular hall, with the grave of the saint under a wooden canopy. Nothing is known about the saint or his times except that his name was *Shāikh* 'Alī Jawālīqī, according to a framed short notice in Arabic, which runs as follows: 'Praise be to Allāh and obligation too. And salvation and peace be on Muḥammad the best of mankind and his progeny and companions. This edifice of the (tomb-)garden (which is) from among the gardens of Paradise, (containing the remains of) His Holiness the martyr, *Shāikh* 'Alī Jawālīqī, known as Pīr Parvār, may his secret be sanctified, was raised from its very foundation a second time and completed on the 29th of the month of *Dhū'l-Qa'da* of the year five and sixty and three hundred after one thousand, from the Migration of the Prophet (29 *Dhū'l-Qa'da* 1365=25 October 1946).'

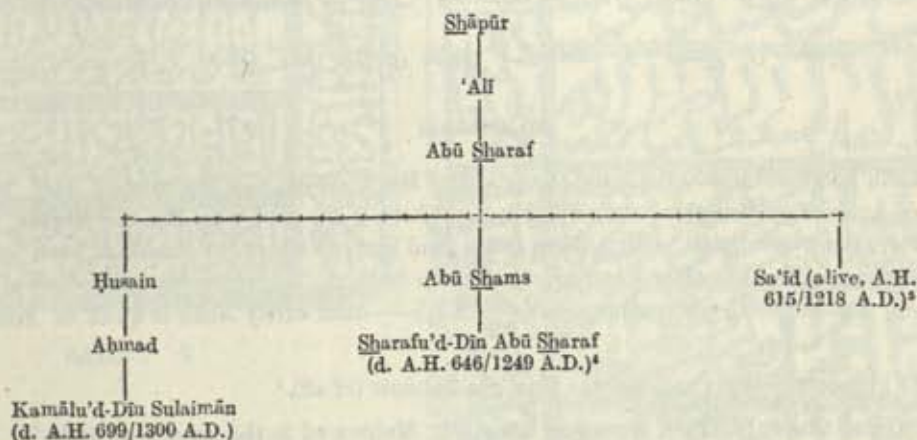
⁴ There are in all twenty-six headstones thus preserved in this Tomb, out of which eleven occur in the east, six in the west, four in the south, and two in the north wall. These have been listed in our annual reports, but through oversight, the walls have been wrongly specified in the provenance of fifteen of these, viz. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1956-57, Nos. D, 69-83. The correct provenance is: Nos. 69, 70, 72 and 81, in the south wall, Nos. 71, 77 and 80, in the east wall, Nos. 73, 74, 75, 76, 78 and 82, in the west wall, and Nos. 79, 83, in the north wall.

in the mausoleum forming the southern annexe of the Jāmi' Mosque and one at the grave of Bīṭī Rānī at Nagarā, a village five kilometres to the north of Cambay.

I. EPITAPH DATED A.H. 699 (1300 A.D.)

The first epigraph is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet of white marble, measuring 68 cm. from apex to bottom and 36 cm. at the base, which is fixed at the head of a grave on a low platform, situated to the left of the passage just outside the entrance of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh.¹ A wide margin inscribed with Quranic verses runs all along the tablet, except at the bottom; its arched portion is decorated with a trifol arch resting on jambs with foliated patterns at their sides, and above the arch is inscribed the formulae vesting the proprietorship of the entire worldly kingdom in Allāh. The rectangular portion under the arch is divided into seven horizontal panels, the first containing the First Creed, the second a Quranic verse and the rest, the obituary proper, according to which the grave was that of Kamālu'd-Dīn Sulaimān son of Aḥmad son of Ḥusain son of Abī (i.e. Abū) Sharaf al-Bammī who had died on Monday, 30th Jumādā 699 (22nd February 1300). The text designates the deceased as *al-Ḡharīb* meaning 'the stranger in the land' that is to say a foreigner or emigrant, which may be taken to indicate that he had not yet finally settled down in Cambay when death overtook him. He seems to have been one of the merchants from foreign countries carrying on trade here. His *nisba* al-Bammī shows that Kamālu'd-Dīn Sulaimān belonged either by birth or origin, to Bamm, a famous fortress-town between Kirmān and Zāhidān in the Kirmān province of Irān.²

The deceased appears to have been a member of what appears to be the Bammī family residing at Cambay. Two more persons with this *nisba* who find mention in epigraphs from Cambay are Sa'id son of Abū Sharaf son of 'Alī son of Shāpūr al-Bammī (alive in 1218) and Sharafu'd-Dīn Abū Sharaf son of Abū Shams son of Abū Sharaf al-Bammī (died in 1249).³ Taking their names and their dates into account, all the three appear to have been the off-spring of one fore-father as per the following genealogical table:—



¹ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 131; *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 51, No. 41.

² Yāqūt, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān* (Cairo, 1906), Vol. II, under Bamm; Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i-Guzida*, ed. E. G. Browne (Leyden, 1910), p. 633; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft-Iqlīm*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1963), p. 333.

³ See the next two foot-notes.

⁴ He built a mosque at Cambay in this year (*EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 5-6, pl. I a).

⁵ For his epitaph, see *ibid.*, pp. 9-10, pl. II a.

The text is executed in the *Riḡā'*-mixed *Naskh* style of writing of a fairly good quality and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(a) Margin.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جا [ء] هم العلم
بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(b) Above the arch.

الملك لله الواحد القهار

(c) Horizontal panels.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) كل من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال و الاكرام

(٣) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف الغريب المرحوم المغفور

(٤) المذنب المحتاج الى رحمة الله تعالى كمال الدين

(٥) سليمان ابن احمد ابن حسين ابن ابي شرف البهي تغمده الله

(٦) بالرحمة و الرضوان و اسكنه في دار الجنان توفي يوم

(٧) الاثنين سلخ جمادى الاول سنة تسعة و تسعين و ستماية

TRANSLATION

(a) 'Allāh bears witness that there is no god but He, and (so do) the angels and those possessed of knowledge, being maintainer of justice; there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Surely, the true religion with Allāh is Islām, and those to whom the Book had been given did not show opposition but after knowledge had come to them, out of envy among themselves; and whoever disbelieves in the communication of Allāh—then surely Allāh is quick in reckoning.'¹

(b) The kingdom belongs to Allāh the One, the Subduer (of all).²

(c) (1) (First Creed:) 'There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh'.

(2) 'Every one on it must pass away. And there will endure for ever the person of Your Lord, the Lord of glory and honour.'³

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter III, verses 17-18.

² Cf. *ibid.*, Chapter XL, verse 16.

³ *Ibid.*, Chapter XL, verses 26-27.

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 699 (p. 6)



SCALE : 2

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 700 (p. 7)



SCALE :

(3) This is the grave of the weak creature, the stranger (or emigrant), the one who is called unto Allāh's mercy and pardoned,

(4) the sinful, the dependent on the mercy of Allāh the Exalted, Karālu'd-Dīn

(5) Sulaimān son of Aḥmad son of Ḥusain son of Abī Sharaf al-Bammī (lit. of Bamm), may Allāh cover him

(6) with (His) mercy and pleasure and settle him in the abode of Paradise. He died on Mon-

(7) day, last day of (the month of) Jumādā the First (of the) year (A.H.) nine and ninety and six hundred (last day i.e. 30 Jumādā I 699=22 February 1300).

II. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 700 (1301 A.D.)

This epitaph is from the Tomb of Pir Tāju'd-Dīn, a small modern open four-walled enclosure, referred to above,¹ which must have originally formed part of the main burial ground of the town but fenced off not very long ago.² There are three graves in this enclosure, and the epigraph studied below is the one from the middle grave.³

The marble-tablet is as usual arch-shaped and comparatively plain. Measuring 52 cm. from apex to bottom and 35 cm. in width at the base, it has a margin all around except at the bottom, which contains one of the two Quranic texts usually found in epitaphs from Cambay. In the arched portion is inscribed the First Creed, and below it, the first and the second of the six horizontal panels contain *Basmala* and a famous Quranic verse on the mortality of human beings. The epitaph proper contained in the remaining four lines marks the grave to be that of Tāju'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Muḥammad a'z-Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī who is stated to have expired on Monday, the 9th Jumādā II 700 (19th February 1301).

The *nisba* al-Qazwīnī makes the deceased Tāju'd-Dīn an Iranian settler or emigrant. Though locally venerated as a saint, there is nothing in the text to invest him with any saintly status or spiritual powers. Very probably, he was one of the innumerable merchants, traders, craftsmen or artisans who are usually found at such busy ports as Cambay was in those days.

The text which is executed in *Riqā'*-mixed *Thulth* style of a fairly high quality has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(a) Margin.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملائكة واولوا العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام وما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم
بنبيا بينهم ومن يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

¹ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 117. It was first noticed in *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 32.

² Here on a small platform at the back may be seen the epitaph dated A.H. 630 or 1232 A.D. (*EIAPS*, 1961, p. 7, pl. I b).

³ There are four more headstones embedded into the north and east walls (*ARIE*, 1959-60, Nos. D, 118-121). These tablets must have been brought to this place from the graveyard after the visit of the Archaeological Surveyor in 1919-20, since they are not mentioned in his report but the one under study is (*PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 32).

(b) *Within the arch.*

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) كل نفس ذائقة الموت

(٣) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف الراجي الى رحمة الله

(٤) تعالى تاج الدين محمد ابن محمد الزكريا القزويني

(٥) تغمده الله بالرحمة والرضوان واسكنه في دار الجنان

(٦) وقد توفي يوم الاثنين التاسع من شهر جمادى الاخر سنة سبعماية

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.¹

(b) First Creed.²

(c) (1) (*Basmala* :) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) 'Every soul shall taste of death'.³

(3) This is the grave of the weak creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allāh.

(4) the Exalted, Tājū'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Muḥammad a'z-Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī (ut. of Qazwīn),⁴

(5) may Allāh cover him with (His) mercy and pleasure and settle him in the abode of Paradise.

(6) And he died on Monday, the ninth of the month of Jumādā the Second (of the) year (A.H.) 700 (9 Jumādā II 700=19 February 1301).

III. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 707 (1307 A.D.)

The arch-shaped tablet bearing this extremely interesting epitaph is of considerable size measuring 1.12 metre from apex to bottom and 53 cm. in width and is built up into the north wall of the Tomb of Parvāz *Shahīd*.⁵

The record comprises religious text and the epitaph proper, as in the case of the two preceding epitaphs, but in this instance, there is more Quranic text and the arrangement of the whole record is also somewhat more elaborate. In addition to the three-sided margin, there are two inner vertical panels, the arch-base is converted into a separate horizontal panel and the arched area on the tablet is ornamented with a trifoil arch. The central or main portion consists of ten inscribed panels of uniform size except the first one which is wider.

¹ For translation, see p. 6.

² For translation, see p. 6.

³ *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 184.

⁴ Qazwīn is a famous town in Irān.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 79.

PLATE II

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 707 (p. 9)



SCALE : ·12

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 709 (p. 11)



SCALE : ·17

The outer and inner margins contain two different sets of Quranic verses, the arch-base is inscribed with the *Basmala*, the first two horizontal panels are taken up with the First Creed and a Quranic verse, the third, fourth and part of the fifth record a Tradition of the Prophet on the fleeting character of human life, and the rest contain the obituary stating that the grave belonged to *Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad* son of 'Ali son of *Yahyā* son of *al-Jauzī al-Jazrī* who expired on Tuesday, the 17th Rabi' II 707 (16th October 1307).

The epigraph was briefly noticed in the Progress Report referred to above, where the year of death was wrongly quoted as A.H. 709 and the name of the deceased and those of his father and grandfather were given as 'Shamsuddin Muhammad bin Suraihi ibn alī Jawzī al-Jazari'.¹

While nothing is known about the deceased, the epithets used for him in the text show him to be a leading personality of his times, at least in the field of religious knowledge and learning. He is described as 'the savant well-versed in the subtleties of knowledge, the leading teacher and pursuer of Truth and the *Muftī* (i.e. giver of *Fatwā* or religious decisions) of sections and groups.'

It has not been possible to identify the deceased or to get hold of any particulars of his life.² The epigraph calls him a martyr which means that he had met his death in one of the ways laid down in the religious law for martyrdom, such as killing, drowning, snake-bite, etc. Also, he is mentioned as *al-Gharīb* i.e. a stranger or one from another land, indicating that he was an enigrant or a new-comer to Cambay.

The text is executed in the same *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* which marks the calligraphy of the thirteenth century epitaphs of this type and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate II(a)

(a) Outer margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذ له منة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض
من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه
الا بما شاء ومع كرسية السموات و الارض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم لا اكراه
فى الدين قد تبين الرشد من الغي فمن يكفر بالطاغوت و يؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى
لا انفصام لها و الله سميع عليم

(b) Vertical panels, right and left.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملايكة و اولو [ا] العلم قايم بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جا [ء]هم العلم
بنبيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

¹ *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, Appendix Q, No. 3.

² It is difficult to say if Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Jazari (d.A.H. 833), the celebrated author of the famous work *al-Hisn al-Hajin* was among his descendants,

الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يؤده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم لا اكره في الدين قد تبين الرشد من الغي فمن يكفر بالطاغوت ويؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى لا انفصام لها والله سميع عليم

(b) Vertical panels, right and left.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملائكة واولو[ا] العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام وما [ا]ختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم بغيا بينهم ومن يكفر بآيات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(c)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٣) كل نفس ذائقة الموت

(٤) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٥) خالدين فيها ابدا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(٦) هذا قبر العبد الغريب المرحوم المغفور الراجي الى

(٧) رحمة الله تعالى مصباح عتيق المولى زين الدين

(٨) علي بن مظفر الملاذرى نور الله قبره بسعة مغفرته

(٩) توفي عشرين جمادى الاخر سنة تسعة و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.¹

(b) *Ibid.*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.²

(c) (1) *Basmala*.³

(2) First Creed.⁴

(3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, part of verse 184.⁵

(4) ' Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs ;

(5) abiding therein for ever; surely Allāh has a Mighty reward with Him.'⁶

¹ For translation, see p. 10.

² For translation, see p. 6.

³ For translation, see p. 8.

⁴ For translation, see p. 6.

⁵ For translation, see p. 10.

⁶ *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.

(6) This is the grave of the creature, the stranger (who is) received into (Allāh's) mercy (and is) hopeful of

(7) the mercy of Allāh the Exalted, Miṣbāḥ, the freed slave of the Lord,¹ Zainu'd-Dīn

(8) 'Alī son of Muẓaffar al-Malādhari, may Allāh illumine his grave with His ample pardon.

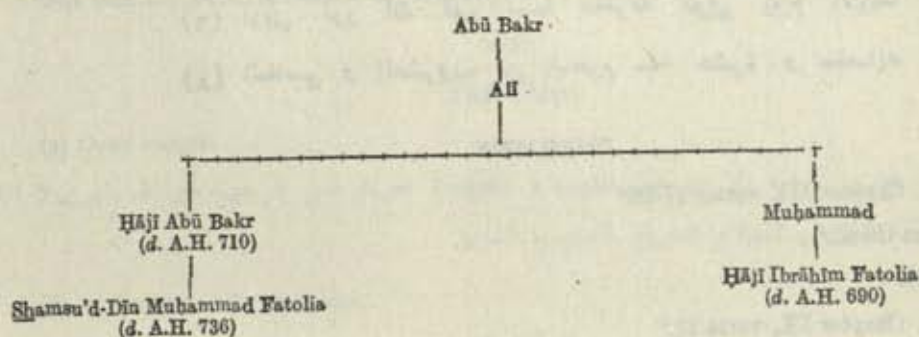
(9) He died on the twentieth (of the month) of Jumādā the Second (of the) year (A.H.) nine and seven hundred (20 Jumādā II 709=25 November 1309).

V. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 710 (1310 A.D.)

This arch-shaped headstone also comes from the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhīd, where it is built up, fourth from right, in the eastern wall.² It is smaller in size being only 55 cm. in height and 25 cm. in width and has a single marginal border inscribed with Quranic text and horizontal panels within, containing religious texts followed by the epitaph proper.

This tombstone was originally set up on the grave of Ḥājī Abū Bakr son of 'Alī son of Abū Bakr Irbīlī, who died on the 25th Muḥarram 710 (24th June 1310). In the Progress Report where the tombstone is noticed, the deceased's *nisba* is given as Adbalī.³

As in the case of the other persons mentioned in the preceding epitaphs, nothing is known about Abū Bakr Irbīlī. But there are found at Cambay at least three epitaphs bearing this *nisba* Irbīlī i.e. of Irbīl, a town near Mosul in modern Irāq, and from this it can be safely surmised that he belonged to the same family, which guess is further corroborated by the names of the three persons—Ḥājī Ibrāhīm son of Muḥammad son of 'Alī al-Irbīlī known as Fatolia (d. A.H. 690),⁴ Ḥājī Abū Bakr son of 'Alī son of Abū Bakr al-Irbīlī, mentioned in the epitaph under study (d. A.H. 710) and Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Abū Bakr son of 'Alī Irbīlī (d. A.H. 736), whose epitaph has also survived (No. XXIII, *infra*). We would not perhaps be much wrong, on the basis of this information to draw up a genealogy of these persons as under :—



Very probably, thus, the deceased belonged to the Irbīlī family of Cambay, which appears to have been a leading business-house of the town : Ḥājī Ibrāhīm has been described in his epitaph as 'the magnificent chief, the great and glorious master, king of merchants and prince of ship-masters', etc.,⁵ while the epitaph under study calls Ḥājī Abū Bakr 'the respected chief'. In

¹ The text has Maulā, an equivalent of *Khawāja* in Arabic-speaking countries

² *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 123.

³ *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 20.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 77; *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 23, pl. Vb.

⁵ *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 24.

the case of the other two members, the *alias* 'Fatolia' is used, but the present epitaph omits it. As has been stated elsewhere, Fatolia appears to have been a sobriquet for the family rather than for the individual.¹

The calligraphy of this record is similar to that in the previous records, the script being *Riqā'*-mixed *Naskh*. Its text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate III(b)

(a) Border.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملائكة واولو[ا] العلم قايما بالتسبط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام وما اختلف الذين اوتوا[ا] الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم
بغيا بينهم ومن يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(b) Horizontal panels.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٣) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٤) هذا قبر الصدر المحترم المرحوم المغفور الراجي

(٥) الى رحمة ربه حاجي ابو بكر بن علي بن ابو بكر

(٦) ادبلى نور الله قبره بسعة مغفرته توفي يوم الاربعاء

(٧) الخامس والعشرون من المحرم سنة عشرة و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.²

(b) (1) First Creed.³

(2) *Basmala*.⁴

(3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verse 21.⁵

(4) This is the grave of the respected chief, one who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy (and) pardoned, hopeful

(5) of the mercy of his Nourisher, Hājī* Abū Bakr son of 'Alī son of Abū Bakr

¹ *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 23, where the word Fatolia has been explained.

² For translation, see p. 6.

³ For translation, see p. 6.

⁴ For translation, see p. 8.

⁵ For translation, see p. 10.

* One who has performed the *Hajj*, i.e. made a pilgrimage to the Ka'ba at Mecca.

(6) Irbilī (i.e. of Irbil, near Mosul), may Allāh illumine his grave with His ample pardon. He died on Wednesday,

(7) the twentyfifth of (the month of) Muḥarram (of the) year (A.H.) ten and seven hundred (25 Muḥarram 710=24 June 1310).

VI. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 713 (1314 A.D.)

This is the epitaph of another person who has been described in the text as a freed slave. It is inscribed on an arch-shaped headstone fixed, second from right, into the north wall of the Tomb of Fravāz Shahīd¹ and conforms, more or less, to the ornate—two-margins—type of the tombstones in the present group. There is, however, a slight variation in the Quranic text.

According to the epigraph, the grave belonged to one Amīnu'd-Dīn Kāfūr, a freed slave of the merchant Sharafu'd-Dīn Mahdī son of Muḥammad al-Hamadānī, who had died on 1st Dhu'l-Qa'da A.H. 713 (17th February 1314). No further informatin is contained in the text about Amīnu'd-Dīn, except that his former master was a merchant by profession and had hailed from Hamadān, the famous city in western Irān.

The notice of this epitaph by the Archaeological Surveyor in his Progress Report is misleading and confusing: The deceased is stated to be 'Asruddin Kāfūr Atīq (ibn) Sharfuddin Mehdī ibn-i-Muḥammad al-bāqir-ul-Hamdānī'.² Both the one-time slave and master have been mistaken as son and father due to the ignorance about the term 'Atīq, and the Arabic term for merchant, (a't-Tājir), due to lack of diacritical marks and peculiar style of writing, was erroneously read as 'al-bāqir'.

The style of writing is again typical *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* and the calligraphy is of a fairly high order. The tablet measures about 102 cm. from apex to bottom and is 38 cm. in width.

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(a) Outer margin.

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحیم هو الله الذی لا اله
[الا] هو الملك القدوس السلام المؤمن المهیمن المیز

(b) i. Corners at the arch-base.

الملك لله

ii. Vertical panels and top (arch-base) panel.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو المیز
الحکیم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جا[ء]هم العلم
بنبیا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب صدق الله

¹ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 83, where it is wrongly stated to be in the eastern wall.

² *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, Appendix Q, No. 4.

(8) Horizontal panels.

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ

(٣) يُبَشِّرُهُمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِرَحْمَةٍ مِنْهُ وَرِضْوَانٍ وَجَنَّاتٍ لَهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ

(٤) مُقِيمٌ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَلَا إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزِيزٌ مُجِيبٌ

(٥) هَذَا قَبْرُ الْعَبْدِ الْمَرْحُومِ الْمَغْفُورِ أَمِينِ الدِّينِ كَافُورِ

(٦) عَتِيقِ الْمَرْحُومِ شَرْفِ الدِّينِ مَهْدِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ التَّاجِرِ الْهَمْدَانِيِّ

(٧) تَعَمَلَهُ اللَّهُ بِرَحْمَتِهِ وَرِضْوَانِهِ وَاسْكَنَهُ بِحَبُوحَةِ جَنَّتِهِ تَوْفَى يَوْمَ الْآرِثَةِ

(٨) غَرَّهُ ذُو الْقَعْدَةِ سَنَةِ ثَلَاثَةِ عَشَرَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ (كَذَا) عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ

TRANSLATION

(a) 'He is Allāh besides whom there is no God: The knower of the unseen and the seen; He is the Beneficent, the Merciful. He is Allāh, besides whom there is no god; the King, the Holy, the Author of peace, the Granter of security, Guardian over all, the Mighty.'¹

(b) Kingdom belongs to Allāh.

(c) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18,² followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.

(d) (1) *Basmala*.³

(2) First Creed.⁴

(3-4) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.⁵

(5) This is the grave of the creature, received in (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, Aminu'd-Din Kāfūr,

(6) the freed slave of the one who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy, Sharafu'd-Din Mahdī son of Muḥammad, the merchant, al-Hamadānī (i.e. of Hamadān),

(7) may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pleasure and grant him abode in the centre of His Paradise. He died on Wednesday,

(8) the first (of the month) of *Dhu'l-Qa'da* (of the year (A.H.) thirteen and seven hundred (1 *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 713=17 February 1314). And Allāh's salutation be on Muḥammad (the Prophet).

VII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 715 (1315 A.D.)

One more family or professional name has come to light through this epitaph, which is inscribed on an arch-shaped tablet of white marble, now fixed, seventh from right into the eastern wall of

¹ *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.

² For translation, see p. 6.

³ For translation, see p. 8.

⁴ For translation, see p. 6.

⁵ For translation, see p. 12.

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 713 (p. 15)



SCALE : ·15

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 710 (p. 14)



SCALE : ·28

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.¹

(b) (1) First Creed.²

(2) *Basmala*.³

(3) This is the grave of the weak creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy (and) pardoned,

(4) Hājī son of Muḥammad son of Aḥmad, popularly known as 'Alamgar (i.e. lance- or banner-maker),

(5) may Allāh render his sleeping-place cool. He died on Monday, the eighth

(6) of the month of Ramaḍān (of the) year (A.H.) fifteen and seven hundred (8 Ramaḍān 715=6 December 1315).

The sixth day of December of the year 1315, according to Ephemeris, was not Monday, but Saturday. This may perhaps be due to the calculations based on the actual sighting of the moon or the reckonings of the Calendar followed in the Arab countries.

VIII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 716 (1316 A.D.)

This is quite an interesting epitaph. It furnishes some important, though meagre, historical information, not found elsewhere. It mentions two persons, one-time master and slave who, judging from the titles and epithets appended to their names, held position of authority during their life-time.

The epitaph is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet of marble, measuring 102 cm. from apex to bottom and 38 cm. at the base, which is fixed into the eastern wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shabīd, ninth from right.⁴ The text is executed in a slightly more elaborate and artistic way, but the somewhat crowded writing fails to produce the desired effect. The calligraphical style is the usual *Naskh* with strong *Riqā'* tendency.

The epitaph was intended for the grave of the great, the just and the learned Malik Ṣalāḥu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn who is reported to have met a martyr's death on Tuesday, the 17th⁵ Jumādā II 716 (6th September 1316). The deceased's name and title are indicative of the high official status held by him in life. That he had risen to the position of a great Malik from that of a slave is clear from the fact that the text describes him as a freed slave of Muḥlis a's-Sultānī, who too, from his appellation a's-Sultānī appears to have been an official of high rank. It may be particularly noted that the deceased is stated to have been a man of great learning.

But it is unfortunate that we do not have more details about either the Malik or his one-time master or about their duties, place of postings, etc. For want of any such possible information it is not possible to say if the deceased had served his master in Gujarāt or elsewhere. Even then, its importance as a historical document of note is apparent, having preserved the name of an official of position who flourished during the early years of the consolidation of the Muslim rule in Gujarāt—having died hardly within two decades of the conquest of the province by 'Alāu'd-Dīn

¹ For translation, see p. 8.

² For translation, see p. 8.

³ For translation, see p. 8.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 128.

⁵ *Ibid.* has 18th which is a misprint.

Khalji in 1297-98. This information is all the more valuable since contemporary, let alone later, historians give practically no information about the officials posted in the province. As it is, apart from one epigraph, dated 1314, mentioning the Gujarāt governor and two other officials, from Peṭlād,¹ not far from Cambay, it is only at Cambay that records preserving the names of officials who flourished within the first quarter of the Khalji conquest of Gujarāt are found. It may be recalled here that in this town lies buried a governor (*hökīm*) of Cambay (d. 1299), probably its first.²

As usual the brief notice of the inscription as given in the Progress Report is confusing and incorrect: according to it, the tombstone belonged to 'Sālihūd-dīn Ātiq who died on the 17th Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 716 A.H. is styled Mukhlis-i-Sultānī and was most probably an officer who had served Sultan 'Ālauddīn Muhammad Khalji of Delhi in person'.³ This notice suffers from a number of inaccuracies, which can be corrected with the help of the text and translation quoted below:—

TEXT

9

Plate IV(a)

(a) Arch-margin.

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن [الرحیم] هو الله الذی لا اله
الا هو الملک القدوس السلام المؤمن المهیمن العزیز

(b) Outer margin, under (a).

الله لا اله الا هو الحی القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض من
ذی الذی یشفع عنده الا باذنه یعلم ما بین ایدیهم و ما خلفهم و لا یحیطون بشئ من علمه
الا بما شاء [هـ] وسع کرسیه السموات و الارض و لا یؤده حفظهما و هو العلی العظیم لا اکراه فی
انذین قد تبین الرشید من الغی فمن یکفر بالعلاوت و یو من بانه فقد استمسک بالعروة الوثقی
لا انفصام لها و الله سمیع علیم

(c) Vertical panels, right and left.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولو [ا] العلم قایما بالقسط لا اله [الا] هو العزیز
الحکیم ان الدین عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذین او توا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جا [هـ] هم
المعلم بغیا بینهم و من یکفر بایات الله فان الله سریع الحساب صدق الله العظیم

(d) Horizontal panels.

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) یشهرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان

¹ *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 33, pl. XI b.

² *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 3-4, pl. I a.

³ *PRWC*, 1919-20, pp. 49, No. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

- (٣) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم
 (٤) هذا قبر الملك الكبير العالم
 (٥) العادل المرحوم المغفور السعيد
 (٦) الشهيد صلاح الدولة و الدين
 (٧) عتيق مخلص السلطان برد الله
 (٨) مضجعه قد توفى ليلة الثلاثاء
 (٩) عشر من شهر جمادى الاخر سنة
 (١٠) السادس عشر و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) 'He is Allāh besides whom there is no god: the Knower of the unseen and the seen; He is the Beneficent, the Merciful. He is Allāh, besides whom there is no god; the King, the Holy, the Author of Peace, the Granter of security, Guardian over all, the Mighty.'¹

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.²

(c) *Ibid.*, Chapter III, verses 17-18,³ followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh the Magnificent'.

(d) (1) First Creed.⁴

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verse 21.⁵

(4) This is the grave of the great and learned Malik,

(5) the just, the one taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, the fortunate,

(6) the martyr, Ṣalāḥu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn (lit. welfare of the State and Religion),

(7) the freed slave of Mukhlis a's-Sultānī, may Allāh render cool

(8) his resting-place. He died on the night of Tuesday, the seven-

(9) teenth of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhar (of the) year (A.H.)

(10) sixteen and seven hundred (17 Jumādā II 716=6 September 1316).

IX. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 721 (1321 A.D.)

In general design as well as arrangement and execution of text, this epitaph resembles the preceding one to a fairly large extent. It also contains the same Quranic text with small additions in two three places. These facts may perhaps be indicative of a similar status of the deceased for whose grave this tombstone was intended.

¹ *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.

² For translation, see p. 10.

³ For translation, see p. 6.

⁴ For translation, see p. 6.

⁵ For translation, see p. 10.

The tablet is as usual arch-shaped and measures 85 cm. from apex to bottom and 50 cm. in width. It is now preserved in the Tomb of Parvāz Shāh where it is built up, sixth from right, into the southern wall,¹ but it was originally meant to mark the grave of one Fakhrū'd-Dīn Aḥr ad son of Ḥusain son of Abū Bakr, popularly known as 'al-Qāḍī'l-Iṣfahānī' i.e. the Iṣfahānī Qāḍī, who is stated to have died a martyr on Sunday, the 25th Rabi' II 721 (24th May 1321).

The cognomen recorded in the text by which he was popularly known shows that the deceased discharged the duties of the local judge and might have headed the judicial department as it existed then. It also proclaims him not only to be of Iranian extraction but probably a fresh immigrant. Needless to say, whatever position he might have held in his time, he is not known from any other source.

The style of writing is *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate V(b)

(a) *Arched margin.*

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن [الرحیم هو] الله الذی لا اله الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المومن المهبین العزیز

(b) *Outer margin.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحی القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض من ذی الذی یشفع عنده الا باذنه یعلم ما بین ایدیهم و ما خلفهم و لا یحیطون بشئ من علمه الا بما شاء [ء] وسع کرسیه السموات و الارض و لا یؤده حفظهما و هو العلی العظیم لا اکراه فی الدین قد تبین الرشد من الغی فمن یکفر بالطاغوت و یومن بالله فقد استمسک بالعروة الوثقی لا انقصاص لها و الله سمیع علیم صدق الله

(c) *Vertical panels, right and left.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قایما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزیز الحکیم ان الدین عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذین اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاء [ء] هم العلم بغیا بینهم و من یکفر بآیات الله فان الله سریع الحساب و ما محمد الا رسول

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۳) یشهرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فیها نعیم

(۴) مقیم خال الدین فیها ایدا ان الله عنده اجر عظیم

- (٥) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور السعيد الشهيد فخر الدين
 (٦) احمد بن حسين بن ابو بكر المعروف القاضي الاصفهاني
 (٧) تغمده الله برحمته و غفر له و اسكنه بجوحة جنانه توفى يوم
 (٨) الاحد خامس و عشرون ربيع الاخر سنة احدى و عشرين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.¹

(b) *Ibid.*, Chapter II, verses 255-56,² followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.

(c) *Ibid.*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.³ 'And Muḥammad is no more than an apostle'.⁴

(d) (1) First Creed.⁵

(2) *Basmala*.⁶

(3-4) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.⁷

(5) This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, the fortunate, the martyr, Fakhr'u'd-Dīn

(6) Aḥmad son of Ḥusain son of Abū Bakr commonly known as al-Qāḍī al-Iṣfahānī (i.e. the Iṣfahānī Qāḍī or Qāḍī, originally from Iṣfahān),⁸

(7) may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pleasure and grant him abode in the centre of his Paradise. He died on Sun-

(8) day, twentyfifth (of the month of) Rabi'u'l-Ākhar (of the) year (A.H.) one and twenty and seven hundred (25 Rabi' II 721=24 May 1321).

X. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 728 (1327 A.D.)

This is yet another tombstone preserved in the Tomb of Pir Parvāz Shāhid. It is arch-shaped, measuring 86 cm. from apex to bottom and 42 cm. in width and is embedded, first from right, into the eastern wall.⁹ It more or less conforms, in general design and execution, to the other tombstones in this group.

The epitaph was originally set up on the grave of Khawāja Kabīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad son of Mangūr al-Kuhrāmī, i.e. of Kuhrām, who died, according to the text, on Friday, 5th Muḥarram 728 (20th November 1327). The text contains nothing which could throw light on the life of the Khawāja; only his *nisba* al-Kuhrāmī can be taken to indicate that he hailed from Kuhrām, probably an important fort of that name (Kohrām) in the Panjab in the medieval period. If so,

¹ For translation, see p. 20.

² For translation, see p. 10.

³ For translation, see p. 6.

⁴ *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, part of verse 143.

⁵ For translation, see p. 6.

⁶ For translation, see p. 8.

⁷ For translation, see p. 12.

⁸ Iṣfahān is the name of a famous city in Irān.

⁹ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 71, where it was stated to be in the northern wall.

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 721 (p. 21)



SCALE : .15

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 728 (p. 23)



SCALE : .17

it would mean that though not a foreigner in the strict sense, he was a new comer to Cambay. Whether he came there in the capacity of an official, a mere visitor, or a trader, it is difficult to say. Nevertheless, the distinct reference to a North-Indian resident of Cambay, is not without historical interest.

The epitaph was briefly and correctly noticed in the Progress Report except that the *nisba* of the deceased is omitted there and the day of the month is stated to be 6th instead of 5th Muharram.¹

The text is inscribed in the usual *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* style and has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate V(a)

(a) *Arched margin.*

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن [الرحیم هو] الله الذی
لا اله الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المؤمن المهيمن العزيز الجبار [المستکبر...]

(b) *Vertical panels, right and left.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض
من ذی الذی يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بین ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه
[الا] بما شاء [هـ] وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم صدق الله

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

i. Arch-base :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قل هو الله احد [الله] الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد

ii. Below i :

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٣) خالدین فيها ابدا ان الله عنده [ا] جر عظيم

(٤) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الراجی الی رحمة ربه خواجه كبير الدين

(٥) محمد منصور الکهرامی نعمته الله برحمته و غفرانه و اباحه بحبوبة جنانه قد توفى

(٦) يوم الجمعة الخامس من شهر المحرم سنة ثمان و عشرون و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.²

¹ *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 16.

² For translation, see p. 20.

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255,¹ followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.

(c) i. 'In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Say: He, Allāh, is One. Allāh is He on whom all depend. He begets not, nor is He Begotten. And none is like Him.'²

ii. (1) First Creed.³

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.⁴

(4) This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, the hopeful of the mercy of his Nourisher, *Khawja Kabir'u'd-Din*

(5) Muḥammad (son of) Maṣṣūr al-Kuhrāmī i.e. of Kuhrām, may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pleasure and habitate him in the centre of His Paradise. He died

(6) on Friday, the fifth of the month of Muḥarram (of the) year (A.H.) eight and twenty and seven hundred (5 Muḥarram 728-20 November 1327).

XI. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 730 (1329 A.D.)

The arch-shaped tablet on which this epitaph is inscribed measures 75 cm. in height and 35 cm. at the base and is built up in the southern wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid.⁵ It contains, as usual, religious text, comprising in this case, in addition to the Quranic texts a saying of the Prophet on the transitoriness of the world. According to the epitaph, the grave belonged to Abū Bakr son of Aḥmad *alias* Lakariyā⁶ a'r-Rānerī, i.e. of Rāner (Rānder), who died on the 13th Muḥarram 730 (16th November 1329).⁷

The deceased belonged, according to his *nisba*, to Rāner, which is the name used by the Arab writers for Rānder near Surat, across the River Tāpti. No other information about him or his vocation, etc., is furnished by the record or any other source. But the epigraph furnishes an important piece of information that the deceased was popularly known as *Lakariyā* which is a Gujarāṭī word meaning 'associated with or related to wood'. This *alias* may perhaps signify his profession—dealer in timber or so, or some trait or distinguishing character of his.

The style of writing is the *Biqr'-mixed Naskh* of more or less the same type as is found in Cambay epitaphs of the period.

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VI(b)

(a) *Arched margin.*

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحیم هو الله الذی لا اله

الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المؤمن المهيمن العزيز الجبار

¹ For translation, see p. 10.

² *Qur'ān*, Chapter CXII.

³ For translation, see p. 6.

⁴ For translation, see p. 12.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 70, where it was stated to be in the northern wall.

⁶ In *ibid.*, the *alias* is given as Zakariyyā.

⁷ In *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, No. 11, an incomplete gist is given.

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 730 (p. 26)



SCALE : .22

(b) Another epitaph of the same date (p. 24)



SCALE : .2

(b) *Outer margin and arch-base.*

و سيق الذين اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمرا حتى اذا جاؤها و فتحت ابوابها و قال [لهم]
 خزنتها سلام عليكم طبتم فادخلوا [ها] خالدين و قالوا الحمد لله الذي صدقنا وعده و اورثنا الارض
 لتبوا من [ال]جنة حيث نشاء فنعم اجر العاملين و ترى الملائكة حافين من حوله العرش يسبحون
 بحمد ربهم و قضى بينهم بالحق و قيل الحمد لله رب العالمين

(c) *Inner margin.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو. و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايماء بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
 الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الا سلام و ما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم
 بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب صدق الله العظيم

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

- (١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم
 (٣) مقيم خالدين فيها ابدا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم
 (٤) قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم كن في الدنيا
 (٥) كأنك غريب او كعابر سبيل و عد نفسك من اصحاب القبور
 (٦) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم ابو بكر بن احمد عرف لكريا الرانيري
 (٧) نور الله قبره قد انتقل من دار الفنا يوم السبت الثالث عشر من
 (٨) شهر المحرم سنة ثلاثون و سبعمائة و صلى الله على محمد

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.*¹

(b) 'And those who are careful of (their duty to) their Lord shall be conveyed to the garden in companies ; until they come to it, and its doors shall be opened and the keepers of it shall say to them : Peace be on you, you shall be happy; therefore enter it to abide. And they shall say : (All) praise is due to Allāh, who has made good to us His promise, and He has made us inherit the land ; we may abide in the garden where we please ; so goodly is the reward of the workers. And you shall see the angels going round about the throne glorifying the praise of their Lord ; and judgment shall be given between them with justice, and it shall be said : All praise is due to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds. '²

(c) *Qur'ān, Chapter III, verses 17-18,*³ followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh the Magnificent'.

¹ For translation, see p. 20.

² *Qur'ān, Chapter XXXIX, verses 73-75.*

³ For translation, see p. 6.

(d) (1) First Creed.¹

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.²

(4-5) Tradition of the Prophet.³

(6) This is the grave of the creature received into (Allāh's) mercy, Abū Bakr son of Aḥmad *alias* Lakariyā a'r-Rānerī i.e. of Rāner,

(7) may Allāh illumine his grave. He passed away from the house of mortality on Saturday, the thirteenth of

(8) the month of Muḥarram (of the year A.H.) thirty and seven hundred (13 Muḥarram 730=16 November 1329).

13th Muḥarram of the Hijra year 730 fell on Monday and not on Saturday as stated in the text. This could be due to calculations as pointed out in a similar case in the previous lines.

XII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 730 (1329 A.D.)

This damaged epigraph, noticed here for the first time, is engraved on a fragmentary arch-shaped tablet: its upper part is missing. Since in other respects, it conforms to the general type of tombstones from Cambay, the missing portion must have contained religious text.

The tablet is built up into the north wall of the Tomb of Buhlūl *Shahīd*, situated in the Tīn Lūndī or Chhipwāl locality of the town.⁴ The Tomb itself is a modern structure, being nothing more than a rectangular room, approximately 9 by 2.5 metres, and is situated just across the road, at the back of the mosque of the said locality. There is a loose tombstone lying in the Tomb which is also included in the present study (No. XXIX, *infra*).

The headstone originally belonged to the grave of one Tāju'd-Dīn 'Iwāḍ son of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Qazwīnī i.e. of Qazwīn, a famous town in Irān, who died on 7th Muḥarram 730 (31st December 1329). The deceased's name proper is written without any diacritical mark and was earlier read⁵ as *Ghāsiwīs* meaning a 'diver' (the *alif* of the word *ibn* preceding it was taken to belong to that name). But since the names vogue at this period as a rule were double, comprising both the title and the name proper (e.g. Kanālu'd-Dīn Salāimān, Tāju'd-Dīn Muḥammad, etc.), and also since the *alif* is written across the word *bin* and after the word in question, the reading 'Iwāḍ is preferable. The deceased was an Iranian immigrant to or settler in Cambay.

The epitaph is calligraphed in the same *Naskh* style bearing a greater resemblance to *Riqā'*. It reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate VI(a)

(a) Margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض من الله قد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى لا انفصام لها والله سميع عليم [صدق الله العظيم]

¹ For translation, see p. 6.

² For translation, see p. 10.

³ For translation, see pp. 10-11.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. 1, 107. It measures 37 cm. by 47 cm.

⁵ *Ibid.*

(b) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) [لا اله الا الله [محمد رسول الله

(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٣) خالدين فيها ابدًا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(٤) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور تاج الدين عوض ابن

(٥) عبد العزيز قزوینی تغمده الله برحمته و غفرانه و اباحه بجنوبه

(٦) جنازه توفى يوم الاثنين السابع شهر المحرم سنة ثلثون و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56 (middle portion lost);¹ this was probably followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh the Magnificent'.

(b) (1) First Creed.²

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.³

(4) This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, Tāju'd-Dīn 'Iwāḍ son of

(5) 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Qazwīnī (i.e. of Qazwīn), may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pardon and settle him in the centre

(6) of His Paradise. He died on Monday, the seventh (of the) month of Muḥarram (of the) year (A.H.) thirty and seven hundred (7 Muḥarram 730=31 December 1329).

XIII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 730 (1330 A.D.)

This is also one of the epitaphs preserved in the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid, where its arch-shaped ablet, measuring 100 cm. from apex to bottom and 45 cm. in width is built up into the eastern wall, eighth from the right side.⁴

In general design and arrangement this epitaph conforms to the ornate variety of the group dealt with in this article. From the text, it appears that it was originally set up on the grave of one Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Umar son of Sa'dāt-Tifisī (in Georgia), who had died on Wednesday the 11th Shā'bān 730 (30th May 1330). The deceased, thus, originally belonged to Tifis, that is to say modern Tbilisi—the capital of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. It would be perfectly safe to presume that he was one of the foreign merchants stationed at Cambay.

¹ For translation, see p. 10.

² For translation, see p. 6.

³ For translation, see p. 12.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 127. It is the same as *PEWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 22, where it was stated to pertain to 'Tajuddīn Umar bin Saiyad Asalīnī (t)', and the year of demise was quoted as A.H. 720.

The style of writing is *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* of the same variety as in other epitaphs under study, and the text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VII(b)

(a) *Arched margin.*

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحیم هو الله الذی
لا اله الا هو الملك القدوس السلام المؤمن المهيمن العزيز الجبار المتكبر

(b) *Outer margin, including arch-base.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحی القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فی السموات و ما فی الارض
من ذی الذی يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بین ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من
علمه الا بما شا[ء] وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يوده حفظهما و هو العلی العظيم لا اكراه
فی الدين قد تبين الرشد من الغی فمن يكفر بالطاغوت و يؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى
لا انفصام لها و الله سميع عليم

(c) *Vertical panels.*

و سيق الذين اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زمرا حتى اذا جاوها و فتحت ابوابها و قال لهم خزنتها
سلام عليكم طبتم فادخلوها خالدين و قالوا الحمد لله الذی صدقنا وعده و اودننا الارض لتبوا
من الجنة حيث نشا[ء] فنعلم اجر العاملين و قرى الملائكة حافين من حول العرش يسبحون بحمد
ربهم و قضى بينهم بالحق و قيل الحمد لله رب العالمين

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٣) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و

(٤) جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالدين فيها

(٥) ابدا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(٦) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور سراج الدين

(٧) عمر ابن سعد التفليسي تغمده الله برحمته و غفرانه و اباحه بحبوبة

(٨) جنازه توفي يوم الاربعاء الحادى عشر من شهر شعبان سنة

(٩) ثلثون و سبعمائة و صلى الله على محمد و اله اجمعين

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.¹

(b) *Ibid.*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.²

(c) *Ibid.*, Chapter XXXIX, verses 73-75.³

(d) (1) First Creed.⁴

(2) *Basmala*.⁵

(3-5) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.⁶

(6) This is the grave of the creature, taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, Sirājū'd-Dīn

(7) 'Umar son of Sa'd a't-Tifisi i.e. of Tifis (modern Tbilisi), may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pardon and settle him in the centre of

(8) His Paradise. He died on Wednesday the eleventh of the month of *Sha'bān* (of the) year (A.H.)

(9) thirty and seven hundred (11 *Sha'bān* 731=30 May 1330). And Allāh's salutations be on Muhammad and his progeny, all of them.

XIV. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 731 (1330 A.D.)

This is a fragmentary tombstone built into the west wall of the mosque in the quarter of the town called Faraspur or Piraspur,⁷ which is locally believed to have been a corrupt form of Pīrūspūr or Fīrūspūr so called after either Fīrūz Shāh of the Tughluq dynasty, or after some local official or man of note. The mosque itself is a modern structure, and this as well as another epitaph, included in the present study (No. XXVII, *infra*) which is also built up into the same place, were apparently brought to this mosque to save them from disappearance or damage.

The arched portion of the tablet is lost. The writing is also badly affected by prolonged exposure to elements of nature, neglect over centuries and perhaps hand of vandal too. The result is that the letters are damaged in many places, particularly in the horizontal panels where the epitaph proper occurs. It is on this account that the name, the title and the *nisba* of the deceased as also the name of his father, etc., which are usually met with in such epitaphs are illegible. However, the name has been tentatively read as al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm while that of his grandfather as Muṣliḥ. The deceased is stated to have departed from this world on the 5th Rabi' I 731 (17th December 1330).

This epigraph also does not seem to have come to the notice of the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India or any other agency earlier.

¹ For translation, see p. 20; the Quranic verse is continued to two words further, meaning 'the Supreme, the Possessor of every greatness'.

² For translation, see p. 10.

³ For translation, see p. 25.

⁴ For translation, see p. 6.

⁵ For translation, see p. 8.

⁶ For translation, see p. 12.

⁷ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 99.

Its style of writing is *Riqā'*-like *Naskh*. Its text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(a) Outer margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض
من ذى الذى..... بالطاغوت ويؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى
لا انفصام لها والله سميع عليم صدق الله

(b) Vertical panels, right and left.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملائكة واولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو.....
الامن بعد ما جاءهم العلم بغيا بينهم ومن يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب وما محمد الا
رسول

(c) Horizontal panels.

- (١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان و جنات لهم فيها
(٣) نعيم مقيم خالدين فيها ابدًا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم
(٤) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الحاج ابراهيم (؟) بن
(٥) مصلح.....تغمده الله برحمته
(٦) و غفرانه توفي يوم الاربعاء خامس من ربيع الاول سنة احد ثلثين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56 (middle portion lost),¹ followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18 (middle portion lost).² 'And Muḥammad is no more than a prophet'.³

(c) (1) First Creed.⁴

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.⁵

(4) This is the grave of the creature, taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned al-Ḥājj Ibrāhīm(?) son of.....

¹ For translation, see p. 10.

² For translation, see p. 6.

³ *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, part of verse 143.

⁴ For translation, see p. 6.

⁵ For translation, see p. 12.

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 731 (p. 30)



SCALE : 2

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 730 (p. 28)



SCALE : 14

(a) Another epitaph dated A.H. 731 (p. 31)



SCALE : '3

(b) Third epitaph dated A.H. 731 (p. 33)



SCALE : '22

(5) Muslihmay Allāh cover him with His mercy

(6) and pardon. He died on Wednesday, the fifth of Rabi' u'l-Awwal (of the) year (A.H.) one and thirty and seven hundred (5 Rabi' I 731=17 December 1330).

XV. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 731 (1331 A. D.)

This tombstone is built up, fifth from left, into the west wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shahid¹ and measures 25 by 47 cm. The writing at the top in the arched margin is slightly damaged.

The epitaph was originally placed on the grave of a man well-versed in Islamic lore, for, the text calls him the greatest Imām Maulānā Muḥammad son of Aḥmad al-Jauhar al-Fārsī (i.e. of Fārs or Irān proper),² who died on Saturday, the 24th Rajab 731 (3rd May 1331). From the epithets used with his name, it would appear that the Maulānā was considered to be a man of learning and erudition and was respected as a great savant. His *nisba* indicates his Iranian origin if not birth. It would be futile, as usual, to expect any details about the Maulānā from any other source. As it is, the epigraph under study is the only document which has preserved even his name for posterity.

This epigraph was noticed in the Progress Report where the Maulānā's name has been correctly read, but the date is stated to have been lost.³ This is rather inexplicable as the date is very much there and quite distinct too. The tablet is small and the design is also simple reflecting very probably, one is tempted to feel, the simplicity of the deceased's life. The script is *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* and the text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII(a)

(a) Margin.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملائكة واولوا العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا.....
.....جا[ء]هم العلم بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب [صدق الله]

(b) Horizontal panels.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها

(٣) نعيم مقيم هذ[ا] قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الفقيه الى الله

(٤) تعالى مولانا امام الاعظم محمد ابن احمد الجواهر الفارسي نعمه الله برحمته و

(٥) غفراته توفي يوم السبت رابع و عشرين من شهر رجب سنة احد و ثلثين و سبعمائة

¹ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D. 82, where it is wrongly stated to be in the west wall.

² The present Fārs province of Irān with Shīrāz as its capital.

³ *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, No. 6.

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18 (middle portion lost),¹ followed by the phrase 'Rightly says Allāh'.

(b) (1) First Creed.²

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verse 21.³ This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, one who is supplicant of Allāh

(4) the Exalted, Maulānā (lit. our master), the greatest Imām Muḥammad son of Aḥmad al-Jauhar (lit. related to or associated with Jauhar i.e. essence) al-Fārsī (lit. of Fārs i.e. Irān proper), may Allāh cover him with His mercy and

(5) pardon. He died on Saturday the twentyfourth of the month of Rajab (of the) year (A.H.) one and thirty and seven hundred (24 Rajab 731=3 May 1331).

XVI. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 731 (1331 A.D.)

This epitaph is almost of the same design as the preceding one, but is larger in size. It is also preserved in the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid where it may be seen built up, second from left, in the southern wall.⁴ The tablet, slightly damaged at the top, is arch-shaped, measuring 60 cm. in height and 36 cm. in width.

The epitaph states that the grave—for which it was obviously meant—contained the remains of one Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī son of Najīb son of Ḥamīd al-Hanjūrī, who is stated to have expired on the 8th Dhū'l-Qa'da 731 (14th August 1331). The *nisba* is indicative of the deceased's foreign origin, but due to lack of reference books here at Nāgpur, it is not possible to locate the place to which he originally belonged. Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī was evidently one of the fraternity of foreign settlers in the town carrying on trade or following some similar vocation.

The epigraph was also noticed in the Progress Report where, the name of the deceased's father and his *nisba* were wrongly read. According to this notice, the epitaph records the death of one 'Zainudin 'Alī bin Mujīb bin Jahān-ul-Hanjawīnī'.⁵ The similarity between the place-name Hanjawin indicated by this wrongly read *nisba* and the name of the town Hamyamana or Hunjamana mentioned in two Sanskrit copper-plate grants of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Konkan gave rise to the speculation that the name mentioned in the Arabic inscription may be the same as Hamyamana. It was also suggested in the same notice that it may be from this Hanjawan⁶ or Hamjaman that Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī's father may have migrated to Cambay.⁷

In view of the fact that the place-name mentioned in the epigraph is clearly Hanjūr or Hanjwar,⁸ this identification loses whatever validity it might have had. I take the town to be positively non-Indian, though at the moment, for the reason stated above, I am unable to indicate its geographical position.

¹ For translation, see p. 6.

² For translation, see p. 6.

³ For translation, see p. 10.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 72, where it is stated to be in the west wall.

⁵ *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, Appendix Q, No. 14.

⁶ This has been wrongly identified with modern Sanjār or the basis of the Pārsī legends (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, pp. 258 ff).

⁷ *PRWC* (1919-20), pp. 57-58.

⁸ For want of diacritical marks, its exact pronunciation cannot be determined. It could also be Hanjaur, Hinjaur, Hinjūr and Hinjwar, but it is obvious that it has nothing to do with Hanjawīn or Hamjamana.

The style of writing is the usual *Riqā'-type Naskh*. The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VIII(b)

(a) Margin.

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 و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه
الا بما شا[ء] ومع كرسية السموات و الارض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم لا اكراه فى
الدين قد تبين الرشd من الغنى فمن يكفر بالطاغوت و يؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى لا
انفصام لها و الله سميع عليم

(b) Horizontal panels.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) [بسم] الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٣) كل نفس ذائقة الموت ثم الينا ترجعون

(٤) هذا القبر (كذا) العبد الضعيف المرحوم المغفور زين الدين على

(٥) بن نجيب بن حميد الهنجورى غفر الله له و لوالديه و لجميع

(٦) المومنين و المومنات يوم الرابع الثامن من شهر

(٧) ذالقعده سنة احدى و ثلثين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.¹

(b) (1) First Creed.²

(2) *Basmala*.³

(3) 'Every soul must taste of death, then to Us you shall be brought back.'⁴

(4) This is the grave of the weak creature, taken into (Allāh's) mercy and pardoned, Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī

(5) son of Najīb son of Ḥamīd al-Hanjūrī, may Allāh forgive him, his parents and all the

¹ For translation, see p. 10.

² For translation, see p. 6.

³ For translation, see p. 8.

⁴ *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXIX, verse 57.

(6) faithful men and women. (He died) on Wednesday, the eighth of the month of

(7) Dhu'l-Qa'da (of the) year (A.H.) one and thirty and seven hundred (8 Dhu'l-Qa'da 731= 14 August 1331).

XVII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 731 (1331 A.D.)

This arch-shaped tombstone, also from the Tomb of Parvāz Shahid, is built up, tenth from right, into the eastern wall and measures 1 metre from apex to bottom and 47 cm. in width. It was intended for the grave of one Khwāja Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad son of 'Umar al-Humānī who died on Sunday the 19th of Dhu'l-Qa'da 731 (24 August 1331).

From the text, it is difficult to say anything definite about the social or professional status of the late Khwāja, but if the fact that in general design and execution, the epitaph belongs to the ornate type, is any indication, the deceased was a man of standing. The surname Khwāja prefixed to his name may also be reasonably taken to indicate that Shihābu'd-Dīn belonged to the respectable class of traders. That he was also a foreigner is clear from his *nisba*, though for want of reference books, its exact connotation cannot be determined.

The epigraph was also noticed in the Progress Report, where the *nisba* is doubtfully read as Hamānī and the day as Saturday.²

The script employed is the same stylish *Riq'a*-like *Nasikh* which while conforming in general to the characteristics of most of the epitaphs of the town, is in particular akin to that of the previous epitaph. The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate IX(a)

(a) Arched margin.

هو الله الذی لا اله الا هو عالم الغیب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحیم الملك القدوس
السلام المومن

(b) Outer margin and arch-base.

وسیق الذین اتقوا ربهم الى الجنة زورا حتى اذا جاؤھا و فتحت ابوابھا و قال لهم خزنتمھا
سلام علیکم طبتم فادخلوها خالدين و قالوا الحمد لله الذی صدقنا وعده و اورثنا الارض نقبوا [ا] من
الجنة حيث نشاء [هـ] فنعم اجر العاملين و ترمی الملائكة حافین من حول العرش یسبحون بحمد ربهم
و قضی بینهم بالحق و قیل الحمد لله رب العالمین

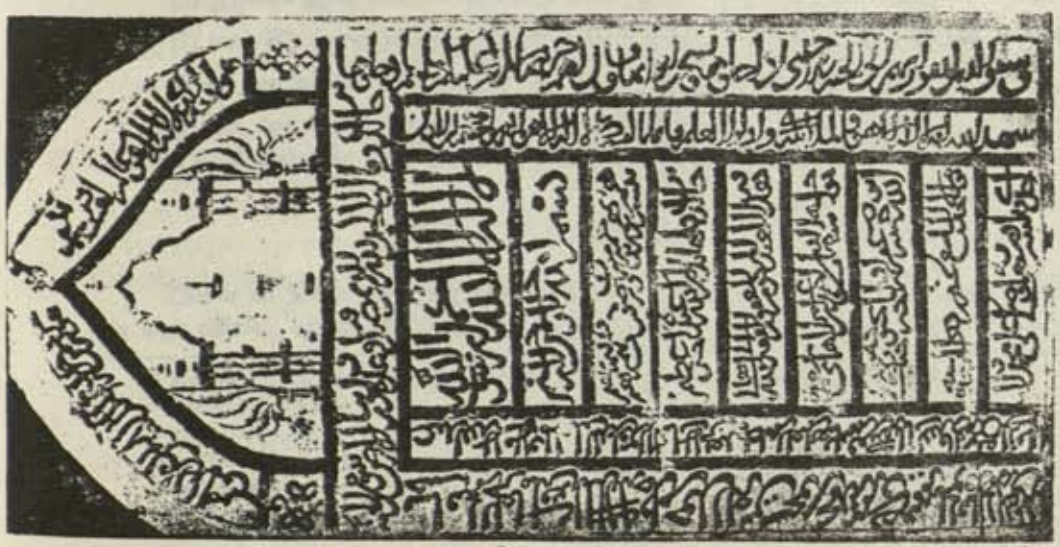
(c) Vertical panels, left and right.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا [ا] العلم قایما بالتسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحکیم ان الدین عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذین اتوا الكتاب الا ان بعد ما جاءهم العلم
بغیا بینهم و من یكفر بآیات الله فان الله سریع الحساب

¹ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D 129.

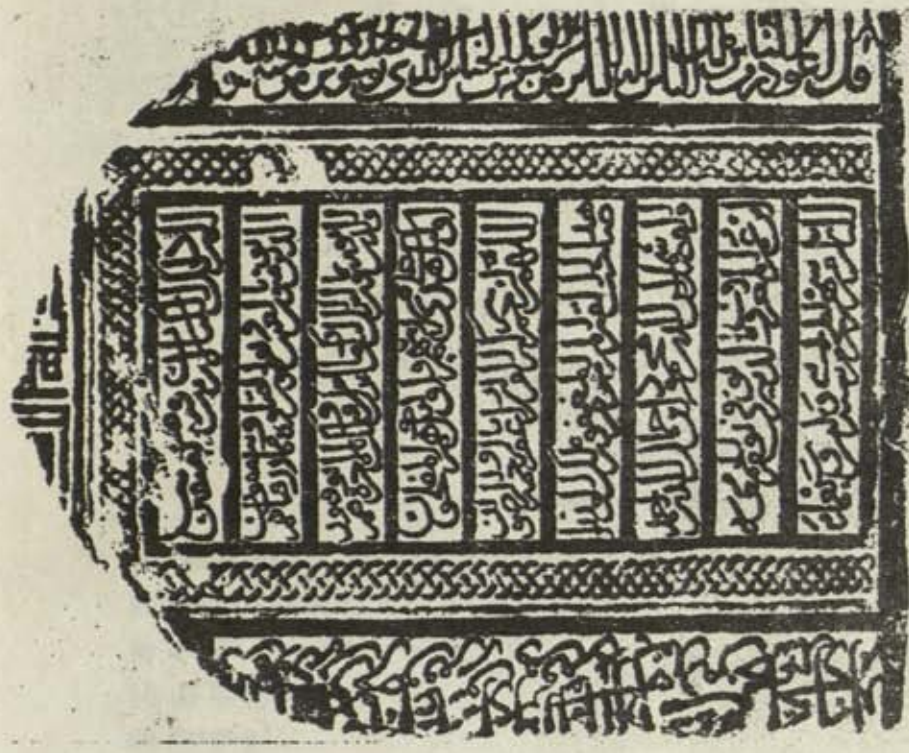
² *PEWC*, 1919-20, p 49, No. 2.

(a) Fourth epitaph dated A.H. 731 (p. 34)



SCALE : 15

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 732 (p. 37)



SCALE : 18

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۳) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان و جنت لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(۴) خالدين فيها ابدا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(۵) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الفقير الى الله تعالى

(۶) خواجه شهاب الدين احمد ابن عمر الهمامي تغمده

(۷) الله برحمته و غفرانه و اباحه بحبوحه جنازه قدتوفى

(۸) يوم الاحد التاسع عشر من ذى القعدة سنة

(۹) احدى و ثلثين و سبعمائة و صلى على محمد و اله

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter LIX, verse 22 and part of verse 23.¹(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXXIX, verses 73-75.²(c) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.³(d) (1) First Creed.⁴(2) *Basmala*.⁵(3-4) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.⁶

(5) This is the grave of the creature, taken into Allāh's mercy and pardoned, one who is dependent of Allāh,

(6) *Khwāja Shihābū'd-Dīn Aḥmad* son of 'Umar al-Hunāmī, may Allāh cover him

(7) with His mercy and pardon and settle him in the centre of His Paradise. He died

(8) on Sunday, the nineteenth of (the month of) *Dhu'l-Qa'da* (of the) year (A.H.)(9) one and thirty and seven hundred (19 *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 731=24 August 1331). And may (Allāh's) salutation be on Muḥammad and his progeny !

XVIII. EPITAPH DATED A.H. 732 (1331 A.D.)

This is an historically important record which was set up to mark the last resting-place of a high official, about whom nothing is known from any other source. That the importance of

¹ For translation, see p. 20 (upto 'Grantor of security' with some portion missing).² For translation, see p. 25.³ For translation, see p. 6.⁴ For translation, see p. 6.⁵ For translation, see p. 8.⁶ For translation, see p. 12.

the record was not realised so far is not due to lack of the knowledge of its existence. As a matter of fact, it happens to be one of the tombstones listed in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, but due perhaps to the incorrect decipherment of its text, the true identity of the deceased remained unestablished. The tombstone was described in the said report as that of 'Shamsuddin Maḥmūd son of Jamāl-ud-dīn Aḥmad bin 'Umar al-mārūf (?) ad-dīn'.¹ According to our reading, the text states that the grave contained the remains of the 'Prince among ministers and accomplished men' Shamsu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd son of Jamāl-ud-Dīn Aḥmad son of 'Umar, commonly known as the 'Dabīr' i.e. Secretary. He is stated to have died on Friday, the 8th of Muharram 732 (11th October 1331).

The deceased thus held a fairly high official position in his life-time. He worked, as the sobriquet 'Dabīr' implies, in the epistolary department with the rank of minister. Whether he acted as Secretary at the Imperial court or in the provincial administration, it is neither clear from the text, nor is it possible to ascertain, but from the title 'prince of ministers' used for him, it may be inferred that he was an imperial officer. Again, it is difficult to say if he was posted at Cambay, the place of his burial and presumably that of his death too, or he had been here on a short visit. In any case, the inscription furnishes the information, not to be found elsewhere, about a Tughluqian official: that he is called prince among the ministers and accomplished men and a Secretary shows that he was not only adept in the art of *belles lettres*, but was also celebrated for learning. The text unfortunately offers no clue as to his nationality or place of origin. The absence of any *nisba* should perhaps be reasonably taken to indicate his Indian stock.

The arch-shaped headstone bearing the record, which is built up, fifth from right, into the eastern wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid,² is fragmentary: measuring in its present state 53 cm. by 65 cm., almost whole of the arched portion of the original tablet at the top is gone, and consequently, the texts contained in the arched margin and within the arch, if any, and greater portion of the *Basmala* are lost. It is difficult to determine the cause of the damage, natural or otherwise, but it is almost perfectly arch-shaped even now. As was pointed out in the case of another tombstone from the same premises, published earlier,³ it is normally observed that when a tablet is broken by accident or through natural causes, it does not take arched shape, though the broken tablet may be so refashioned at the time of its letting up into the wall. But we have quite a few fragmentary tomb-stones which have not been so treated. Another possibility is that the reverse was used at one stage or the other for a fresh epitaph, for which the new arch-shape was given, but this cannot be ascertained unless the tablet is dislodged.

From the artistic point of view, the tablet is a little more ornate resembling somewhat in visual effect and design to the tombstone of another official of the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, namely Malik Parvīz al-Kāzarūnī (pl. Xb, *infra*). A thick panel of arabesque contrasts the horizontal panels with the margin enclosing them, and the text also has some variety—it contains a totally different set of Quranic text. The obituary also is differently worded: instead of the usual commencing phrase indicating the grave, it starts with a prayer invoking mercy and pardon for the deceased.

In the style of writing, too, there is a slight variety. While the bulk of the text is inscribed in the usual *Riqā'*-type *Naskh*, the *Basmala* has been executed in artistic *Kūfī* of the florid variety.

¹ *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 17.

² *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 124.

³ *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 23, fn.4.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

(a) *Vertical panels, right and left.*

قل اعوذ برب الناس ملك الناس إله الناس من شر الوسواس الخناس الذى يوسوس فى صدور الناس من الجنة و الناس - قل اعوذ برب الفلق من شر ما خلق و من شر غاسق اذا وقب و من شر النفاثات فى العقد و من شر حاسد اذا حسد

(b) *Arch-base.*

(١) [بسم الله] [رحمن الرحيم]

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

- (١) الم ذلك الكتاب لا ريب فيه هدى للمتقين
 (٢) الذين يؤمنون بالغيب و يقيمون الصلوة و مما رزقناهم ينفقون
 (٣) و الذين يؤمنون بما انزل اليك و ما انزل من قبلك و بالآخرة هم يوقنون
 (٤) اولئك على هدى من ربهم و اولئك هم المفلحون
 (٥) اللهم ارحم ببركة القرآن و اغفر بالرحمة و الرضوان
 (٦) صاحب هذا القبر المرحوم المغفور ~~هك~~ الوزرا
 (٧) و الفضلا شمس الدين محمود ابن جمال الدين احمد
 (٨) ابن عمر المعروف بالدير توفى يوم الجمعة
 (٩) الثامن من شهر المحرم سنة اثنى و ثلثين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) 'Say, I seek refuge in the Lord of men, the king of men, the God of men, from the evil of the whisperings of the slinking (devil), who whispers into the hearts of men, from among the jinn and the men.'¹

'Say : I seek refuge in the Lord of the dawn, from the evil of what He has created, and from the evil of the utterly dark night when it comes, and from the evil of those who cast (evil suggestions) in firm resolutions and from the evil of the envious when he envies.'²

(b) *Basmala.*³

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter CXIV.

² Ibid., Chapter CXIII.

³ For translation, see p. 8

(c) (1-4) 'I am Allāh, the best Knower. This book, there is no doubt in it, is a guide to those who guard (against evil), those who believe in the unseen and keep up prayer and spend out of what we have given them; and who believe in that which has been revealed to you and that which was revealed before you, and they are sure of the hereafter. These are on the right course from their Lord, and these it is that shall be successful'.¹

(5) O Lord, have mercy through the blessings of the *Qur'ān* on, and give pardon through (Thy) mercy and pleasure, to

(6) the occupant of this grave, the one taken into (Thy) mercy, the pardoned, Maliku'l-Wuzarā

(7) wa'l-Fudalā (lit. prince among the ministers and accomplished men) *Shamsu'd-Din Maḥmūd* son of *Janālu'd-Din Aḥmad*

(8) son of 'Umar, commonly known as the Dabir (lit. Secretary). He died on Friday,

(9) the eighth of the month of Muḥarrar, year (A.H.) two and thirty and seven hundred (8 Muḥarrar 732=11 October 1331).

XIX. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 732 (1331 A.D.)

This headstone, fixed into the left *miḥrāb* of the one-wall open mosque situated just outside the Tomb of Parvāz *Shahid* and to its south-east, is quite different in design from the preceding ones.² Its small rectangular tablet, which is 25 cm. in width and 32 cm. in height, appears at first sight to be in tact, but the text in the margins comprising First Creed and a Quranic verse is incomplete and therefore, it is very likely that originally there was a little more portion at the top, which is now lost.

The epitaph suffers badly in comparison with its class, in visual effect. The penning is not bad, but the style of writing is plain or rather quite inartistic *Naskh*. Likewise, the composition of the Arabic text too is not happy.

The epitaph records the death of one Qāsi n son of Isā who died on one of the Fridays of the month of Muḥarrar of the year 732—day of the month is not given (Muḥarrar 732=October 1331).

The text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate X (a)

(a) Margin.

i. Right:

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله

ii. Left:

الا وجهه ثم اليها ترجعون

¹ *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 1-5.

² *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 133.

(b) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ

(٣) ثُمَّ إِلَيْنَا تَرْجَعُونَ

(٤) ذَلِكَ فِي النَّارِخِ مِنْ شَهْرِ

(٥) الْحَرَمِ يَوْمَ الْجُمُعَةِ سَنَةِ

(٦) سَبْعِمِائَةٍ وَ ثَلَاثِينَ وَ اثْنَا

(٧) قَاسِمِ بْنِ عَبَّاسٍ نُورِ اللَّهِ قَبْرُهُ¹

TRANSLATION

(a) i. 'I bear witness that there is no god but Allāh.....'²ii. '.....except His Face.³ Then to Us you shall be brought back.'⁴(b) (1) *Basmala*.⁵(2-3) 'Every soul must taste of death, then to Us you shall be brought back.'⁶

(4) This (was) on the date in the month of

(5) Muḥarraṭ, Friday, year (A.H.)

(6) seven hundred and thirty and two (Muḥarraṭ 732=October 1331).

(7) Qāsim son of 'Isā, may Allāh illumine his grave, (died).

XX. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 734 (1333 A.D.)

This is perhaps the most pleasing epitaphic headstone of the whole lot to look at. It is remarkable for its overall symmetry, pleasing shape of the arch, impressive panelling and artistic borders all round in geometric designs. Also, it is one of the few epitaphs, if not the only one, of the present group that is *in situ*. The beautiful grave of marble to which the headstone of the same material is attached is remarkable for its execution of artistic mouldings and panellings and lies in the centre of an imposing Tomb jutting out from the middle of the southern wall of the stately Jāmi' Mosque of the town. The area in which the Tomb is situated stretches along the south side of the mosque and has an imposing entrance in the centre of the south face. The entire area measures about 62 by 15 metres. At the west is the mosque belonging to the tomb, and as it stands to-day may be considered as a continuation of the Jāmi' Mosque through the parti-

¹ This word is engraved in the left bottom corner panel of the margin.² Second Creed. The remaining part in its English translation would read: Who is one and has no partner and I bear witness that Muhammad is His creature and apostle.³ *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXVIII, part of verse 88. The missing phrase of this verse is: Everything will perish.⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter XXIX, part of verse 57.⁵ For translation, see p. 8.⁶ *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXIX, verse 87.

tion wall; the mosque and the Tomb were roofed but the rest of this court is open.¹ Unfortunately, the large and striking dome with a diameter of 11.8 metres which was originally carried on tall pillars to cover the Tomb has fallen. Nevertheless, the Tomb is, like the Mosque, architecturally important in so much as it has preserved one of the few specimens of early tomb-architecture in Gujarāt, which provides a useful and instructive link for the proper study of the origin and development of pre-Mughal architecture of Gujarāt. There is inside the enclosure another similarly executed fine, but smaller grave which also has an inscribed headstone of marble (No. XXVIII, *infra*).

This epitaph is inscribed on the headstone attached to the larger grave,² which as stated earlier, belongs to the ornate variety of the tombstones and is characterised, apart from some distinguishing features referred to above, by some variety of religious text also. But in the style of writing, it more or less conforms to the prevalent design at Cambay except that, as in the case of the fragmentary epitaph of another state official, *Shamsu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd* the Secretary, studied above (No. XVIII, *supra*), the *Basmala* here is executed in florid *Kūfī* script.

The record states that the grave belongs to the fortunate martyr, prince among the princes of the East and ministers, one who was wellknown in India as well as Arab countries, *Zakiu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn 'Umar* son of *Aḥmad al-Kāzarūnī* entitled *Parviz Malik*, who expired on Wednesday, 9th Šafar 734 (22nd October 1333).

The published text of the inscription prepared by the late E. Rehatsek from the facsimile supplied by James Burgess, on which subsequent notices of the epitaph are based, contains two serious errors: the word *Sharq* in the title *Malik-i-Mulūki' sh-Sharq* and the title *Parviz Malik* of the deceased have been wrongly read as *Sarwar* (translated as 'prince') and *Zauru'l-Malik*.³

It may be recalled here that until this epigraph was discussed by us,⁴ the identity of the *Malik* had not been established. Indian chronicles have totally ignored him like many others of his ilk. But fortunately, he has been mentioned by the celebrated fourteenth century Moroccan traveller *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* who was in Cambay within a decade of *Maliku'sh-Sharq's* death. As usual *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* furnishes information about him,⁵ which stands corroborated by the present record.

According to this, he was called *Maliku't-Tujjār al-Kāzarūnī* and was surnamed *Parviz*, *Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh* had assigned to him the city of Cambay as an *iqṭā'* and had promised him charge of a vicerate; about this time, at the instance of the *Maliku't-Tujjār*, his friend and fellow-countryman *Shihābu'd-Dīn al-Kāzarūnī* came from Irān, equipped with presents for the *Sultān* (of which the details are given). When he arrived at Cambay, he found the *Maliku't-Tujjār* preparing to leave for Delhi with all the revenue collected from the territories under his charge together with presents. But on his way, he was killed by some mischievous persons at

¹ For a detailed description, plan, illustration, etc., of the Tomb, see J. Burgess, *On the Muhammadan Architecture of Bhroch, Cambay, Dholka, Champavir, and Mahmudabad in Gujarat* (London, 1896), pp. 27-28, plates XVIII and XXII-XXIV. A detailed description of the Jamī' Mosque is also given there.

² *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 45.

³ J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency, etc.* (Bombay, 1897), p. 320.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1956-57, p. 21.

⁵ Dr. Maḥdī Ḥusain, *The Rihla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (Benares, 1953), pp. 67-68, 173.

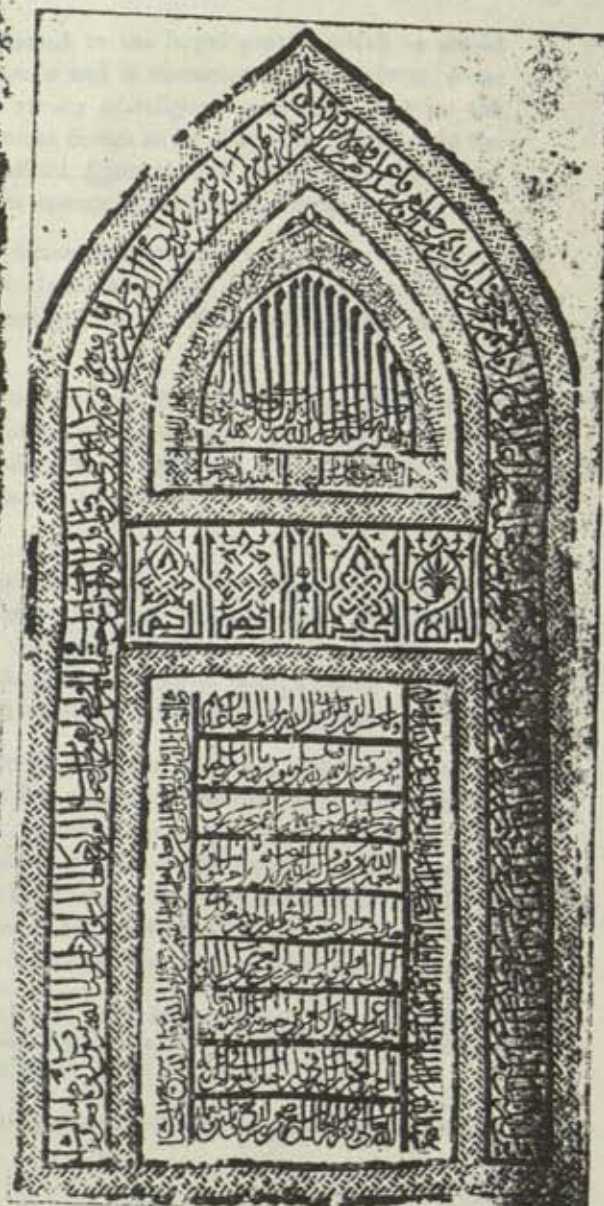
⁶ According to *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, 'majority of its inhabitants (i.e. of Cambay) are foreign merchants, who continually build there beautiful houses and wonderful mosques—an achievement in which they endeavour to surpass each other' (*ibid.*, p. 172).

(a) Another epitaph dated A.H. 732 (p. 38)



SCALE : 37

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 734 (p. 41)



SCALE : 11

the instigation of the prime-minister Khwāja Jahān who had great influence there, having administered the province including Cambay for quite some time and therefore having become jealous and worried because of the Sultān's promise to raise the Maliku't-Tujjār to the vezirate.¹

Ibn Battūta's account thus authenticates the high sounding title Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq wa'l-Wuzarā and his title-name Malik Parviz employed in the text and also the manner of his death, that is, martyrdom. On the other hand, the epigraph furnishes some new information: for example it gives his full name and personal title, Zaki'u'd-Din 'Umar, his father's name Ahmad and quotes the exact day, date, month and year of his death. But neither Ibn Battūta nor our record specifies the place of death, which was at some distance from Cambay. The house of the Maliku't-Tujjār, reckoned among the grand buildings of Cambay by Ibn Battūta was, according to the same authority, adjacent to his mosque.² This mosque must definitely be other than the Jāmi' Mosque which was built, according to its inscription, about a decade earlier by (Malik) Daulatshah Muhammad Būtahārī,³ but it could have been in the immediate neighbourhood, as the practice of selecting one's own house or mosque for the last resting-place has been not so uncommon.

Incidentally, there are two more epigraphs at Cambay which mention al-Kāzarūnī: one is the epitaph of his wife Fātima who lies buried in the smaller grave in the tomb-enclosure (No. XXVIII, *infra*) and the other furnishes the information that a former slave of his, Khālīṣ by name, had set up a marble prayer-niche of a mosque at Cambay itself in A.H. 726 (1326 A.D.).⁴

The headstone is arch-shaped, measuring 145 cm. from apex to bottom and 70 cm. at the base. The letters are slightly affected by weather, but the text is perfectly legible.

TEXT

Plate X (b)

(a) Margin.

يس و القرآن الحكيم انك لمن المرسلين على صراط مستقيم تنزيل العزيز الرحيم لتتذروا
ما انذر آباؤهم فهم غافلون لقد حق القول على اكثرهم فهم لا يؤمنون انا جعلنا في اعناقهم
اغلا لا في الى الازقان فهم مقمحون وجعلنا من بين ايديهم سدا ومن خلفهم سدا فاغشينهم
فهم لا يبصرون و سوا [ء] عليهم [ء] انذرتهم ام لم تنذروهم لا يؤمنون انما تنذروا من اتبع الذكر و
خشى الرحمن بالغيب فبشره بمغفرة و اجر كريم انا نحن نحي الموتى و نكتب ما قدموا و
اثارهم و كل شئ احصيناه في امام مبين و اضرب لهم مثلا اصحاب القرية اذ جا [ء] ها المرسلون
اذ ارسلنا اليهم اثنين فكذبوهما فعززنا بثالث

¹ For details, see Mahdi Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³ *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, pp. 29-30, pl. IX a.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 52. Also *PRWC*, p. 57, where it was stated to purport the carving of the *mihrāb* by 'Zaquiuddin Ahmad Qazerni' himself, who is further described as 'the greatest architect of Cambay'. Al-Kāzarūnī is also stated there to have built the Jāmi' Mosque (cf. Burgess and Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 96) and been buried under the great dome of the principal gateway. All this is incorrect.

(b) *In the arched portion.*

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له و اشهد ان محمدا عبده و رسوله

(c) i. *Inner margin, around (a).*

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا بما شاء و مع كرسية السموات و الارض و لا يوده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم

ii. *Arch-base.*

هذا ما وعد الرحمن و صدق المرسلون انا لله و انا اليه راجعون

(d) *Vertical panels, right and left.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قائما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جا[ء]هم العلم بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(e) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) و لا تحسبن الذين قتلوا فى سبيل الله امواتا بل احياء[ة] عندهم

(٣) يرزقون فرحين بما اتهم الله من فضله و يستبشرون بالذين لم يلحقوا

(٤) بهم من خلفهم الا خوف عليهم و لا هم يحزنون يستبشرون

(٥) بنعمة من الله و فضل و ان الله لا يضيع اجر المؤمنين

(٦) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف السعيد الشهيد المرحوم المغفور ملك

(٧) ملوك الشرق و الوزراء مشهور العرب و العجم زكى الدولة

(٨) و الدين عمر ابن احمد الكازرونى المخاطب پرويز ملك نعمه الله تعالى

(٩) بالرحمة و الغفران واسكنه فى دار الجنان المتوفى الى رحمة

(١٠) الله تعالى فى يوم الاربعاء التاسع من صفر سنة اربع و ثلاثين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) 'O man! Consider the *Qur'ān* full of Wisdom; Most surely you are one of the apostles, on a right way. A revelation of the Mighty, the Merciful, That you may warn a people whose fathers were not warned, so they are heedless. Certainly the word has proved true of most of them, so they do not believe. Surely We have placed chains on their necks, and these reach upto their

chains, so they have their heads raised aloft. And We have made before them a barrier and a barrier behind them, then We have covered them over so that they do not see. And it is alike to them whether you warn them or warn them not; they do not believe. You can only warn him who follows the reminder and fears the Beneficent God in secret; so announce to him forgiveness and an honorable reward. Surely We give life to the dead, and We write down that they have sent before and their footprints, and We have recorded everything in a clear writing. And set out to them a parable of the people of the town, when the messengers came to it. When We sent to them two, they rejected both of them, then We strengthened (them) with a third.¹

(b) Second Creed.²

(c) i. *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255.³

ii. 'This is what the Beneficent God promised and the apostles told the truth.'⁴ 'Surely we are Allāh's and to Him, we shall surely return.'⁵

(d) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18.⁶

(e) (1) *Basmala*.⁷

(2-5) 'And reckon not those who are killed in Allāh's way as dead; nay, they are alive (and) are provided sustenance from their Lord; rejoicing in what Allāh has given them out of His grace, and they rejoice for the sake of those who (being left) behind them, have not yet joined them, that they shall have no fear, nor shall they grieve. They rejoice on account of favour from Allāh and (His) grace, and that Allāh will not waste the reward of the believers'.⁸

(6) This is the grave of the weak creature, the fortunate, the martyr, the one taken into Allāh's mercy, the pardoned, Malik-i-

(7) *Mulūki'sh-Sharq wa'l-Wuzarā* (lit. the prince among the princes of the East⁹ and ministers) one who is celebrated in Arabia and other Islamic countries, *Zakiu'd-Daulat*

(8) *wa'd-Dīn* (lit. one who is just in the matters of State and Religion), 'Umar son of *Aḥmad al-Kāzarūnī* entitled *Parviz Malik*, may the Exalted Allāh cover him

(9) with (His) mercy and pardon and settle him in the abode of Paradise, one who returned to the mercy

(10) of the Exalted Allāh, on Wednesday, the ninth of (the month of) *Ṣafar* (of the) year (A.H.) four and thirty and seven hundred (9 *Ṣafar* 734=22 October 1333).

XXI. ANOTHER EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 734 (1333 A.D.)

This fragmentary headstone is preserved in the Tomb of *Parvāz Shahīd*, where it is built up, third from left, in the west wall.¹⁰ Its top portion which was presumably arch-shaped, is gone. In its present state, it measures 40 by 50 cm.

¹ *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXXVI, verses 1-13 and part of 14.

² For translation, see p. 39 and f.n. 2.

³ For translation, see p. 10.

⁴ *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXXVI, part of verse 52.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter II, part of verse 156.

⁶ For translation, see p. 6.

⁷ For translation, see p. 8.

Qur'ān, Chapter III, verses 168-70.

⁸ Generally used for nobles of very high rank.

¹⁰ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D. 73; *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, No. 8, where the year of death and the sobriquet are wrongly given as A.H. 731 and 'Ālamgir respectively.

The epitaph was originally set up on the grave of another member of the 'Alamgar family already referred to above (No. VII, *supra*). He is Hasan son of Abū Bakr 'Alamgar (lit. lance or standard-maker), who is stated to have expired on Friday, 19th Rabi' I 734 (8th December 1333).¹ Except for this, no other information is available about him.

The style of writing is the *Riqā'*-type *Naskh* characteristic of Cambay epitaphs, and so is the general design, but of the less ornate variety. The text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XI (a)

(a) Margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحى القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما فى السموات وما فى الارض
من ذى الذى يشنع.....
يؤده حفظهما وهو العلى العظيم وما محمد الا رسول قد خلت من قبله الرسل اليوم يغفر الله لكم
وهو الرحيم الرحمين

(b) Horizontal panels.

- (١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
(٢) يشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم
(٣) مقيم خالدين فيها ابدًا ان الله عنده اجر عظيم
(٤) هذا قبر العبد المرحوم المغفور الفقيه الى الله تعالى
(٥) حسن بن ابو بكر علمگر تغمد الله برحمته و شقرانه و اباحه
(٦) بحبوحه جنازه توفى يوم الجمعة التاسع و عشرين من شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٧٣٤
(٧) بعة و ثلثون و سبعمائة و صلى الله على محمد و على آله

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255 (middle portion lost).² 'And Muḥammad is no more than an apostle'.³ 'This day; Allāh may forgive you, and He is the most merciful of the merciful'.⁴

(b) (1) First Creed.⁵

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.⁶

¹ According to ephemerides, this day was Wednesday.

² For translation, see p. 10.

³ *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, part of verse 143.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter XII, part of verse 92.

⁵ For translation, see p. 6.

⁶ For translation, see p. 12.

(4) This is the grave of the creature taken into (Allāh's) mercy (and) pardoned, the dependent on the Exalted Allāh,

(5) Ḥasan son of Abū Bakr 'Alamgar (lit. Lance- or Banner-maker), may Allāh cover him with His mercy and pardon and settle him

(6) in the centre of His Paradise. He died on Friday, the twentyninth of the month of Rabi' u'l-Awwal, four

(7) and thirty and seven hundred (29 Rabi' I 734=8 December 1333). And Allāh's salutations be upon Muḥammad and his progeny.

XXII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 736 (1335 A.D.)

This headstone too is fixed up next to the previous one, that is fourth from left, into the west wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid,¹ and is, like it, fragmentary. But its top has been shaped to a flattish arch design almost in the same way as another fragmentary epitaph in the east wall published some time back.² In view of this and a couple of other fragmentary epitaphs in the present group (Nos. XVIII, XIX, etc.), it would appear that the slabs were so shaped at the time of letting them up into the wall and there may not have been any subsequent epitaph engraved on the reverse as was suggested earlier.³

The slab measures, in its present state, 45 cm. from apex to bottom and 20 cm. in width and was meant to serve as the headstone for the grave of Kamālu'd-Dīn Kamāl son of Ḥusain al-Bagrī (i.e. of Basrā)⁴ who died on Thursday, 2nd Šafar 736 (21st September 1335).⁵ The deceased seems to have died quite young, as apart from the size of the tablet, the text calls him 'the dear son', which could be further taken to indicate that the text of the epitaph was dictated by his bereaved father. From his *nisba*, the father of the deceased, Ḥusain, appears to be an Irāqī merchant settled or at least carrying on some business at Cambay.

The writing is executed in the usual *Riqā'*-type *Naskh*. The tablet having been exposed to elements of nature before its removal to the present place, the writing is slightly damaged in the margin, but the extant text is quite legible.

The text has been read as follows :

TEXT

Plate XI (b)

(a) Margin, right and left.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملايكة واولوا العلم قايمًا بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز
الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم...

¹ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 78, where it is stated to be in the southern wall.

² *ELAPS*, 1962, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, f.n.4.

⁴ A famous port-town in Irāq.

⁵ This epitaph also was noticed in *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, No. 7, where his name proper was omitted.

(b) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) يبشرهم ربهم برحمة منه ورضوان

(٣) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم

(٤) هذا قبر الولد العزيز

(٥) كمال الدين كمال بن حسين البصري

(٦) توفي يوم الخميس الثاني من شهر

(٧) صفر شهر سنة ستة و ثلثين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 17 and part of verse 18 (upto knowledge).¹(b) (1) First Creed.²(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verse 21.³

(4) This is the grave of the dear son

(5) Kamālū'd-Dīn Kamāl son of Husain al-Baḡrī (i.e. of Basrā).

(6) He died on Thursday the 2nd of the month of

(7) Ṣafar (of the) months of the year (A.H.) six and thirty and seven hundred (2 Ṣafar 736=21 September 1335).

XXIII. ANOTHER EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 736 (1336 A.D.)

The man on whose grave this epitaph was originally set up has been mentioned above as a member of the Irbilī family (p. 13, *supra*). The epitaphic tablet is also preserved in the Tomb of Parvāz *Shahīd*, where it may be seen, second from right, into the eastern wall.⁴

The design of the epitaph is of the simple variety, but the calligraphy is of a high order. The style of writing is the usual *Riqā'*-like *Naskh*. The writing is damaged due to adverse effects of weather to which the tablet seems to have remained exposed before its removal to the present premises; the writing in the bottom of the left marginal panel is almost obliterated.

According to the text, the tombstone marked the grave of *Shamsu'd-Dīn* Muḥammad son of Abū Bakr Irbilī (i.e. Irbil),⁵ alias Fatoliya who died on the 25th *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 736 (5th July 1336). In the Progress Report where it was first noticed, the *nisba* has been recorded as Adbālī instead of Irbilī and the unit of the year of death is not given.⁶

¹ For translation, see p. 6.² For translation, see p. 6.³ For translation, see p. 10.⁴ *ARIE*, 1939-60, No. D, 122.⁵ Irbil was a town near Mosul in modern Irāq.⁶ *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 18.

(a) Another epitaph dated A.H. 734 (p. 44)



SCALE : .24

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 736 (p. 45)



SCALE : .3

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 738 (p. 48)



SCALE : .17

(a) Another epitaph dated A.H. 736 (p. 47)



SCALE : .22

It has been pointed out elsewhere, on the basis of another epitaph from Cambay, that the *alias* Fatoliya does not appear to have been the nickname of the deceased or of any other individual but was very probably the cognomen by which the family was known.¹ This nickname is clear in the present epigraph and, as has been suggested earlier, appears to be a Gujarātī word, derived from Faṭoḷ meaning 'soft', etc. in relation to betelnuts.² That the deceased, another foreigner settled at Cambay, was a merchant can be safely presumed.

The arch-shaped tablet measuring 60 cm. from apex to bottom and 28 cm. in height contains the following text. It is somewhat unusual that there is a grammatical mistake in the text—in the very beginning of the epitaph proper after the Quranic verse in the fourth horizontal panel.

TEXT

Plate XII (a)

(a) Margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما فى السموات وما فى الارض
من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشئ من علمه
الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض [و لا يوده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم]

(b) Horizontal panels.

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(٢) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٣) كل نفس ذائقة الموت ثم

(٤) الينا ترجعون هذا القبر ال.....

(٥) شمس الدين محمد بن المرحوم ابوبكر

(٦) ادبلى عرف فتوليه غفر الله له فى

(٧) تاريخ الخامس والعشرين ذوالقعدة سنة ست و ثلثين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255.³

(b) (1) First Creed.⁴

(2) *Basmala*.⁵

(3-4) 'Every soul must taste of death, then to us you shall be brought back.'⁶ This is the grave of the [creature ?]

¹ *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 22-23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³ For translation, see p. 10.

⁴ For translation, see p. 6.

⁵ For translation, see p. 8.

⁶ *Qur'ān*, Chapter XXIX, verse 57.

(5) Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad son of the one who is received into (Allāh's) mercy namely Abū Bakr

(6) Irbilī (i.e. of Irbil), *alias* Fatoliya, may Allāh pardon him. (He died) on

(7) the date twentyfifth (of the month of) Dhu'l-Qa'da (of the) year (A.H.) six and thirty and seven hundred (25 Dhu'l-Qa'da 736=5 July 1336).

XXIV. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 738 (1337 A.D.)

The headstone bearing this epitaph is attached to the grave of a lady, locally called Bibi Rānī at Nagarā,¹ a small village situated at a distance of about 5 kilometres to the north of Cambay, representing the site of ancient Cambay.² The Tomb of Bibi Rānī, which I visited in 1959 is an ordinary hut-like modern structure, but the finely carved marble sarcophagus is original and resembles those of Maliku'sh-Sharq Umar al-Kāzarūnī and his wife, mentioned above. The design of the epitaph, however, though pleasing, is devoid of artistic decorations.

According to the text, the grave belongs to a lady named Fāṭima daughter of the late Sayyid Tāju'd-Dīn Ḥusain al-'Alavī, who died on Monday, 4th Ṣafar 738 (1st September 1337). Nothing is known about the lady or her father from any source. That she hailed from a respectable family of 'Alavī Sayyids is clear from the honorific 'Sayyid' and *nisba* 'Alavī appended to the name of the father.* The text is silent on the married status of the deceased which is unusual: Could the absence of the husband's name be taken to mean that she died a virgin or was a divorcee at the time of death?

There is some variation in the religious text. The epitaph is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet measuring 82 cm. from apex to bottom and 45 cm. in width. The reverse of the upper part of the tablet is inscribed with Quranic text,⁴ and so is the eastern side of the sarcophagus itself.* The style of writing is in the main the usually fine *Riqā'*-like *Naskh*, while the *Basmala* is executed in ornamental *Kūfī*.

The text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

(a) Margin.

آمن الرسول بما أنزل من ربه و المومنون كل آمن بالله و ملائكته و كتبه و رسله
لا تفرق بين احد من رسله و قالوا سمعنا و اطعنا غفرانك ربنا و إليك المصير لا يكلف الله نفسا
الا وسعها لها ما كسبت و عليها ما اكتسبت ربنا لا تواخذنا ان نسئ او اخطانا ربنا و لا

¹ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 136. It was first noticed in *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 33.

² For a brief account of Nagarā and its remains, please see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VI (Bombay, 1880), and *Ratnamaji Rao Joga*, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-50. However, no mention of the Tomb or the epitaph is found in either of these or *Burgess*, *op. cit.* or *Burgess and Cousens*, *op. cit.*

³ The term *Sayyid* seems to have been used here in the Indian sense of the term indicating descent from Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fāṭima, wife of 'Alī. Incidentally, the term 'Alavī is also usually applied to 'Alī's progeny from wives other than Fāṭima.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 137.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. D, 138.

تحمل علينا اصرا كما حملته على انذين من قبلنا ربنا و لا تحملنا ما لا طاقة لنا به واعف عنا و
اغفر لنا و ارحمنا انت مولانا فانصبرنا على القوم الكافرين

(b) *Inner margin.*

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لا نوم له ما فى السموات و ما فى الارض
من ذى الذى يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشئ من علمه
الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات و الارض و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم لا اكراه فى
الدين قد تبين الرشد من الغي فمن يكفر بالطاغوت و يؤمن بالله فقد استمسك بالعروة الوثقى
لا انفصام لها و الله سميع عليم

(c) *Within the arch.*

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(d) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) كل نفس ذائقة الموت و انما توفون اجوركم

(٣) يوم القيامة فمن زحزح عن النار و ادخل الجنة

(٤) فقد فاز و ما الحياة الدنيا الا متاع الغرور

(٥) هذا قبر المرحومه المغفوره فاطمة بنت المرحوم المغفور سيد

(٦) تاج الدين حسين العلوى تغمدنا الله بالرحمة و الرضوان

(٧) و غفر الله لها و لوالديها و لجميع المؤمنين و المومنات

(٨) قد توفى يوم الاثنين الرابع من صفر ختم الله

(٩) بالخير و الظفر سنة ثمان و ثلثين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(a) 'The apostle believes in what has been revealed to him from his Lord, and (so do) the believers; they all believe in Allāh and His angels and His books and His apostles: We make no difference between any of His apostles and they say: We hear and obey, our Lord. Thy forgiveness (do we crave), and to Thee is the eventual course.

Allāh does not impose upon any soul a duty but to the extent of its ability; for it is (the benefit of) what it has earned, and upon it (the evil of) what it has wrought: our Lord! Do not punish us if we forget or make a mistake; our Lord! do not lay on us a burden as thou didst lay on those before us; our Lord! do not impose upon us that which we have not the strength to

bear; and pardon us and grant us protection and have mercy on us; Thou art our Patron, so help us against the unbelieving people'.¹

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255-56.²

(c) (1) First Creed.³

(d) (1) *Basmala*.⁴

(2) 'Every soul shall taste of death, and you shall only be paid fully your reward

(3) on the resurrection day; then whoever is removed far away from the fire and is made to enter the garden,

(4) he indeed has attained the object, and the life of this world is nothing but a provision of vanities.'⁵

(5) This is the grave of the lady received into (Allāh's) mercy (and) the pardoned one Fāṭima daughter of the one who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy (and) the pardoned one Sayyid

(6) Tāju'd-Dīn (lit. the crown of Faith) Ḥusain al-'Alavī (i.e. descended from 'Alī the fourth caliph), may Allāh cover her with His mercy and pleasure

(7) and may Allāh pardon her and her parents and all the Faithful men and women.

(8) She died on Monday the fourth of (the month of) Ṣafar, may Allāh end (it)

(9) with goodness and victory, (of the) year (A.H.) eight and thirty and seven hundred (4 Ṣafar 738=1 September 1337).

XXV. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 741 (1340)

This otherwise finely executed epitaph, noticed here for the first time, is fragmentary though at first glance it looks complete. The slab seems to have broken in such a way that its middle portion was lost, and its upper and lower portions were properly edged and put together at the time of their being built up into the wall in such a way that the tablet appears to be whole, but the lack of continuity of the religious texts and the absence of the usual initial phrases of the obituary notice clearly shows that the middle portion is missing.

The arch-shaped tablet is built up at the northern end of the eastern wall of the Tomb of Parvāz *Shahīd*.⁶ Apart from being fragmentary, the writing is considerably damaged, rendering the decipherment of the epitaph proper extremely difficult. As a result of all these, it could only be deciphered tentatively and the details about the deceased could not be made out except the date of death. According to this tentative reading, the deceased was a lady and her father was a big merchant named Sa'd, who from his name appears to be a foreign immigrant. Beyond this nothing can be made out.

The off-quoted Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey does not mention this record, which is perhaps due to the damaged nature of the epigraph.

¹ *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 285-86.

² For translation, see p. 10.

³ For translation, see p. 6.

⁴ For translation, see p. 8.

⁵ *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 184.

⁶ *ARIE*, 1936-37, No. D. 80, where it is stated to be in the southern wall.

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(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 746 (p. 52)



SCALE : 26

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 741 (p. 51)



SCALE : 2

The style of writing is the same *Riqā'*-like *Naskh* and the tablet measures 45 cm. at the base and 50 cm. from apex to bottom.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIII(a)

(a) Outer margin. ¹

.....من ذى الذى يشفع عنه الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم و ما خلفهم و
لا يحيطون.....

(b) Within the arch.

لا اله الا الله

(c) In the border, below (a), right and left sides.

العزة الله

الملك لله

(d) Vertical panels.

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملايكه[ة].....العلم بغيا بينهم و من
يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

(e) Horizontal panels.

(١)بنت امير التجار سعد(?) تعمدتها الله بالرحمة و الرضوان

(٢) و اسكنها فى دار الجنان توفى ليلة الاربعة السابع

(٣) عشرين من المحرم سنة احدى و اربعين و سبعمائة و سلم تسليما

TRANSLATION

(a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255 (middle portion lost).²

(b) 'There is no god but Allāh'.

(c) The kingdom belongs only to Allāh. The glory belongs only to Allāh.

(d) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17 and 18 (middle portion lost).³

(e) (1)daughter of the prince among merchants Sa'd(?), may Allāh cover her with
(His) mercy and pleasure

(2) and settle her in the abode of Paradise. She died on the night of Wednesday, the
seventh

¹ Only the writing in the margin of the arched portion has survived.

² For translation, see p. 10.

³ For translation, see p. 6.

(3) (and) twenty of (the month of) Muḥarram (of the) year (A.H.) one and forty and seven hundred (27 Muḥarram 741=23 July 1340). And may peace be (upon the Prophet).

The 23rd of July 1340 was Sunday.

XXVI. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 746 (1345 A.D.)

This tombstone built up, first from left, into the west wall of the Tomb of Parvāz Shāhid,¹ is one of the few records noticed earlier in the above-mentioned Progress Report with comments.² It belongs, in general design and execution, to the simple one-border type of Cambay tombstones and must have been originally fixed at the grave of a lady (Sitti) named Sharaf, daughter of Kamālu'd-Din Muḥammad son of 'Abdu'l-Bāqī son of 'Amīr son of Tarāḥān Anṣārī, who expired on the 13th Jumādā II 746 (11 October 1345). The notice in the said Progress Report, quoting the genealogy of the deceased, a lady, viz. 'Musammāt Sharaf Sati (f), daughter of Najmu'd-Din Muḥammad son of 'Abdu'l-Jabbār son of Amīr son of Tarkhān', is incorrect and confusing. Particularly, the wrong reading of the name Tarkhān gave rise to the following misleading comment: The record 'contains the earliest reference to the class of Tarkhān clan of Khurasan who later on founded a kingdom for themselves in Sindh, after the decline of the Musalman-Rājput Sammās in the 16th century A.D.'³ But this is not true. The name in question is Tarāḥān, which and the name of his son 'Amīr and the *nisba* Anṣārī⁴ are sufficient indications of their Arab descent. Therefore, it would be wrong to see any earliest reference in this record to the Tarkhān clan.

The epitaph thus belonged to a foreign settler, but it unfortunately does not give any details about the deceased or her husband, if any.⁵ The record speaks of her as a devout and respected lady.

The headstone is as usual arch-shaped and measures 55 cm. from apex to bottom and 35 cm. in width. The text is inscribed in *Riqā'*-type *Naskh* but has sharp pointed final *hā*, which makes it more artistic.

TEXT

Plate XIII(b)

(a) Margin.

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

¹ *ARI*⁶, 1956-57, No. D, 74.

² *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 49, No. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴ The Anṣārīs are descendants of Anṣārs (lit. helpers)—those residents of Medina, who, after embracing Islām played host to and helped Prophet Muḥammad and his companions when the latter migrated there in 622.

⁵ In this context, see p. 48.

(b) *Horizontal panels.*

- (١) الملك لله بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم [وله] الحمد
 (٢) ربنا لا تزغ قلوبنا بعد إذ هديتنا وهب لنا من لدنك رحمة
 (٣) انك انت الوهاب - هذا قبر المرحوم المحترم
 (٤) المستوره الصاعمة الصالحة الخائفة من عذاب ربه [كذا] الراجية
 (٥) الى رحمة الله تعالى مسماة ستي شرف بنت كمال [الدين محمد بن
 (٦) عبد الباقي بن عامر بن طرخان انصارى طيب الله ثراها و جعل الجنة
 (٧) مثواها توفيت في ليلة الاثنين الثالث عشر من جمادى الاخر سنة ستة و اربعين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

- (a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255.¹
 (b) (1) 'Kingdom belongs to Allāh.' *Basmala*.² 'And to Him is due Praise.'
 (2) 'Our Lord! make not our hearts to deviate after Thou hast guided us aright, and grant us from Thee mercy;
 (3) surely, Thou art the most liberal Giver.'³ This is the grave of the one who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy, the respected,
 (4) the veiled, the fasting, the pious, the one who always feared the punishment of her Lord, the hopeful
 (5) of the mercy of the exalted Allāh, named Sitti⁴ *Sharaf* daughter of Kamāl(u'd-) Dīn Muḥammad son of
 (6) 'Abdu'l-Bāqī son of 'Āmir son of Taraḥān Anṣārī, may Allāh render her earthly abode (lit. earth) pleasant and make Paradise
 (7) her abode. She died on the night of Monday, the thirteenth of (the month of) Jumādā al-Ākhar (of the) year (A.H.) six and forty and seven hundred, (13th Jumādā II 746= 11 October 1345).

XXVII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 778 (1376 A.D.)

The next epitaph, interesting in its own way, is dated A.H. 778, that is after a gap of more than four lunar decades. The tombstone is built up into the west wall of the Faraspur or Piraspur-ki-Masjid,⁵ whence also came the epitaph noticed above (No. XIV, *supra*), and like it, the present epigraph is noticed here for the first time.

¹ For translation, see p. 10.

² For translation, see p. 8.

³ *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verse 7.

⁴ The Arabic term Sitti is a term of respect and is roughly equivalent to 'Lady' in English.

⁵ *ABIS*, 1959-60, No. D, 100.

The first thing that strikes the onlooker about the record is its shape and design, which are entirely different. It is neither arch-shaped nor arranged in elaborate panelled design like most of its counterparts in the present group. Likewise, the style of writing is also somewhat different, being *Thulth* with strong *Riqā'* flourishes.

As to the contents, it is more or less on the same pattern—Qurānic text, though limited, and the obituary proper.

The epitaph was set up to mark the grave of Jamālu'd-Dīn Hājī Muḥammad son of 'Abdu'llāh, popularly known as Kūkbānd, who is stated to have expired on Friday, 3rd Jumādā al-Ākhar 778 (18th October 1376). The text calls him 'the great *Shaikh*,' the devout, the righteous and the religious', which indicates that he was a saintly person. The exact connotation of his *alias* 'Kūkbānd' which appears to be a Persian term is not clear, but that may have been either his popular epithet or professional name. The appendage Hājī shows that he had performed the prescribed visit to the Holy Ka'ba at Mecca and presumably Medina too. The text offers no clue as to the country of his origin.

The style of writing of this epigraph may be described as *Thulth* with very strong *Riqā'*-features.² The tablet is squarish measuring 40 by 50 cm. and contains the following text:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(a)

(١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(٢) شَهِدَ اللَّهُ أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ وَالْمَلِكُ وَأُولُوا الْعِلْمِ

(٣) قَائِمًا بِالْقِسْطِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ إِنْ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ

(٤) اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانْ وَيَبْقَى وَجْهُ رَبِّكَ ذُو

(٥) الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ هَذِهِ تَرْبَةُ الشَّيْخِ الْأَجَلِ الْعَابِدِ الْمُتَّقِي الْمُتَدِينِ

(٦) جَمَالِ الدِّينِ حَاجِي مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَرَفَ كَوَكْبَنْدَ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ رَحْمَةً

(٧) وَاسِعَةً وَغُفِرَ لَهُ مَغْفِرَةٌ جَامِعَةٌ تَوَفَّى إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ الْغُفُورِ فِي يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ ثَالِثَ

(٨) مِنْ شَهْرِ جُمَادَى الْآخِرَةِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَسَبْعِينَ وَسَبْعِمِائَةٍ مِنَ الْهَجْرَةِ النَّبَوِيَّةِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ

TRANSLATION

(1) *Basmala*.³

(2-5) *Qur'ān*, Chapter III, verses 17-18,⁴ Chapter XL, verses 26-27.⁵ This is the grave of the great *Shaikh*, the devout, the righteous, the religious,

¹ This term literally meaning 'old' or 'aged' is also applied to persons of great eminence, particularly in the field of learning or sainthood.

² It may be pointed out that not in all cases, particularly of *Nasḥ* and *Thulth*, the epigraphical specimens conform to the laid down rules.

³ For translation, see p. 8.

⁴ For translation, see p. 6.

⁵ For translation, see p. 6.

(6) Jamālu'd-Dīn Ḥājī Muḥammad son of 'Abdu'llāh popularly known as *Kūkbānd*, may Allāh be merciful to him with (His) mercy

(7) unbounded and pardon him with His overwhelming pardon. He was taken into the mercy of the Pardoning Allāh on Friday, the third

(8) of the month of Jumādā al-Ākhar (of the) year eight and seventy and seven hundred from the Migration of the Prophet, may (Allāh's) peace be upon him (3 Jumādā II 778=18 October 1376).

XXVIII. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 783 (1382 A.D.)

This epitaph stands at the head of the smaller grave in the Tomb of Maliku'ah Sharq 'Umar al-Kāzarūnī,¹ already referred to above (p. 40). The grave enshrines the remains of al-Kāzarūnī's wife and is of the same ornateness as that of the husband.

The tablet was originally arch-shaped, but the top portion having been lost through damage, it has been restored with cement-plaster. Roughly rectangular, it measures 42 cm. by 74 cm. and though simple and not so highly ornate in design as the other headstones, it is quite pleasing: particularly its horizontal panels are made more artistic by dividing every alternate panel into three parts, the side ones having been filled with geometrical and floral designs and the middle ones with text which states that the grave belongs to Bibi Fāṭima daughter of the late Khwāja Ḥusain of Gilān and wife of Zakīu'd-Dīn 'Umar al-Kāzarūnī, who died on the 20th Shawwāl 783 (7th January 1382).

The chief importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it provides the name of the wife of a prominent person of his age and that of her father and her land of origin, a piece of information not available from any source. Her father too would appear, like her husband, to be a merchant of Iranian origin, hailing from Gilān.

The calligraphy of the record is quite good, but not as good as that of the epitaph of her husband. The script is *Riqʿ*-type *Naskh* except for the *Basmala* which is executed in ornamental *Kūfī* of quite a pleasing type. There is also in the text a minor grammatical error which is rather unusual.

An incomplete and incorrect reading of this epigraph too, made by Professor E. Rehatsek was published by Burgess and Cousens in their List. The deceased, for example, is stated therein to have been 'crown of treasures' and one who had performed the pilgrimage to Karbalā'.²

The epitaph reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(b)

(a) Margin.

الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الارض
من ذى..... ولا يحيطون بشئ من علمه الا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض
ولا يوده حفظهما و هو العلي العظيم

(b) Within the arch.

[لا اله الا الله] محمد [رسول الله]

¹ *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 46.

² Burgess & Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 320, No. 16. Karbalā is the place where the Prophet's grandson Ḥusain attained martyrdom and where he lies buried.

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

- (١) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 (٢) كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ وَيَبْقَى
 (٣) وَجْهٌ
 (٤) رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ
 (٥) هَذَا الْقَبْرُ (كَذَا)
 (٦) الْمَرْحُومَةُ الْمَغْفُورَةُ فخر النساء تاج الحرير
 (٧) بيبى فاطمة بنت
 (٨) المرحوم الخواجه حسين الكيلاني زوجة الملك المرحوم
 (٩) زكى الدين عمر الكازروني المخاطب بملك پرويز نور
 (١٠) الله قبرها تو[فيت] في العشرين من شوال سنة ثلاث و ثمانين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

- (a) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verses 255.¹
 (b) First Creed.²
 (c) (1) *Basmala*.³
 (2-4) *Qur'ān*, Chapter XI, verses 26-27.⁴
 (5) This is the grave
 (6) of the lady taken into Allāh's mercy and pardoned, the pride among women, the crown of free women (i.e. women of noble lineage),
 (7) Bibi Fāṭima, daughter of
 (8) the *Khwāja* who is taken into (Allāh's) mercy, Husain al-Gilānī (i.e. of Gilān, a province in Irān) (and) wife of the Malik (who is) taken into Allāh's mercy (viz.)
 (9) Zakī'u'd-Dīn 'Unar al-Kāzarūnī entitled Malik Parviz, may illumined
 (10) by Allāh be her grave. She died on the twentieth of (the month of) *Shawwāl* (of the) year (A.H.) three and eighty and seven hundred (20 *Shawwāl* 783=7 January 1382).

XXIX. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 786 (1384 A.D.)

This short epitaph, noticed here for the first time, seems to have escaped the notice of the officer when the epigraphical survey of Cambay was made in 1919-20, for it is not included in his list. The tablet is lying loose in the Tomb of Pir Buhlul *Shahīd* in Tin-Limḍī or Chhipwād,⁵ where one more epitaph, noticed above (No. XII, *supra*), is preserved.

The squarish slab measuring 22 cm. by 27 cm. is fragmentary in that a little bit from its top left corner has disappeared. Whether it was originally arch-shaped or not, it is difficult to say for certain, but perhaps it was not.

¹ For translation, see p. 10.² For translation, see p. 6.³ For translation, see p. 8.⁴ For translation, see p. 6.⁵ *ARIE*, 1939-60, No. D, 108.

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 778 (p. 54)



SCALE : .21

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 783 (p. 55)



SCALE : .18

(a) Epitaph dated A.H. 786 (p. 57)



SCALE : 4

(b) Epitaph dated A.H. 798 (p. 58)



SCALE : 17

The brief obituary note, too, is not fully clear. The text calls the deceased as Aḥmad 'Alī, but such compound name not being in vogue in those days, very probably the *idāfat-i-ibnī* is intended in this case, making it Aḥmad-i-'Alī i.e. Aḥmad son of 'Alī. This is, of course, usually not done in Arabic texts, which is the case here, but as stated above, the text is faulty and the composer not very conversant with Arabic language. Unfortunately, again, an important word indicating his *nisba* which could have disclosed his origin or profession or like information cannot be deciphered satisfactorily. This is so despite the usually fine, distinct and clear-cut script, which is *Riqā'*-like *Naskh*, but the lack of diacritical marks coupled with calligraphical flourishes has prevented its definite decipherment: it reads like *Kirātist* or *Kirātīst*.

So, according to our tentative reading, the epitaph was intended to mark the grave of one Aḥmad (son) of 'Alī Kirātist (?). The given date, viz. Saturday, the 16th of Jumādā al-Ākhar 786 (5th August 1384) is evidently the date of his death.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

(١) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 (٢) كل من عليها فان و يبقى وجه
 (٣) ربك ذوالجلال و الاكرام هذا القبر (كذا) الاعز
 (٤) احمد على كراتيست (كراتيست) في ذلك التاريخ يوم السبت
 (٥) السادس عشرة من جمادى الاخر سنة ستو ثمانين و سبعمائة

TRANSLATION

(1) First Creed.¹

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter XL, verses 26-27.² This is the grave of the most beloved (?),

(4) Aḥmad (son of?) 'Alī Kirātist or Kirātīst (?). And this was on the date Saturday,

(5) sixteenth of (the month of) Jumādā al-Ākhar (of the year (A.H.) six and eighty and seven hundred (16 Jumādā II 786=5 August 1384).

XXX. EPITAPH, DATED A.H. 798 (1395 A.D.)

The last epitaph of the group is from the Tomb of Pir Tāju'd-Dīn referred to above (p.7), where it is built up into the eastern wall,³ and is noticed here for the first time. The arch-shaped tombstone conforms to the ornate type, with the arch being trifolied with a vase hanging from its apex on chain, and decorated with floral designs here and there.

The tablet measuring 78 cm. from apex to bottom and 40 cm. in width seems to have weathered considerably, for the writing is quite damaged. But the text is more or less legible except the *nisba* of the deceased which has defied several attempts at decipherment. According to the text, the epitaph belonged to the grave of *Khawāja Asil*⁴ son of 'Umar son of Sa'du'd-Dīn, who expired on Sunday the 8th of Muḥarram 798 (23rd October 1395). The deceased is spoken of in the text as 'the chief of merchants, pride among the great and the free-born', which shows that he was a prominent member of the mercantile community. His native place cannot be determined as the *nisba* could not be deciphered.

¹ For translation, see p. 6.

² For translation, see p. 6.

³ *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 121.

⁴ In *ibid.*, the name is read as *Saidān*.

The style of writing is the usual *Riqā'*-type *Naskh* of excellent quality. The text is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate XV(b)

(a) *Within the arch.*

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(b) *Margin.*

[الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الأرض من ذي الذي يشفع عنده إلا بأذنه يعلم ما بين أيديهم وما خلفهم ولا يحيطون بشئ من علمه إلا بما شاء وسع كرسيه السموات والأرض ولا يوده حفظهما و [هو العلي العظيم]

(c) *Horizontal panels.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) يشرهم ربهم برحمة منه و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم

(٣) مقيم خالدين فيها ابدأ ان الله عنده اجر عظيم

(٤) هذا قبر العبد الضعيف النحيف الراجي الى رحمة الله تعالى

(٥) صدر التجار مفخر الاكابر و الاحرار خواجه اصيل ابن عمر ابن سعد الدين

٦ [.....] الى تغمده الله بالرحمة و اسكنه في دار الجنان توفي يوم

(٧) الاحد الثامن من المحرم سنة ثمان و تسعين و سبعمائة

(٨) حامدا لله و مصليا على رسوله محمد و الصلوة و السلام

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) First Creed.¹

(b) *Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255.²

(c) (1) *Basmala*.³

(2-3) *Qur'ān*, Chapter IX, verses 21-22.⁴

(4) This is the grave of the weak and infirm creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Exalted Allāh,

(5) the chief of the merchants, pride of the great and the free-born, *Khawāja Asil* son of 'Umar son of Sa'du'd-Dīn

(6) al.....I, may Allāh cover him with (His) mercy and settle him in the abode of Paradise. He died on Sun-

(7) day, the eighth of (the month of) Muḥarrar (of the) year (A.H.) eight and ninety and seven hundred (8 Muḥarrar 798-23 October 1395).

(8) Praise be to Allāh and salutations on His apostle Muḥa ad. And salutation and peace.

¹ For translation, see p. 6.

² For translation, see p. 10.

³ For translation, see p. 8.

⁴ For translation, see p. 12.

TWO MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM SAMANA, PANJAB

BY S. S. HUSAIN, EPIGRAPHICAL ASSISTANT

I propose to publish here two Mughal inscriptions from Sāmānā.¹ The town, a *Tahsil* headquarters in the Paṭiālā district of Panjāb, is situated in 30°9' north latitude and 76°15' east longitude, about 27 kilometres south-west of Paṭiālā town, with which it is connected by a fine metalled road. Sāmānā now a modern town containing well-built houses and fields along the borders of the town, finds frequent mention in historical works and enjoyed considerable importance during the Muslim period, as is attested to by numerous mosques and tombs some of which are unfortunately either in a ruinous condition or occupied by displaced persons from Pākistān for residential purposes, while others which were in good shape are turned into schools, Temples or Gurdwārās.

The original name of the town is said to have been Niranjan Kherā. Later on, from time to time it was known as Ratangarh, Dhobi Kherā and Sāmānā.² During the Sultanate period, Sāmānā was an important stronghold. It was first surrendered along with Sarsuti (Sirsā), Ghuram (Kuhram of historical works) and Hānsi to Muḥammad Ghori by Prithvi Rāj after his defeat in 1192.³ During the Maṅlūk period, when the Mongols were plundering the upper Panjāb and Delhi, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Balban (1265-87) established military cantonments to prevent their inroads into the north-west frontiers, and appointed his son Bughrā Khān to the charge of Sāmānā⁴ to reinforce and guard the Beās line. Under the Khāljis too, for the same reason, its importance as a military cantonment was realised and Sāmānā was made the headquarters of the most experienced commanders with well-equipped troops to check the Mongols. But under the Tughluq dynasty, Sāmānā and other sub-divisions namely Sunām, Hānsi, Sarusti (Sirsā), Kalānaur, Jullundhar and Sirhind remained under chaos due to rebellions of the governors and internal as well as external conflicts. It was only under the just rule of Firūz Shāh (1351-88) that this region heaved a sigh of relief and obtained prosperity. But with his passing away, the closing years of the fourteenth century brought havoc and plunder to Sāmānā and nearby territories in the wake of the invasion of Delhi by Timūr.⁵ But under the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties, no important event seems to have taken place at Sāmānā except perhaps that it was here that Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodi (1451-89) who had gone there in his early career, along with two of his friends to see his uncle Islām Khān Lodi, is said to have met a Darwish, Sayyid Abban or Saidā by name, who offered and 'sold' the kingdom of Delhi to him.⁶

During the Mughal rule, Sāmānā again finds occasional mention. Humāyūn had halted here after defeating Sikandar Sūr and was enchanted with its climate.⁷ It was saved from plunder

¹ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1971-72, Nos. D, 133-34.

² *Punjab District Gazetteer (DG)*, Vol. XVII A (Lahore, 1909), p. 204, f. n. 1; B. S. Nijjar, *Panjab under the Sultans* (Delhi, 1968), p. 200.

³ *Imperial Gazetteer of India (IG)*, Vol. XXII (Oxford, 1908), p. 1; Nijjar, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁴ Ghiyā'u'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 80.

⁵ For an eye account of the advance of Timūr's army in the region, see Elliot & Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol. III (London, 1871), pp. 431, 493, etc.

⁶ For details, see Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Eng. tr. Dr. Beni Prasad, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1940), p. 133; Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, Vol. I (Kānpur, 1884), p. 174.

⁷ R. Burn, ed. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV (Cambridge, 1937), p. 68.

and loot by the timely action of Akbar when Sher Muhammad Diwāna a servant of Bairam Khān, when the latter fell out with the emperor, created disturbance there and killed one Mir Dost Muhammad who was sent to Sāmānā to manage its affairs by Mullā Nūru'd-Dīn Muhammad Tarkhān.¹

Under Jahāngir's reign, Sāmānā was famous for its fine cloth and was mostly inhabited by the weaver community, who supplied silk and other types of textiles to the royal harem. The fine textiles produced here seem to have been known by the name Semianoes or Samyanoes.² In 1621, the East India Company is reported to have bought it at the rate of Rs. 2-1/2 to Rs. 4-1/2 per piece.³ After this Sāmānā appears to have passed into oblivion.

Sāmānā seems to have had quite a few mosques and tombs, which, though 'magnificent' or 'restored' 'had several inscriptions on them'⁴ but it is a pity that no systematic effort was made to copy these inscriptions, almost all of which have now disappeared or are untraceable. Fortunately, the Survey report made by Charles Rodgers mentions about half a dozen epigraphs (including one included in the present study), of which I could only trace one in the course of my tour in October 1971. According to him, the earliest available record was of the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517), one of Jahāngir (included in this article) and two of the time of Shāh Jahān.⁵ It is surprising that Rodgers was not aware of one more inscription of Shāh Jahān which I discovered during my visit to the town. This epigraph belonged to the Imām-bāpā in the Sayyidon-kū-Mahalla (now called Mahalla Chaklā) which is now converted into a Gurdwārā. It is an interesting record purporting the construction of a mansion, as we shall presently see. The inscription of Jahāngir was noticed by Rodgers, but he has read its date as A.H. 1014 instead of 1024, a difference of one decade.

Taking this inscription first, it is carved on a marble slab, measuring 50 by 37 cm. which is fixed on the central outer arch of the three-domed Jāmi' mosque, which is situated in the north-west part of the town.⁶ The right half portion of the central dome has fallen inside the central hall. Except for this, the general condition of the rest of the mosque is good. Architecturally, the mosque is in the tradition of the Lodi-Sūr monuments and not in the style of the Mughal buildings initiated by Akbar.

The epigraph consists of three couplets in Persian and written in relief in ordinary *Nasta'liq* letters. It records the construction of a mosque by Mirzā Momin in A.H. 1024 (1614-15 A.D.) during the reign of the Mughal emperor Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngir. The date is given in a chronogram contained in the second hemistich of the third couplet. Rodgers who was the first to notice this inscription and publish its reading three quarters of a century back had, due to the misreading of the chronogrammatic phrase, calculated the date as A.H. 1014 (1605-06 A.D.). He had mistaken the word مسجد for كعبه and hence the difference of 10 in the date.⁷

I have not been able to identify the builder viz. Mirzā Momin from contemporary chronicles. Possibly, he was an official which would mean that but for this record, he would have remained unknown. Even otherwise, he appears to have been a man of local importance and hence the record under study is an important source at least for the local history.

¹ Abu'l-Faḡl, *Akbar Nāma*, Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, Vol. II (Delhi, 1972), pp. 392-93.

² According to *DG*, p. 205, emperor Jahāngir used to wear this cloth made by the weavers of Sāmānā whose descendants had in their possession *amāns* from the emperor.

³ *IG*, p. 2, fn.1.

⁴ C. J. Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1888-89* (Calcutta, 1891), p. 22.

⁵ For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁶ *ARIE*, 1971-72, No. D, 133.

⁷ Rodgers, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

- (۱) بدور شاه نور الدین جهانگیر که حکمش بر همه روی زمین است
 (۲) بنای خیر میرزا مومن افراخت که سعیش دایما در راه دین است
 (۳) بتاریخش عطارد خوش رقم زد مسجد مومن للمسلمین است

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Shāh Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngir, whose rule is (established) on the whole surface of the earth,

(2) Mirzā Momin, who always strives in the path of Faith, erected (this) bountiful edifice.

(3) For its date, ('the Scribe of the Heaven') Mercury beautifully wrote, 'it is: *Verily the mosque of Momin* (lit. a believer) *is for the Muslims.*'

The chronogram yields A.H. 1024 (1614-15 A.D.).

The other inscription is published here for the first time. It was discovered by me while searching for the inscriptions of Sāmānā listed by Rodgers, who surprisingly omits to mention it.¹ The tablet bearing this inscription is fixed on the right enclosure wall of the passage of the gate of the Gurdwārā Singh Sāfā Sāhib in Maḥalla Chaklā in the heart of the town.² This building is reported to have been used as an Imāmbārā called Bārā in the pre-partition days, which after the migration of the Muslim population was converted into the Gurdwārā. There is a modern mosque in the premises just within the entrance gate. The inscription slab, measuring 114 by 47 cm., is fixed at a height of about a metre and a half from the ground and it is doubtful if it is *in situ*. It appears to have been brought from some other place for it records the construction of an 'abode of joy', as will be seen presently.

The inscription is in Persian verse, comprising five verses written in raised letters in finely executed artistic sets of horizontal panels, vertically separated from each other by geometrical figures, which coupled with its *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high quality, has made it an elegant epigraph. The text records the construction of a lofty palatial building designated in the text as 'an abode of happiness', and likened to a 'palace from Paradise'. The name of the builder is not explicitly given but from the manner he is spoken of viz. the Khān who is worthy of the sphere of Daulat (lit. good fortune), it is certain that it is Daulat Khān. The construction took place, the inscription further states, in A.H. 1044 (1634-35 A.D.) under the superintendence of one Gopāl Bhaṭṭ and the work was executed by one Ishāq. The text also gives along with the Hijra year, the 6th regnal year which must pertain to Shāh Jahān whose name is surprisingly omitted in the text, but the 6th regnal year officially ended on the last day of Jumādā I 1043 (2nd December 1633).⁴ Therefore, either there is some inadvertent mistake on the part of the sculptor in engraving

¹ There is a fine pun on the word Momin, which is the name of the builder and which also means a true believer.

² Rodgers, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

³ *ARIE*, 1971-72, No. D, 134.

⁴ Abdu'l-Hamid Lāhorī, *Bādshāh Nāma*, Vol. I, part II (Calcutta, 1867), p. 1.

TRANSLATION

(1) The foundation of this everlasting abode of happiness was laid at an auspicious and blessed moment.

(2) This happy mansion appears as if a palace has been removed from Paradise (to the earth).
A.H. 1044 (1634-35 A.D.).

(3) Or this lofty palace is an auspicious heavenly abode which has become the exalted residence (of one) whose standards are (as high as) the high heavens. Regnal year 6.

(4) One who is worthy of the sphere of fortune, (namely) that Khān by whose reflected image, the eyes of the sky are opened wide (i.e. the sky is astonished). Work done by Iṣḥāq.

(5) When I sought the year of its date, Widsom replied, 'It is : a wonderful, auspicious and airy building'. Superintended by Gopāl Bhaṭṭ.

The chronogram is contained in the last hemistich. The date given in the figure is A.H. 1044, and the chronogram would yield it only if the word *binā'i* in the chronogrammatic phrase is taken to consist of two *yā* and a *hamza*, though it is normally taken to be one *yā* and one *hamzā*. As the date is explicitly given in figure as 1044 and the word *binā'i* is so written as to indicate that the spelling with two *yā* and one *hamza* was intended by the composer for the reckoning, there is no doubt that the date is A.H. 1044 (1634-35 A.D.).

ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM PANHALA

BY DR. A. A. KĀDIRĪ, SENIOR EPIGRAPHICAL ASSISTANT

I propose to study in this article twelve 'Ādil Shāhi inscriptions from Panhālā, a place of historical interest in the Kolhāpur district of Mahārāshtra. These range in their dates from A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.) to A.H. 1020 (1611-12 A.D.) and represent the reigns of four rulers of the 'Ādil Shāhi dynasty, viz., Ismā'īl (1516-34), Ibrāhīm I (1535-57), 'Alī I (1558-80) and Ibrāhīm II (1580-1636).

The earliest extant inscription from Panhālā was published in an earlier issue of this series,¹ where a brief resume of its history upto A.H. 917 (1511-12 A.D.) was given. It would therefore be better to carry forward this local history to A.H. 1022 (1611-12 A.D.), the date of the latest inscription of the present group, which will incidentally show the importance of these epigraphs for the local history of the fort.

From the earliest record dated A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.) studied below, it is clear that Malik Sikandar Ḥaidarī who was, according to an earlier epigraph, the Thānadār of Panhālā in A.H. 917 (1511-12 A.D.),² continued to hold that post at least till A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.). After this date nothing is known about Panhālā or its Thānadārs till A.H. 946 (1539-40 A.D.), when according to inscription No. II, set up in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, one Yūsuf held the charge of the Panhālā fort. After this date, again, nothing is heard about the place till about A.H. 954 (1547-48 A.D.), when Ibrāhīm I visited Panhālā on a pleasure-trip, according to Firishṭa.³ This is in a way corroborated by inscription No. III in which, Panhālā is referred to as the seat of government in the said year, when Dā'ūd Āqā was incharge of the place. The latter seems to have continued to govern Panhālā till the following year when, according to inscription No. IV, he constructed a tank. It was at about this time that Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar and Jamshīd Qutb Shāh of Golcondā who followed the Shiite tenets tried to exploit their sectarian affinity with Asad Khān Lārī, an 'Ādil Shāhi official of great status, urging him to hand over the fort of Belgāum of which he was custodian to Nizām Shāh for monetary consideration. According to Firishṭa, Asad Khān spurned the overtures, imprisoned the persons involved in the offer, and in view of his illness, requested his master to visit Belgāum.⁴ But the Ahmadnagar historian 'Alī Tabāṭabā would have us believe that Asad Khān fell a victim to treachery and invited Burhān, then besieging Bijāpur, to come in person to Belgāum, to receive the charge of this strategic fort from him, but Ibrāhīm having somehow got an inkling of this, marched to Belgāum a couple of days before the appointed rendezvous of the Ahmadnagar king with Asad Khān there.⁵ Firishṭa states at another place that being hard pressed by the manoeuvres of the allied forces of the Vijayanagara king Rām Rāj and Burhān, Ibrāhīm left Bijāpur which was later besieged by Burhān and went to Panhālā.⁶ On his way, he appears to have paid a visit to Belgāum on the request of his ailing general Asad Khān who ultimately breathed his last in the beginning

¹ *Epigraphia Indica Arabic & Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1964, p. 43.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

³ Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, Vol. II (Kānpur, 1884), p. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵ 'Alī Tabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Mc'āṭṭir* (Hyderābād, 1936), p. 309.

⁶ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

of A.H. 956 (1549 A.D.).¹ It is possible that having arranged the affairs at Belgāum, Ibrāhīm might have left for Panhālā, which was more formidable and hence more secure than Belgāum. This inference is corroborated by Ṭabāṭabā, according to whom, Burhān, having on his way to Belgāum got news that Ibrāhīm had reached Belgāum and fortified it with men and provision, changed his route, marched on to Panhālā and laid siege to the fort. But finding the task impossible, Nizām Shāh concentrated on lower fortifications which were reduced after a fight lasting for a day and a half only, and after having destroyed them completely, he left for Satārā.² Firishṭa did not know the details, according to his own confession, of the three battles fought between Burhān and Ibrāhīm,³ but he refers to the expedition of the allied forces of Rām Rāj and Burhān against Bijāpur, as a result of which Ibrāhīm, finding himself unequal to the task of containing them, went to Panhālā. Burhān invested Bijāpur but fell ill and had to be removed to Ahmadnagar where he died in the same year.⁴

It is a fact that neither the contemporary chronicler like Rafi’u’d-Dīn⁵ nor the later historian Zubairi,⁶ mentions these events pertaining to Panhālā. Nor are they taken note of in dealing with the events of this period.⁷ For example, the Imperial Gazetteer merely gives this information that ‘on the establishment of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur in 1489, Panhālā was fortified with great care’, and ‘in 1659 immediately after the murder of Afzal Khan, Shivaji took Panhālā from Bijapur’,⁸ while the State Gazetteer enlightens us that ‘Ibrahim I and II took a lot of interest in Panhālā and its fortifications. This is shown not only by the numerous Persian inscriptions left by them but also by the architectural style of the monuments at the place’.⁹ But far more surprising is that Dr. Rādhay Shyām in his history of the Ahmadnagar kingdom should have chosen to ignore Panhālā and events about it, so connected with Ahmadnagar history, completely.¹⁰ Moreover, the fort of Panhālā contains inscriptions of the time of the Bijapur king ‘Alī I, which evidently do not seem to have been known to all these authorities.

Resuming the narration of the events of Panhālā fort, we next find (*vide* inscription No. V) that in A.H. 964 (1556-57 A.D.), Malik Khidr, the Sar Khawāss, was very probably in charge of the fort. For the next two decades, nothing is known about its history. But from an epigraph (No. VI, *infra*), it would appear that in A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.), one Shamsu’d Dīn, the Nā’ib-i Ghāibat of ‘Alī I was in charge there. He seems to have been succeeded, two years later, by one Ahmad ‘Alī son of Raun ‘Alī, entitled Shamsū’l-Mulk (*vide* inscription No. VII). Some time between this and A.H. 988 (1580 A.D.), a little after the murder of ‘Alī I, Mīr Kamālū’d-Dīn Husain Injū, entitled Murtadā Khān, seems to have been imprisoned at Panhālā, for we are told by the contemporary chronicler Rafi’u’d-Dīn Shīrāzi that Kishwar Khān Lārī tried to do away with Murtadā Khān Injū and his brother Shāh Qāsim¹¹ as he did in the case of Mustafā Khān Ardastānī at Bankāpur,¹² but the letter of ‘Abdu’l-Mu’min addressed to Kishwar Khān having

¹ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Zubairi, *Basāṭiṭu’s-Salāṭīn* (Hyderabad), p. 64.

² Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-10.

³ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁵ Rafi’u’d-Dīn Shīrāzi, *Tadhkiratu’l-Mulūk* (MS).

⁶ Zubairi, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-64.

⁷ Such as, for example, *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (IG), Vol. XIX (Oxford, 1908), p. 396; *Gazetteers of India, Maharashtra State, Kolhapur District* (Kolhapur Dt. Gr.), Bombay, 1960, p. 67; Dr. Rādhay Shyām, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar* (Delhi, 1966), pp. 57-94.

⁸ IG, p. 396.

⁹ Kolhapur Dt. Gaz., p. 67.

¹⁰ Rādhay Shyām, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-94.

¹¹ Rafi’u’d-Dīn Shīrāzi, *op. cit.*, ff. 122-23; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

¹² EIAPS, 1968, p. 42.

fallen in the hands of Ikhlas Khān, the plan misfired and orders were issued to release the two brothers who left Panhālā and came to Bijāpur.¹

A little earlier, Kishwar Khān had sent a contingent under the command of Afdal Khān Shirāzi to relieve the garrison at Bidar which was besieged by the allied forces of Ibrāhīm of Golconda and Murtaḍā of Ahmadnagar. The faction fights at Bijāpur which ultimately resulted in the death of Kishwar Khān, having lowered the morale of the 'Adil Shāhi forces, Afdal Khān had to retreat to Bijāpur.² At this stage, Ikhlas Khān, the new prime-minister who had succeeded Kishwar Khān, despatched Rafi'u'd-Dīn Shirāzi to Panhālā to bring the treasure accumulated there to the capital.³

After this, we do not hear about Panhālā till A.H. 1016 (1607-08 A.D.), when according to inscription No. IX, one Āqā Maqsūd constructed a palace on the terrace of the fort in the reign of Ibrāhīm II. This Āqā Maqsūd appears to have been in charge of Panhālā at least till A.H. 1020 (1611-12 A.D.), when according to inscription No. X, he constructed a mosque at Ibrāhimpurā, situated outside the upper fortification. Most probably this outer portion of the fortification was destroyed during the Nizām Shāhi siege mentioned above.

From the above, it will be seen that much of the history of Panhālā owes its reconstruction to the epigraphic records. These records, as will be seen presently, mention a number of officials of rank, most of them unknown from other sources, apart from scribes. The former include such names as Malik Sikandar Haidari (the Thānadār), Malik Yūsuf the Ābdār, Malik Dā'ūd Āqā the Nā'ib-i-Ghaibat, Shamsu'd-Dīn the Nā'ib-i-Ghaibat, Malik Khidr the Sar Khawāss, Aḥmad 'Alī entitled Shamshirul-Mulk and Āqā Maqsūd. Some of these held high ranks and the rest were also officials of note.

From the calligraphical point of view too, these epigraphs are not without interest. Four of the twelve epigraphs are inscribed in *Nasta'liq* character—the earliest of these, the second of the group, is dated A.H. 946 (1539-40 A.D.)—of no particular merit in itself, but their designers have sought to impart them artistic touch through floral or decorative motifs, but the effect on the whole is not very pleasing. The remaining eight are in *Naskh* or *Thulth* style which is uniformly good with the exception of one inscription (No. VII) where too it is partly quite good. The style of writing in these seven epigraphs would have made these very attractive specimens of calligraphy were it not for the fact that the designing of the text particularly the placing of the letters and words leaves much to be desired. Fortunately, four of these epigraphs also contain the names of their designers, viz. Maulānā Rajab who wrote three epigraphs and Muḥammad son of Farīdu'd-Dīn, both of whom appear to be talented calligraphers. It is a pity that in the case of the rest, particularly Inscription Nos. I and II, the names of the calligraphers are not known.

Almost all of these records are metrical but the quality of verse presented by them is mediocre except in the case of Inscription No. II. With these introductory remarks, we now proceed with the study of the epigraphs themselves.

I. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 918

The first inscription is carved on the left of the three slabs measuring 68 by 34 cm. which are fixed on the platform of the Dargāh of Sa'du'd-Dīn.⁴ The Dargāh, the most important of

¹ Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

² Rafi'u'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, f. 123; Zubairi, *op. cit.*; Rādhay Shyām, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-73.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE)*, 1963-64, No. D, 192.

PLATE XVII

‘ĀDIL SHĀHĪ INSCRIPTIONS FROM PANHĀLĀ MAHĀRĀSHṬRA

(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm I dated A.H. 955 (p. 71)



SCALE : ·15

(b) Inscription dated A.H. 918 (p. 67)



SCALE : ·2

the Muslim buildings at the place, is about 9 metres square and 15 metres high including the dome.

Evidently the slab is not *in situ* as it records the construction of a bastion by Sikandar, in A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.). The text comprising two Persian verses is inscribed in two lines in relief in *Thulth* characters of a high order, but the name of the calligrapher is not mentioned. The date is contained in a chronogram.

The builder is none other than Malik Sikandar Haidari, the Thānadār of Panhālā, who had, according to another inscription studied in a past issue of this series, excavated a tank and constructed its gate a year earlier.¹

The text has been deciphered by me as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII(b)

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| بروج بهشت [۱] است تاریخ این | (۱) زمن بشوای مرد باریک بین |
| سکندر بنام و سکندر شعار | (۲) زبانی خبر میذهم گوش دار |

TRANSLATION

(1) Listen to me, O connoisseur: Its date is (contained in the phrase) *Burūj-i-Bihisht* (i.e. the bastions of Paradise).

(2) Hark! I am informing you about the builder. (He is) Sikandar (i.e. Alexander) in name and (also) Sikandar in quality.

The following English rendering of the epigraph was given in the old series of the Bombay Gazetteer of the Kolhāpur district, but it is unintelligible: 'Oh friend listen to the voice of the assembly. The able man Sikandar converted the hill into a road, and named the Sikandar bastion with this date. It informs one of 806 with a golden call'.²

II. INSCRIPTION OF IBRĀHĪM I, DATED A.H. 946

The second inscription of the group and first of Ibrāhīm I occupying a total space of about 1.55 m. by 42 cm. appears on the facade of the structure over the step-well called Andhār-Bāoli in the Fort.³ Its text consists of seven couplets in Persian which are of a fairly good quality and are carved in relief in ordinary *Nasta'liq* characters. The haphazard placing of letters has rendered its decipherment a difficult task. The epigraph states that Yūsuf the royal Ābdār (i.e. Water-bearer), constructed at Panhālā, a bastion and a tank with a structure above the latter in the year A.H. 946 (1539-40 A.D.), in the reign of 'Adil Shāh (i.e. Ibrāhīm I).

This record was also noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, where its following English translation is given: 'In Panhala at the commencement of his rule, may God increase his prosperity, good fortune and rank. This will remain as a glorious memorial for him. Now A.H. 909 Abu Yusuf is the official entrusted with the construction of this work. The cause of this building being the best of its day is this, that this lofty building was completed in the reign of the king of the age,

¹ *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 44, pl. XIV c. It is now preserved in the Kolhāpur Museum.

² *Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency (BG)*, vol. XXIV, Kolhāpur (Bombay 1886), p. 422, No. 1.

³ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 204.

Adil Shah. A bastion, a reservoir, and this building were constructed (as it were) on the heads of the black-eyed damsels of Paradise. A life-giving spring flows from its reservoir and they placed it on the shelf (as it were) of a palace, by the order of a man of high and excellent rank. With victory, with happiness and excellence, this was brought into sight.¹

The above rendering, apart from the wrong reading of the date, the name of builder etc., is hopelessly corrupt and misleading. The name of the builder is Yūsuf, the *Ābdār* and not Abū Yūsuf. Unfortunately nothing could be gleaned about this Yūsuf from the Persian chronicles available to me. But he appears to have been an official of note and held the honorary rank of the *Ābdār*, i.e. person in charge of the drinks for the king. The epigraph is thus an important document which has perpetuated the name of the 'Adil Shāhī official and has also preserved a small bit of information about the posts connected with the royal person like *Ābdār*.

I have read the text as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII(b)

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| در پناه بدولت والے | شد تمام این عمارت عالی |
| زاده الله بخت دولت جام | شهر یار زمانه عادلشاه |
| یادگار از خورنق و خیبر | برج حوض و عمارتی بر سر |
| طاق ایوان کشیده بر کیوان | آب حوضش ز چشمه حیوان |
| بانی این عمارت از بنیاد | یوسف آبدار نیک نهاد |
| نمهد و چل گذشته از هجرت | شس دیگر فزای بی علت |
| این عمارت به بهترین روزی | شد مرتب بسعد و فیروزی |

TRANSLATION

- (1) At Pan(h)āla, this lofty edifice was constructed during the government of the Lord,
- (2) the king of the age 'Adil Shāh, may Allāh increase his fortune, reign and dignity.
- (3) (This) bastion, tank and the structure above it, reminds one of *Khucarnaq*² and *Khaibar*.³
- (4) The arch of its portico raised its head to the seventh heaven; the water of its tank is from the Spring of Life.
- (5) The builder of this edifice, from its foundation (i.e. anew) is Yūsuf the *Ābdār*, of good disposition.

¹ BG, p. 422, No. 2.

² A palace in Babylonia.

³ A fort near Medina.

(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm I dated A.H. 954 (P. 69)



SCALE : '09

(b) Inscription of the same king dated A.H. 946 (p. 68)



SCALE : '12

(6) Nine hundred and forty years had passed after the Migration; add (for the date) to it six for no reason (A.H. 945=1539-40 A.D.),

(7) when this edifice was completed on the best of the days, with happiness and victory.

III. INSCRIPTION OF THE SAME KING, DATED A.H. 954

The slab bearing the second inscription of Ibrāhīm I and the third record of the group, is fixed on the facade of the middle gate of the Tin-Darwāza gate of the Fort.¹ The text is inscribed within a large panel and the all round margin enclosing it. The panel contains two lines of Persian prose commencing with the famous opening verse from the celebrated Persian poem *Makhran-i-Asrār*.² The margin has on the right, top, left and bottom, respectively, a line in Persian prose, five hemistiches in Persian verse, one hemistich in Persian verse and a Quatrain of the celebrated Persian poet ‘Umar Khayyām,³ all carved in relief in *Nasta’liq* characters of a fairly good type. The writing in the panel is set against floral background.

The epigraph states that in the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh the buildings at Panhālā, which is spoken of as ‘the seat of government’ were either repaired or built anew in A.H. 954 (1547-48 A.D.) during the regime of Malik Dā’ūd Āqā, the Nā’ib-i-Ghaibat, that is to say, king’s Deputy. It further states that Dā’ūd Āqā constructed a reservoir of sweet drinking water. The text is stated therein to have been written by one Sālār son of Aḥmad, the Dabīr (Secretary).

This epigraph was also noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer; its rendering there, though not without mistakes, is fairly accurate in stating the purport.⁴

Nothing could be gleaned about Malik Dā’ūd Āqā, from the contemporary sources, but he continued to be at Panhālā at least for one more year according to the next inscription. These two records are therefore quite important. The one under study is also important as it corroborates the statement of Firīšta that at about this time, Ibrāhīm I had left Bijāpur and took shelter at Panhālā,⁵ for which reason, evidently, the appellation ‘Dārū’s-Saltanat (i.e. the seat of the government) Panhālā Fort’ has been used in the text. The inscription has also preserved the name of a calligrapher of some merit. This man, Sālār, was also a secretary, as can be easily surmised from his surname Dabīr.

The text has been read by me as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII(a)

(a) Main panel.

(۱) بِسْمِ اِلَهِ (کَذَا) الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ - هَسْتُ کَلِیدِ دُرْ کُنْجِ حَکِیمِ
تَجْدِیدِ وَ تَحْدِیثِ عِمَارَاتِ دَارِ السُّلْطَنَتِ قَلْعَةِ پَنَاهِ دُرِ اَیَامِ دَوْلَتِ خُسْرُومِ (کَذَا)
(۲) جِهَانْبَانِی سُلْطَنَتِ پَنَاهِ اِبْرَاهِیمِ عَادِلْشَاهِ خَلْدِ مَلْکِ فِی تَارِیخِ سَنَةِ اَرْبَعِ خَمْسِینِ تَسْعَاوِیَةِ
دُرْکَاوَرِ [د] مَلْکِ دَاوُدِ آقَا نَایِبِ غِیْبَتِ کَاتِبِ سَالَارِ بَنِ اَحْمَدِ دَبِیرِ

¹ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 203. It measures 1.78 m. by 48 cm.

² This *Mathnawī* poem is by Nigāmī Ganjavī, a twelfth century Persian poet of great eminence.

³ *Rubā’iyāt-i-‘Umar-i-Khayyām* (Lucknow, 1955), p. 38, No. 279, where the order of the hemistiches is different.

⁴ *BG*, p. 423, No. 7. The translation of the text in the margin is also faulty.

⁵ *Firīšta*, op. cit., p. 120.

(b) *Margins.*

i Right :

بنای خیر این آب داؤد آقا کند

ii Top :

(۱) بنای چنین در همه روی [زمین] نیست آب که درو هست کم از ماے معین نیست
(۲) هرکس که بنوشید هے گفت که رحمت بر بانی او باد که خیری به ازین نیست
(۳) بر سنگ چنین نوشت نقاش

iii Left :

دنیا نکند وفا تو خوش باش

iv Bottom :

در دل نتوان درخت اندوه نشاند همواره کتاب خرمی باید خواند
می باید خورد و کام دل باید راند بیداست که در جهان چند خواهی ماند

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) The formula *In the name of the Beneficent, the Merciful* is the key to the treasure-house of the judicious Lord.

The renovation and (new) construction of the buildings at the seat of the government, Panhālā Fort, (took place) in the reign of the king

(2) having sovereignty over the world, the asylum of the kingdom, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, may his kingdom be perpetuated, in the year four (and) fifty (and) nine hundred (A.H. 954= 1547-48 A.D.), during the time of Malik Dā'ūd Āqā, the Nā'ib-i-Ghaibat (lit. Deputy in Absence). Its writer is Sālār son of Aḥmad, the Dabīr (i.e. Secretary).

(b) i. This tank (lit. bountiful edifice of water) was excavated by Dā'ūd Āqā.

ii. (1) Such an edifice is not to be found on the whole surface of the earth; the water which it contains is not inferior to the limpid water (of Paradise).

(2) Whosoever drank from it exclaimed, 'May the mercy (of God) be upon its builder, for there is no bounty better than this'.

(3) The stone-carver engraved on the stone thus :

iii. The world is not faithful (i.e. will not last), so be merry.

iv. (1) The shrub of sorrow cannot be planted in the heart; the book of enjoyment must be read at all times.

¹ This should have been چند در جهان.

(2) Wine ought to be drunk and the desires of the heart ought to be fulfilled; (for), it is obvious, how long can one live in this world!

IV. INSCRIPTION OF THE SAME RULER, DATED A.H. 955

The third record of Ibrāhīm I which is also in Persian prose and verse may be seen on the western wall of the Nāg Jhari in the Fort.¹ Carved on a slab measuring 66 by 52 cm., it runs into three lines in Persian, two of which contain two couplets and one a line in prose. The text is executed in relief in *Nasta’liq* characters which resemble that of the inscription just noticed. A floral border runs all around the text.

The epigraph records that the top of the mountain had been flattened as a result of which a hundred springs of water were released. It also states that though innumerable persons have come and gone, the spring and the mountain had withstood the test of time. The particular spring on which it now occurs, was constructed, according to the text, during the time of Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh in A.H. 955 (1548-49 A.D.) by Dā’ūd Āqā. The builder is the same as the builder of the reservoir mentioned in the previous epigraph.

This epigraph was also noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, the rendering in which is fairly correct.²

The text as read by me is as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII(a)

(۱) کوه و کمری بهم نهاده صد چشمه آب از و کشاده
(۲) هر چند که بیامدند و رفتند این چشمه و کوه بجا ستاده
(۳) در دور ابراهیم عادلشاه خمس خمسين تسعمایه داود آقا ساخته

TRANSLATION

(1) The mountain and its middle having been put together, a hundred springs of water were brought forth.

(2) However much people have come and gone, this spring and the mountain have stood in their place.

(3) In the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh (in the year) five (and) fifty (and) nine hundred (A.H. 955=1548-49 A.D.), Dā’ūd Āqā constructed (this).

V. ANOTHER RECORD OF IBRĀHĪM I, DATED A.H. 964

The fifth record of the group and fourth of Ibrāhīm I, occurs on the western wall of the tank near the Dargāh of Sa’du’d-Dīn mentioned above³ and is carved on a slab measuring 1.20 m. by 50 cm. It consists of three lines of writing comprising five Persian couplets, which

¹ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 202.

² *BO*, p. 423, No. 8.

³ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 200.

is executed in relief in *Nasta'liq* characters; the style of writing is the same as in the previous record, and it is not unlikely that the two epigraphs were inscribed by one and the same person. The metrical text is of poor quality.

The epigraph assigns the construction of a tank designated *Chashma-i-Khidr* to Malik *Khidr* the *Sar Khawāss* in A.H. 964 (1556-57 A.D.), during the reign of *Ibrāhīm I*.

This epigraph was also published in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.¹ Available contemporary Persian chronicles fail to identify Malik *Khidr*, whom the text designates as *Sar Khawāss* and who must, therefore, have been an official of note. There is a village *Khidarpur* in *Kolhāpur* district² which may have been founded by or have had some association with him. The epigraph is thus a valuable document both for the local history of *Panhālā* and for having preserved to posterity the name of an official and post held by him. The exact duties of the post are difficult to be defined.

My reading of the text is as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX(b)

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| که آرد برون آب خوش از حجر | (۱) نام م (کذا) خدا صانع دادگر |
| ظفر فر بر ابراهیم شاه گزین | بعهد شهنشاه نام آفرین |
| بناء ملک خضر شد سر خواص | (۲) عمارت که بینی چنین حوض خاص |
| (۳) که این چشمه خضر شد یادگار | بنارین بد نهمد و شصت و چار |
| بحق نبی و علی السلام | الهی نگهدارینر تا قیام |

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Just Maker, who brings forth sweet water from the rock.

In the reign of the glorious and victorious emperor, *Ibrāhīm Shāh* the chosen one,

(2) such a special reservoir which you see was constructed by Malik *Khidr*, the *Sar Khawāss*.

As to the year, it was nine hundred and sixty and four (A.H. 964=1556-57 A.D.), when this Spring of *Khidr*,³ became a memento (of his).

(3) O God ! Preserve it till the day of Resurrection, for the sake of the Prophet and 'Ali. Peace (be on them).

VI. INSCRIPTION OF 'ALI I, DATED A.H. 985

This epigraph, sixth of the lot and first of 'Ali I, is now preserved in the *Kolhāpur* Museum.⁴ The inscriptional tablet measuring 92 by 75 cm. contains four lines of Persian verse carved in relief in *Nasikh* characters, of a fairly good type, which state that in the reign of emperor 'Ali I,

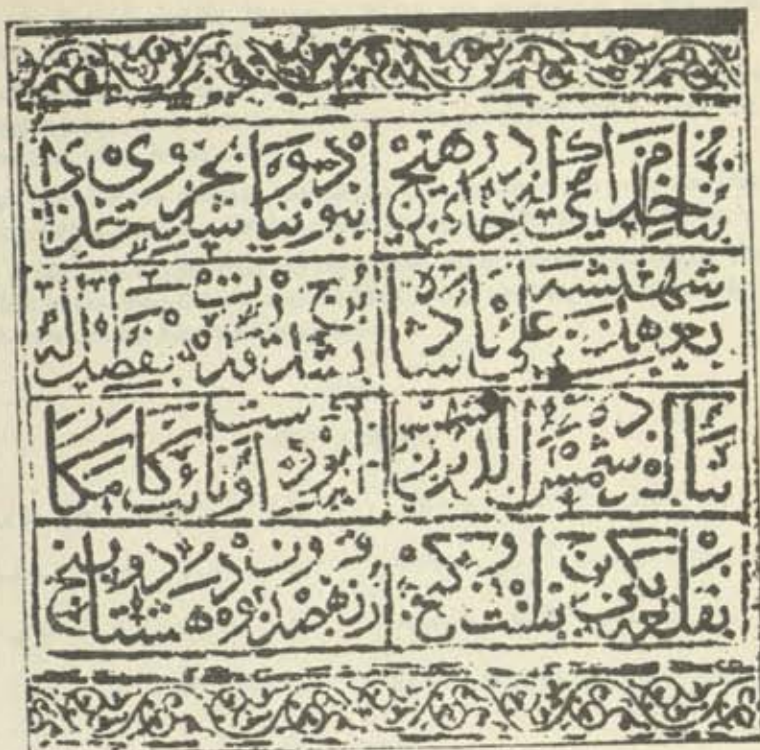
¹ *BG*, p. 429, No. 9.

² *Ibid.*, under *Khidarpur*.

³ There is a *pur* intended here. The spring of the water of Life is associated with Prophet *Khidr*.

⁴ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 190.

(a) Epigraph of 'Alī I dated A.H. 985 (p. 73)



SCALE : 11

(b) Record of Ibrāhīm I dated A.H. 964 (p. 72)



SCALE : 11

a bastion called the *Burj-i-Qudrat* (lit. Bastion of Might) was constructed by *Shamsu'd-Din*, the king's Deputy, out of the treasures of Panhālā, in A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.).

The notice of this record also occurs in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, and it is fairly correct. The only error of some consequence is that the builder and the governor is called 'chief of cavalry' and 'deputy governor' which is not correct.

The epigraph furnishes the valuable information that *Shamsu'd-Din* was the king's Deputy and incharge of the fort of Panhālā. Persian chronicles appear to be silent about him.¹

The quality of the verse is quite good and the style of writing is also fine *Nasta'liq*. The pleasing calligraphical effect is accentuated by a vertical floral border occurring at each of the right and left ends of the text which has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

(۱) نَمَ خدائی که در هیچ جای نبود و نباشد بجز وی خدای
(۲) بعهد شهنشه علی بادشاه بشد برج قدرت بفضل اله
(۳) بنا کرده شمس الدین شهسوار که بودست او نائب کامگار
(۴) بقلمه یکی برج بست او ز گنج ز نهصد فزون بود هشتاد و پنج

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, except Whom, there was no and there will never be any other God anywhere.

(2) In the reign of the emperor 'Ali, the king, the *Burj-i-Qudrat* (i.e. Bastion of Might) was constructed through the bounty of God.

(3) It was built by *Shamsu'd-Din*, an expert rider,² who was the victorious deputy (i.e. governor).

(4) He constructed a bastion in the fort out of the treasures (at Panhālā);³ it was eighty and five above nine hundred (A.H. 985=1577-78 A.D.).

VII. ANOTHER RECORD OF 'ALĪ I, DATED A.H. 987

The slab bearing the second record of 'Alī I and seventh of the group is also preserved in the Kolhāpur Museum⁴ and measures 1.25 m. by 72 cm. At the time the inscription was noticed in the *Gazetteer*, the tablet was lying near the Ambā Bāi's temple at Panhālā and was believed

¹ He does not appear to have to do anything with a contemporary official of similar rank *Faulād Khān*, the King's Deputy at Sholāpur, whose name was *Shamsu'd-Din* (G. H. Khare, *Persian Sources of Indian History*, Vol. V, pt. 1, Poona, 1961, p. 121). For he already held the title *Faulād Khān* in *Shuhūr* 964 i.e. A.H. 971 (1563-64 A.D.), while the present record fourteen years later mentions no title.

² Could Ganj here be intended for *Ganch* the local corruption of *ganj*, that is mortar?—Ed.

³ It is perhaps not correct to translate *Shahawār* as the 'Chief of the Cavalry' as done in *BG*, loc. cit.

⁴ Please see foot-note above.

⁵ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 191.

to have originally belonged to the Tiger Gate.¹ A portrait engraved in relief, of a lion facing left with a raised right paw and tail occupies slightly less than three-fourths of the entire tablet on the right side, while the remaining portion on the left is inscribed by the Persian text running into six lines executed in bold *Thulth* characters. A Persian couplet, or rather what is intended as such, for its composition is mediocre, executed in *Naskh* characters, is inscribed below the raised paw of the animal. The *Naskh* writing is superior to the *Thulth* one, but though of fine quality, it loses its impressiveness due to the crowded arrangement of its letters.

The inscription records that Ahmad 'Ali, son of Raun 'Ali,² entitled *Shamshirul-Mulk*, a devoted servant of 'Ali (I) constructed a bastion in A.H. 987 (1579-80 A.D.). The rendering of this record in the Bombay Gazetteer reads: 'The Lion of God, the victorious one, Ali, son of Abi Talib Ahmad Ali, who hath the title of Shamshir-ul-Mulk, is in heart and soul, the slave of that Ali. The date of the building of this bastion was A.H. 987'.³

It will be noted that in the Gazetteer, the letters between *علي* and *المغاطب* have not been taken notice of or have been intentionally overlooked. These letters could either be read as *بن رونعلی* or *بر رونعلی*. In either case, the builder Ahmad 'Ali's father's name is mentioned in the epigraph. It cannot be asserted with certainty whether the title *Shamshirul-Mulk* occurring after the father's name belongs to the father or the son, though it is reasonable to hold that the son must have been so entitled. Contemporary chronicles do not help us in identifying either of the two, but a record dated A.H. 943 (1536-37 A.D.), from Mudgal in Raichur district of Mysore⁴ and another dated *Shahūr* year 950 i.e. A.H. 956 (1550 A.D.),⁵ from Raichur Fort, mention one *Shamshirul-Mulk* as an officer of Ibrahim 'Adil *Shāh*. At least *Shamshirul-Mulk* of the Raichur record is an adherent of the Shi'ite Creed, like Ahmad 'Ali of our record and hence could have been the father of the latter. In that case, the title would have to refer to the father and not the son or that the son had, as usual, inherited the father's title. Again, as the name of 'Ali, the fourth Caliph, has already been mentioned in the opening lines, 'Ali in the fourth line of the text should most probably refer to the reigning king 'Ali I, who was also a devout Shi'a, which fact seems to have been overlooked in its notice in the Bombay Gazetteer.⁶

My reading of the text is as under :—

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

(a) Left side.

- (۱) اسد الله الغالب
 (۲) علی ابن ابی طالب
 (۳) از دل و جان
 (۴) هست غلام علی احمد
 (۵) علی بن (۹) رونعلی المغا
 (۶) طب بشمیر الملک

¹ BG, p. 424, No. 11.

² The name Raun 'Ali is quite uncommon.

³ BG, p. 424, No. 11.

⁴ ARIE, 1938-59, No. D, 125.

⁵ EIAPS, 1963, pp. 63-64, pl. XX (b).

⁶ BG, loc. cit.

(a) Inscription of 'Ali I dated A.H. 987 (p. 74)



SCALE : 14

(b) Epigraph of Ibrāhim II dated A.H. 994 (p. 75)



SCALE : 12

(b) *Under the lion's paw.*¹

در تواریخ برج این عمارتی که بست
که بود نهصد و هشتاد و هفت از هجرت

TRANSLATION

(a) (1-2) 'Alī son of Abi Tālib, the Lion of Allāh the Overpowering.

(3-6) From heart and soul (i.e. sincere) servant of 'Alī (i.e. 'Alī I 'Ādil Shāh) (is). Ahmad 'Alī, son (?) of Raun 'Alī, entitled *Shamshirū'l-Mulk*.

(b) For the date of the construction of the bastion of this edifice, (know) that it was nine hundred and eighty and seven from the Migration (A.H. 987=1579-80 A.D.).

VIII. INSCRIPTION OF IBRĀHĪM II, DATED A.H. 994

The eighth record of the group and first of Ibrāhīm II is inscribed on the central slab fixed on the platform in the compound of the Dargāh of Sa'du'd-Dīn, mentioned above,² which is obviously not *in situ*. The slab measuring 1.50 m. by 52 cm. contains two lines of writing of which, the first contains *Nād-i-'Alī* and the second, which is in Persian prose, the historical text, stating that the gate of the fort was built by Maqṣūd Khān, an official, in the reign of Abu'l-Muzaḥḥar Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in A.H. 994 (1586 A.D.). The style of writing is refreshingly beautiful *Nasta'liq*. The calligrapher is Mullā Rajab, who has also inscribed two more epigraphs (Nos. IX and X).

The Bombay Gazetteer has noticed only the historical part of this epigraph but its rendering which follows, is faulty and misleading: 'In the reign of the victorious Ibrahim Adil Shah. His servant was Maksud Aka, and he built a gate of the Panhala fortress, in the date of the year Shahr San 994. The inscriber of this was Malaz Ghufan'.³

In the above rendering, there is no mention of the *Nād-i-'Alī*, the name of the builder is given as Maksud Aka instead of Maqṣūd, Khān, the year is stated to be in *Shuhūr San*, while it is not so in the text and lastly, the name of the scribe Mullā Rajab is deciphered as Malaz Ghufan.

The text has been deciphered by me as under:—

TEXT

Plate XX(b)

(۱) ناد علیا مظهر العجائب تجده عونا لك في النوا[ا]ئب
كل هم و غم سينجلي بولايتك يا علي يا علي يا علي
(۲) در عهد ابو المظفر ابراهيم عادلشاه دروازه قلعه بنا نموده خادم مقصود غفر ذنوبه
در تاريخ سنه اربع تدعين تسعايد كتبه ملا رجب

TRANSLATION

(1) Invoke 'Alī the manifestation of wonders. You will find him succour in miseries.

All grief and sorrow will soon disappear, by thy friendship (with God), O 'Āli O 'Āli O 'Āli!

¹ In *BG*, loc. cit. it is stated to be on a separate stone.

² *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 193.

³ *BG*, p. 424.

(2) In the reign of Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, (this) gate of the fort was constructed by the servant Maqṣūd, may his sins be pardoned, in the year four (and) nintey (and) nine hundred (A.H. 994=1586 A.D.). Written by Mullā Rajab.

The builder Maqṣūd, for once, may be identified satisfactorily. We are told of one Maqṣūd Khān who was in the employ of the king. When in A.H. 988 (1580 A.D.), taking advantage of confusion consequent upon the death of 'Alī I, 'Ainu'l-Mulk imprisoned the Abyssinian nobles Ikhlas Khān, Ḥamid Khān and Dilāwar Khān and was taking them out of Bijāpur in chains, Maqṣūd Khān along with his companions and others followed them and intercepting 'Ainu'l-Mulk at the Allāhpur Gate, freed them and brought them to the new king.¹ 'Ainu'l-Mulk now apprehending trouble from the royal slaves precipitately made way to his field.² But the Abyssinians too, on their part, nurtured apprehension from the royal slaves as well as other Deccani nobles and tried to disperse them by appointing them to distant forts and places.³ It was as a result of this strategy perhaps that Maqṣūd Khān was sent to Panhālā as its commandant, at about this time i.e. some time after A.H. 988. He is likely to have continued in that capacity till after A.H. 994 (1586 A.D.), the date of the record under study. Some time before Dhu'l-Hijja 1003 (August 1596), as Superintendent of the royal elephants, he is reported to have taken part in the battle against Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh.⁴ That he was a foreigner Turk from Georgia, is stated by Firishṭa,⁵ and that is why in the next two records (Nos. IX, X), which are written by the same scribe Maulānā Rajab, he is called Maqṣūd Āqū. These records are the only source which indicate Maqṣūd Khān's association with Panhālā.

IX. ANOTHER RECORD OF IBRĀHĪM II, DATED SHUHŪR 1008

The ninth epigraph of the group and the second of Ibrāhīm II, occurs on the western wall of the dining hall of the Inspection Bungalow* in the Fort, which is known as Sajjhā Kothī.⁷ The slab on which it is engraved in relief measures 85 by 50 cm. and contains three lines of writing in Persian verse, executed in fairly good *Thulūṭ* characters, but the quality of the verse is mediocre.

The epigraph states that Maqṣūd Āqū constructed on the terrace of the fort a pleasant palace, one Nauras yard in width and two Nauras yards in height, in Shuhur 1008 i.e. A.H. 1016 (1607-08 A.D.). It was written by Maulānā Rajab, the scribe of the previous record.

This epigraph was also noticed in the Gazetteer where its English rendering is not without mistakes but it does convey the purport fairly accurately except that it takes Rajab, the name of the calligrapher, as the month in which the construction took place and that it does not mention Nauras Gaz* but only Nauras which by itself is not a term indicating measure of length. The term only indicates nine times, for we commonly come across terms such as Nauras-Hon i.e. nine Hons, etc., in the royal orders of Ibrāhīm II* and his successors.¹⁰

¹ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

² Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁴ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87, 157; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *ARIE*, 1903-64, No. D, 206.

⁷ This palace, on the terrace of the Panhālā hill, is popularly known by this name, as it was here that Shivāji had imprisoned his son Sambhāji.

⁸ *BO*, p. 424, No. 13.

⁹ His infatuation for the term Nauras is well-known.

¹⁰ For a note on Nauras, see *Islamic Culture*, vol. XXVIII (1954), pp. 333-35; Zubairi, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

The text has been read by me as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXI(a)

(۱) در سلطنت ابراهیم عادلشاه فرخ لقا بر سر بام قلعه کرده شد محل دلکشا
(۲) یکنورس گز عرض بد دو نورس بلند بنا کرده مقصود آقا این منظر خوش نما
(۳) در شهر سنه ثمان الف شد کین کاخ نکو یا رب مؤبد باد این قصر باصفا
کتبه مولانا رجب

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh of auspicious countenance, an attractive palace was built on the terrace of the fort.

(2) It was one *Nauras* (i.e. nine) yards in width and two *Nauras* (i.e. eighteen yards) in eight. This (building of) pleasing view was erected by Maḡṣūd Āqā.

(3) In the *Shuhūr* year one thousand and eight (*Shuhūr* 1008 i.e. A.H. 1016=1607-08 A.D.), this excellent edifice was constructed. O Lord! May this pure edifice last for ever! Written by Maulānā Rajab.

X. THIRD RECORD OF IBRĀHĪM II, DATED A.H. 1020

The third record of Ibrāhīm II and tenth of the present lot is fixed above the central *mihrāb* of the Jāmi' Mosque in the Ibrāhimpurā locality.¹ The inscriptional slab measuring 68 by 41 cm. contains three lines of writing, of which the first one is in Arabic prose, while the remaining two contain a Persian verse each carved in relief in fairly good *Thulūṭh* characters. It is stated to have been penned by the same Maulānā Rajab who had designed the two previous records. As it is, it is the best of the three, calligraphically. But as in the case of the other two, the text is a fine specimen of mediocre poetry.

The inscription states that Maḡṣūd Āqā constructed a mosque with a clean tank in *Shuhūr* 1011 i.e. A.H. 1020 (1611-12 A.D.) and that the text was written by Mullā Rajab.

This epigraph was also noticed in the Bombay Gazetteer, and the translation quoted there is as usual faulty, but the purport is correctly stated except for two mistakes of consequence: The first is that the date given is *Shuhūr* 1021, which is wrong, as the text has 1011 in words which, though not so specified must refer to the *Shuhūr* era, as this year is equivalent to the Year 1020 given in figure, which is intended as Hijra era. Secondly, here again, the name of the scribe Mullā Rajab is mistaken for the month of Rajab and the word Mullā has been wrongly read as *Malāz*.²

¹ *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 208.

² *BG*, p. 424, No. 14.

I have deciphered the text as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXI(b)

(۱) قوله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعو [ا] مع الله احدا

(۲) در زمان ابراهيم عادلش صفدر بنا شد مسجد ز مع حوض مطهر سنه ۱۰۲۰

(۳) بنا کرد مقصود آقا نيك راے در سنه احدى عشر و الف شد تما متر كتبه ملا رجب

TRANSLATION

(1) The Exalted (Allāh) has said, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.¹

(2) In the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, the valiant (lit. breaker of ranks), the mosque with a pure tank (for ablution) was constructed. Year (A.H.) 1020 (1611-12 A.D.).

(3) It was built by Maqṣūd Āqā of good judgment and was completed in the (Shuhūr) year one thousand (and) eleven. Written by Mullā Rajab.

XI. FRAGMENTARY RECORD

The eleventh epigraph is carved on the right slab fixed in the platform in the compound of the Dargāh of Sa'du'd-Din.² The slab measuring 1 m. by 30 cm. is fragmentary and contains one line of writing in Persian verse, carved in relief in *Thulth* characters of a fairly good type.

The fragmentary slab seems to have lost its portion in the beginning, and hence the earlier part of the text is lost. As a result, it is difficult to determine the purport of the record with certainty. The extant text only refers to the assistance of one Khalaf Khān through which some edifice was constructed. Since the text also exhorts the visitor to show great deference to the place, it is pretty certain that the edifice was the Tomb of a saint. As the composition is faulty it cannot be asserted but the edifice could also be the 'Qadamgāh of Prophet Khidr', i.e. the building containing the foot-print of Khidr. It may be, however, pointed out that while the foot-prints of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad, and even of 'Alī are known, we do not usually come across any such relic of Prophet Khidr who is immortal and also hidden from the eyes of mankind. The text is inscribed in *Thulth* characters of fairly good quality, the calligrapher being one Muḥammad son of Faridu'd-Din.

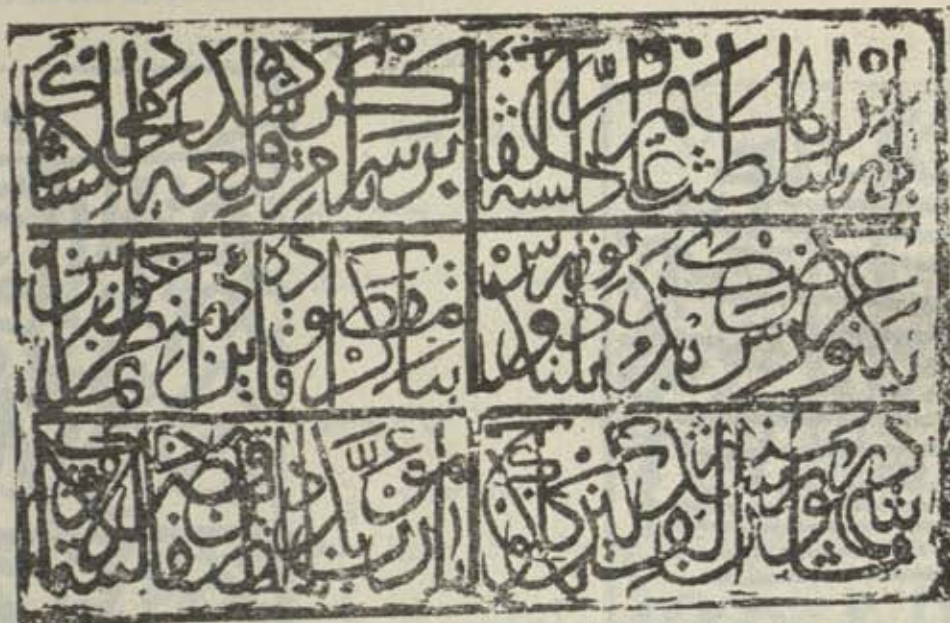
But, the rendering of this epigraph given in the Bombay Gazetteer, which quotes a date, as also assigns it to a gate,³ gives an impression that the earlier part was extant when it was then noticed, but that does not appear to be the case, as the rendering and the present extant text are more or less of the same length. Therefore, the confusion is due to nothing else but the wrong reading of the epigraph which resulted in its misleading rendering in English. There is no date in the extant text but from the calligraphy it may be assigned to the first part of the seventeenth century.

¹ Qur'ān, Chapter LXXII, verse 18.

² *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 195.

³ *BG*, p. 424, No. 15.

(a) Another record of Ibrāhīm II dated Shuhūr 1008 (p. 77)



SCALE : 16

(b) Third record of the same monarch dated A.H. 1020 (p. 78)



SCALE : 17

(a) Fragmentary epigraph (p. 79)



SCALE : '17

(b) Another fragmentary record (p. 80)



SCALE : '17

The composition of the metrical text, in contrast with its calligraphy, is quite hopeless. It has been deciphered by me as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII(a)

بامداد خان [خلف] نامدار بماند بسی سال ازو یادگر
بی ادب پامنه اینجا که عجب درگه است که قدمگاه خضر منزل شاهنشاهت

Left margin.

کاتبه العبد محمد ابن فریدالدین

TRANSLATION

Through the help of the celebrated Khalaf Khān. May it remain as his memento for many years.

Do not step in here irreverently, for it is a wonderful threshold, for the building of the foot-print of (Prophet) Khidr is (like the) abode of an emperor.¹

Left margin.

Written by the humble creature Muhammad son of Faridu'd-Din.

The calligrapher Muhammad son of Faridu'd-Din appears to be a talented calligrapher, but he does not find mention in chronicles. The record is therefore important for the history of calligraphy and also for preserving the name of an artist of note in this field.

XII. ANOTHER FRAGMENTARY EPIGRAPH

The last record of the group is fixed on the eastern wall of the Dargūh of Bārā Imām in the Fort.² Its one-line text comprising three hemistiches of Persian verse is inscribed on a fragmentary tablet which measures 1.10 m. by 30 cm. The style of writing is excellent Thulth characters executed in relief against floral background. The extant portion of the text seems to refer to the construction of some matchless edifice and to the reign of the king during which it took place.

In the notice of this epigraph in the Bombay Gazetteer,³ it is stated to contain the remaining three lines of a Quatrain, but a look at the text will show that the verses are in a metre different from that employed in Quatrains. Also the translation in the Gazetteer names the king as 'Alī, which again is wrong and nothing more than a result of faulty reading.

¹ This line may also simply mean : ...threshold which is the place which Prophet Khidr visits and where the emperors come and alight.

² *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 205.

³ *BG* p. 424, No. 17.

I have read the text as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXII(b)

... ندیدم که مثلش بود در جهان بمهد شهنشاه پاکیزه دین شهری تاجور شاه عا[د]ے کزین

TRANSLATION

..... I have not seen that its like is there in the world.
In the reign of the emperor, of pure religion,
the king, the lord of crown, the lofty and the chosen.....

THE SHUHUR SAN : DATE EQUIVALENCIES, ORIGINS AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS

BY MARIE H. MARTIN, AHMEDNAGAR

I. INTRODUCTION

Scholars working with Deccani materials from the fourteenth century onwards are familiar with the dating era called the Shuhūr San variously called Sur San, Shahur Sān, Arabi San, etc. Tables and/or discussions of the era are found in both Marāṭhi works and English works. But there are discrepancies in the treatment of the era—for example, Tables do not agree, there is confusion concerning what is actually the first day of each year, and quick calculations (such as subtracting 599 from the Christian year) are not necessarily accurate. By combining English Marāṭhi sources (M. Nāzim, G. H. Khare, and B. F. Moḍak), tables are available from the last quarter of the fifteenth century through the nineteenth century; and L. D. Swamikannu Pillai offers tables covering the entire period although not immediately relating to the Shuhūr San. The Tables are inconsistent, unfortunately, and there is no single source which gives as lucid explanation of the intricacies involved in calculating date equivalencies; therefore, there is no way to judge which tables can be used with the greatest degree of accuracy and confidence.

This essay will attempt to resolve the problems of the Shuhūr era; first, there will be a brief introduction to the era; then, an explanation of the reasons for the discrepancies in existing source for setting the initial day of each Shuhūr year; thirdly, a method for calculating Shuhūr date equivalencies will be presented; and, finally, there will be a detailed analysis of various specific problems of calendar equivalencies relevant to understanding the calendar systems involved.

This essay has been written because of the interest and help of a number of scholars, professional persons, and institutions. Dr. Z. A. Desāi, Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, and Dr. A. A. Kādiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in the same office, drew my attention to some of the problems involved in the Shuhūr San and suggested bibliography. Dr. G. N. Morje, Head of the Marāṭhi Department, Ahmednagar College, very kindly helped locate Marāṭhi sources and translated the relevant passages for me. And Faculty members, professional persons and staff connected with Deccan College, Poonā, the Archaeological Survey of India, South-Western Circle, Aurangābād, and Ahmednagar College, Ahmednagar, have assisted me in various phases of the research. I hope that this article will not only contribute to the study of South Asian History, but also serve as a demonstration of my thanks for their help and confidence.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE SHUHŪR SAN

One of the earliest descriptions in English of the Shuhūr San was given by James Grant Duff in 1826 :

The *Mirg* or cultivator's year, always commences in the beginning of our month of June, corresponding with the end of the Hindoo month, *Veyshak*, or beginning of *Jeshṭ*.....

By calculation, it appears that the Soorsun, (generally written Shuhoorsun by the Mussulmans), was introduced on the Mirg, in Heejree 745, which corresponds with A. D. 1344-45; and hence it would appear, that it must have originated with Mohummud Tughluq Shah. It was much more like his character, than that of the emperor Akber, to introduce so useless an innovation; but it was in the reign of Akber that the Fusslee era commenced to the north of the Nerbuddah, and it was introduced into the Deccan by his grandson, Shah Jahan, in the year of the Heejree 1047, or A.D. 1637-38. The Soorsun and Fusslee eras are merely solar years, setting out with the date of the Heejree when they commenced, but without making allowance in future reckoning, for the difference between the solar and lunar years; but which means they differ rather more than three years every century. Both the Soorsun and Fusslee are called Mirg, or the husbandman's year, from their commencing at the season when the fields begin to be sown.¹

Grant Duff's comments can be summarized in three categories. The first of these is the information about the era which is agreed upon by other authorities: the Shuhūr San is a solar era; the first day of any single Shuhūr year corresponds with the 'Mirg'—i.e., the day when the sun enters the Nakshatra Mrigashiras; and, since the Shuhūr year is calculated on a solar basis, it diverges from the Hijri year because each Shuhūr year contains more days than each Hijri year. Additional information from other authorities confirmed by records using Shuhūr dates, indicates that the Shuhūr year is 599 to 600 years behind the Christian year (from about June through December it is 599 years behind, and from January to about June it is 600 years behind; and, that although the Shuhūr and Hijri years begin on different dates, any particular day in Shuhūr era is identified by the Hijri nomenclature for that day.

The second category of Grant Duff's comments is his opinion that it was a "useless innovation". The continued use for several centuries of the Shuhūr San by different dynasties and different rulers suggests exactly the opposite. G. H. Khare points out that except for military documents it was used for most official records, particularly those which had to do with land and land revenue.² Upon reflection, its suitability for record-keeping seems obvious: by embracing a complete agricultural year, records concerning land and land revenue could be immediately understood without adjustment. And since the year began with the sowing season and, therefore, NEAR THE ONSET OF THE MONSOON, not only was organised material relevant for tax computation immediately available, but so was also information necessary for budgetary projections and estimations. In terms of an economy based heavily on agriculture, this was a more efficient time-period than a calendar year which changed at about the time of the spring harvest, as by early June some intimation of the potential of the monsoon was available for anticipating the yields of the coming year, and for planning broader budgetary considerations. Thus, for record-keeping purposes in the Deccan, it was an extremely logical calendar period.

The final category of comments has to do with calculations. Grant Duff says that the year begins in early June corresponding with the Hindu luni-solar months of Vaisakha or Jyestha; however, according to other authors, the year begins as early as 23 May and as late as 7 June. Furthermore, he suggests that calculations indicate that the year apparently was introduced in A.H. 745 (1344-45 A.D.). To verify these statements, a systematic method for finding date

¹ James Grant Duff, *A History of the Marhattas*, Vol. I (London, 1826), pp. 55-56.

² G. H. Khare, *Companion to Researchers* (Poona, 1951), p. 112.

equivalencies must first be established, and in order to do this, certain idiosyncrasies of the Christian calendar *vis-a-vis* the Hindu luni-solar calendar must be examined.

III. CHRISTIAN CALENDAR PROBLEMS

Long before the period of the Shuhūr San, the Julian calendar was in effect in the Christian countries of Europe. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Vernal Equinox which had originally fallen on the 21st of March came regularly on the 11th of March. In 1582 Pope Gregory declared that, in all Roman Catholic countries, ten days were to be omitted—the fifth of October was to be the fifteenth of October—in order to correct this shift and to bring the Vernal Equinox back to the 21st of March. In addition, all years evenly divisible by four were to have one extra day (i.e., the 29th of February) except in the case of the beginning of a century when only the first two digits had to be evenly divisible by four. That is to say, the years 1600 and 2000 were to be leap years, while the years 1700, 1800, and 1900 would not be, as the first two digits cannot be evenly divided by four.

The Gregorian reforms, however, were not instituted immediately in the Protestant and Orthodox sections of the Christian world. Of particular importance for South Asianists, they were not accepted in England. The result was that the English Old style calendar was out of step with the Gregorian calendar. From 5 October 1582 until 28 February 1700, the English calendar was ten days behind; and, because the English calendar continued to have a leap year in all years divisible by four, from that date until the English calendar reform in 1752, the English calendar was eleven days out of phase. The English reform took place when 2 September 1752 was followed by 14 September 1752, omitting the eleven day disparity between the calendars and establishing the Gregorian calendar in England.

For those scholars working with materials from the sixteenth century onwards, this raises the problems of reconciling Christian dates with one another. From October 1582 to the end of February 1700 sources which are Roman Catholic (e.g. French, Portuguese, etc.) have a ten day discrepancy; from then until 1752 the discrepancy is eleven days. Furthermore, reforms in Orthodox countries (e.g., Russia, Greece, etc.) did not occur at the same time as the English reform, and in some cases this discrepancy continued into the twentieth century, becoming greater in 1800 and 1900 where the old style Julian calendar prevailed.

In regard to Indian materials, the eleven days omitted by the 1752 reform had the effect of moving all days backward—e.g., any date which before the reform had fallen regularly on 8 May, since the reform omitted eleven days, then fell on 20 May. And any occasion falling with regularity near the end of May, then shifted into early June. So the major reason for the May/June discrepancy in references to the Shuhūr San is due to the English calendar reform.

This does not explain the discrepancy completely, as different authorities say that the variation in days between the two calendars was from 23 May to 25 May and from 5 June to 7 June (plus two days, plus eleven days, plus two days, or four days more than the calendar changes explain). This additional disparity is due to the different methods used to calculate the length of the Hindu solar year and the Christian solar year.

Technically, the Christian year is calculated on the basis of the time interval between one Vernal Equinox and the next, a period of a little less than 365 days and six hours. The Hindu

solar year is calculated on the basis of the time required for the earth to complete one revolution around the sun measured in relation to the (apparently) fixed stars, a period of a little more than 365 days and six hours. This time difference means that over a long period of time, the Christian calendar will gain slightly on the Hindu calendar; if a Hindu solar date is equal to 23 May for many years, it will then shift to 24 May, and after many more years it will shift to 25 May.¹

This is the same relationship which is seen between the Hijri lunar calendar and the Christian solar calendar, but in this instance the discrepancy is about eleven days per year and the gain is very rapid. As the disparity between the Christian calendar and the Hindu solar calendar is only a few minutes per year, it takes many years for even a one day discrepancy to appear. But, whenever tables embracing a long period of time are presented in which the opening day of the *Shuhūr* year always corresponds with the same Christian date (with—as in *Nāzim*—or without—as in *Khare*—allowance for leap year additions), the tables are obviously fallacious and have not taken into account this shift.

IV. THE CALCULATION OF *SHUHŪR* SAN EQUIVALENCIES

One source which gives the scholar enough information with which to accurately calculate *Shuhūr* San equivalencies is Pillai's *An Indian Ephemeris*.² Pillai explains the era briefly, saying that its current year is 599 years behind the Christian year, and that each year begins when the sun enters the Nakshatra *Mrigashīras*. In a footnote, he gives an example of how to calculate the first day of any particular year, but without explanation: (1) the sun enters the Nakshatra *Mrigashīras* when his (the sun's) longitude is 53 degrees 20 minutes (2) the number of days which correspond to this longitudinal figure equals 56; and (3) when the solar year begins as in 1911 on 13 April, the sun's entry into the Nakshatra *Mrigashīras* would be 56 plus 13, or 69 days from 1 April, i.e., on 8 June.³

This example in Pillai's footnote, although it is not particularly clear, describes the procedure for calculating the first day of the *Shuhūr* year. What Pillai does not explain is that the entrance of the sun into the Nakshatra *Mrigashīras*, because it is a solar phenomenon, takes place every year the same number of days after the beginning of the solar year—i.e. 56 days after the solar new year. Since the first month of the solar year is *Mēsha* in Sanskrit and *Chittirai* in Tamil, the first day of the solar year will be found in Pillai's tables as 1 *Mēsha-Chittirai* in the column labelled "Solar Reckoning", under the heading "Cyclic Sidereal year, month, and day". In bold type, corresponding either to the month of March or April, 1 *Mēsha-Chittirai* will be seen, and reading across the line the equivalent Christian and Hijri dates will be given. For reasons which will be explained in the section on "The Indian Civil Day", the information must be read from the tables and not taken from the top of the page which gives the moment of *Mēsha Sankrānti*. Because the entrance of the sun into the Nakshatra *Mrigashīras* occurs 56 days later, 56 must be added to the March/April date of 1 *Mēsha-Chittirai* in the tables. To facilitate these calculations, Pillai has included information in all the volumes in the form of an end paper or a book marker entitled "Table III: Days of the English Calendar Year, reckoned cumulatively from March 1 and April 1 respectively", as well as in the Eye Tables, section q, found in Volume 1 Part 1 on pp. 156-57, 162-63, and 168-69 at the top of the pages.

¹ Actually a simple shift from 23 to 24 to 25 May is not immediately apparent because of the interpolation of a leap year day every four years. This phenomenon and the resultant pattern will be carefully examined in the section "Mēsha Sankrānti Equivalencies: An Unusual Pattern".

² L. D. Swāmikanu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, 7 volumes (Madras, 1922 and 1925).

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, part I, p. 55 and f.n.

In order to calculate the first day of the Shuhur year equivalent to 1413, for example, the tables indicate that 1 Mēsha-Chittirai fell on the equivalent Christian date of 27 March (even though the actual moment of Sankrānti was 26-86 March in the Surya Siddhānta and 26-79 in the Ārya Siddhānta). To find the date corresponding to 56 days later, Table III is used, the column referring to cumulative days from the first of March. To the 27th day of March, 56 is added, giving a total of 83. The first of May is 62 days from the first of March; and 83 minus 62 will be 21 days after the first of May, or 22 May.

27 March equals 1 Mēsha-Chittirai
+56 days more until sun enters
the Nakshatra Mrigasiras.
83 days from 1 March
—62 days between 1 March and
1 May.
21 days after 1 May
+1 May
22 May

As another example of this procedure, to find the beginning of the Shuhur year which occurred in 1783, the Pillai tables show that 1 Mēsha-Chittirai corresponded with 10 April. Since the date is being calculated from 1 April, 10 is added to the 56 days necessary for the sun to enter the Nakshatra Mrigasiras, totalling 66. The first of June was 62 days after 1 April, and 66 minus 62 gives a difference of 4 days after 1 June, or 5 June 1783. According to this procedure, since Table III gives the number of days corresponding to the first of the month, a date equivalency will always be X number of days after the first of the month, and so it is necessary to add 1: the day 6 days after 1 June is 7 June; the days 25 days after 1 May is 26 May, and so forth.

10 April equals 1 Mēsha-Chittirai
+56 days more until sun enters
the Nakshatra Mrigasiras.
66 days from 1 April
—62 days between 1 April and
1 June.
4 days after 1 June
+1 June
5 June

(For those who find no confusion in numbers, there is a slight modification of Pillai's method which simplifies the calculations. During the period of the use of the Shuhur San, all the days 1 Mēsha-Chittirai fell either in March or April, and all the corresponding first days of each Shuhur San year fell respectively in May and June. The time from 1 March to 1 May is 62 days, and the time from 1 April to 1 June is also 62 days. Since 1 needs to be subtracted with Pillai's method, the actual difference is 61. So to calculate an exact answer, one need only to subtract 61 from the total of the days of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai PLUS 56, remembering that a March date corresponds with a May date, and an April date corresponds with a June date.)

For most scholars, however, calculating the first day of any particular Shuhur year corresponding with a Christian year is not of itself of interest. What is wanted is a method to find a Christian date equivalent to a particular Shuhur date. If the only information given is a particular year—say Shuhur 823—then the addition of 599/600 gives the equivalent Christian years, i.e. 1422/23. Checking Pillai's tables for those two years, Mēsha-Chittirai began on 26 March both years, and 26 plus 56 totals 82. Referring to Table III, 1 May was 62 days from 1 March, so that the first day of the Shuhur San in both 1422 and 1423 fell on 82 minus 62 plus 1 May, or 21 May. The Shuhur year 823 began on 21 May 1422 and ended the day before the next year began, that is on 20 May 1423.

In a case in which both a Shuhur year and a Hijri year are given but with no additional information, an even more precise calculation can be made. For example if the Shuhur year 823 and the Hijri year 826 are given, since Shuhur year 823 embraced 21 May 1422 through 20 May 1423, then the time shared by these two years was from 15 December 1422 (when Hijri 826 began) to 20 May 1423.

Finally, there is the case in which a complete Shuhūr date is cited, as 1 Shawwāl Shuhūr 965. Adding 599/600 to 965 gives 1564/65 as the equivalent Christian years. Pillai's Hijrī tables indicate that there was only one 1 Shawwāl which fell into that period, occurring on 2 May 1565.

Since the solar Shuhūr year is longer than the lunar Hijrī year, some part of the Hijrī calendar will be repeated in each Shuhūr year—e.g., if 1 Muharram in a normal 354 day Hijrī year should happen to fall on the first day of the Shuhūr year, then the Hijrī year would expire after 354 days while the Shuhūr year continues to run, and a second 1 Muharram would fall in that Shuhūr year. The eleven days which are repeated would then be distinguished as *awwal* (first) and *ākhar* (last) days. Or if 10 Šafar should happen to correspond with the first day of a Shuhūr year, then 355 days later 10 Šafar would again be the Hijrī date in the next Hijrī year, but the 365 day Shuhūr year would still be running; in this case the dates 10 through 21 Šafar would be identified as *awwal* and *ākhar*.

V. THE ORIGIN OF THE SHUHŪR SAN

Although finding date equivalencies of Shuhūr San dates is of primary importance to most scholars, the introduction of the era is of historical interest. Several epigraphers have tentatively assigned the date of the era's introduction, but the evidence available does not justify their specificity. Since V. S. Bendrey's discussion includes material not found elsewhere, his comments are given in full:

It is believed that the Arabic era originated from the ascension of Mustak to the throne of his father Abraha in 589 A.D. The first year of the era, however, coincided with 600 A.D., and its commencement occurred in the latter half of May 600 A.D. Another version of the origin of this era is that the era may have been an off-shoot of the *Hijrā* reckoning probably originated in or closely about the year 745 A.H. (i.e. May 15th, 1344 to 3rd May 1345 A.D.), and it may have been introduced in the southern part of *Mahārāṣṭra* by *Muhammad Tughluq* during his regime. This view finds support in the circumstance that a new era was introduced by the *Jawhar* Chief in commemoration of his investiture with "Shah"-ship by *Muhammad Tughluq*. Whatever be the origin of the era, it is definitely ascertained from the records now available that its initial point must be taken as 600 A.D. for our calculation of this era.¹

The reasons for Bendrey's conclusions concerning the Arabic San are not clear. Firstly, Abraha and his son were Ethiopian rulers of Yemen during the period of Ethiopian ascendancy (A.D. 529 to 606) in that area. If the title originated with either of them, since they were not Arabs, they must have been identifying an already extant era; but Bendrey gives no evidence that such an era was in effect in Yemen. And had either of these rulers originated the era himself, one would expect to find the title reflecting their Ethiopian heritage or carrying some reference to their own names. Secondly, there is no indication of which records "now available" demonstrate "that its initial date must be taken as 600 A.D.". Has Bendrey simply subtracted the 599/600 discrepancy between the Christian era to arrive at this figure; and if so, then the correct answer would be from the latter half of May 599, not 600. Also, if the era was instituted in 589, why were the years not numbered until 600? And finally, since the calculation of the beginning of each Shuhūr year is based on a Hindu solar calculation, and since the period of the year is so well suited to Deccani conditions, it suggests most strongly that the era was not imported but was native to the area.

¹ Bendrey, *Study of Muslim Inscriptions* (Bombay, 1944), p. 33.

This last statement is highly suggestive, in that it implies that the official introduction of the era for record-keeping purposes was simply a recognition of the suitability of an extant way of dividing the year. It is common knowledge that amongst different communities in the sub-continent the actual beginning of the year for calendar purposes does not necessarily correspond with the beginning of the year for other purposes. For example, the Mārwarī book-keeping year begins officially with Lakṣmī Pujā, not with either the calendar year or the tax year. In the Deccan, the "Mirg" was the beginning of the cultivators' year, and at some point some one in officialdom seems to have recognised the suitability of this year for land and land revenue records. So that actually what is being discussed in terms of fixing the "origin" of this era is, when did the suitability of the agricultural year for record-keeping purposes become apparent, and when was the agricultural year first used as an official record-keeping year?

Returning to Bendrey's analysis, it is suggested as it was in Grant Duff that the origins of the Shuhūr San lie in the period of Muḥammad Tughluq's domination of the Deccan. Other ephemerists comment on this point, but their explanations lack detail. C. S. Patell, for example, says :

According to Jervis, it was introduced on the 6th of June, 1342 A.D., in 743 of the Hegira ; others place it a year sooner. He states that the computation of its agreement with the Hegira year shows it to have begun when the 745th Hegira (A.C. 1344) corresponded with the 745th Shuhur San.¹

And R. Sewell and S. B. Dikshit say :

It only diverged from the Hijra in A.D. 1344, according to the best computation, since when it has been a solar year as described above. On May 15th A.D. 1344, the Hijra year 745 began. But since then the Shahur reckoning was carried on by itself as a solar year.²

The basic assumption underlying the two statements above, Bendrey's comments, and Grant Duff's description, is that when the Shuhūr era was introduced, it bore the same number as the Hijri year current, just as the various Fasli eras did ; but, given the solar nature of the era, each year was longer than each Hijri year, so that through time the numbering of the years diverged, the Hijri system moving ahead by about three years per century.

A common factor in all four descriptions is the reference to the year A.H. 745, but the commentaries are speculative and contradictory. The Patell statement is internally inconsistent—the era was introduced on 6 June 1342 (which was 1 Muḥarram 743) or a year earlier, but it began in 745. Bendrey hedges by saying that it originated "in or closely around" 745. Grant Duff says, "By calculation, it appears" to have been introduced in 745. And Sewell and Dikshit say that it "diverged" from the Hijri year in 745. These contradictions are the result of various fallacious assumptions. Jervis, for example, was aware that in the nineteenth century the "Mirg" fell in early June, so he apparently searched for an early June date when 1 Muḥarram might have corresponded with the "Mirg"—as in 1277, 1342, and 1375. The year 1342 seemed most suitable given the 599 year discrepancy between the Shuhūr and Christian eras. Unfortunately, he neglected to take into account the calendar reform of 1752 before which the "Mirg" would have taken place in May, not in June. The Sewell and Dikshit statement suggests that, since A.H. 745 began on 15 May and the Shuhūr year began later, the dates diverged at that time. This assumes, incorrectly, one of two things: either (1) that the Shuhūr year and the Hijri year were identified by the same number before 745; or (2) that since the Hijri year began before the Shuhūr

¹ Cowasjee Sorābjee Patell, *Cowasjee Patell's Chronology* (London, 1866), p. 55.

² Robert Sewell and Sankara Bālkrishna Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar* (London, 1896), p. 45.

year, the Shuhūr year would have had a different number—but this is when the Shuhūr year would have had the same number.

In order to resolve the problems above, Table 1 has been constructed showing when it was possible for the Shuhūr and the Hijrī year to be identified with the same number. Column 1 gives the number of the Hijrī year; column 2, the equivalent Christian date of the first day of that Hijrī year, of 1 Muharram; column 3, the last day of that Hijrī year; column 4, the first day of the Shuhūr year; column 5, the Shuhūr year; and column 6 the Hijrī year current when the Shuhūr year began. The asterisks identify years when the Hijrī year and Shuhūr year were not the same.

A.H. 741 began on 27 June 1340. The Shuhūr year and the first day of that year can be calculated with the method explained previously in this essay. 1340 minus 599 gives the Shuhūr year 741. In 1340, the first day of Mēsha-Chittirai was 26 March. 26 plus 56 equals 82, and 82 minus 62 equals 20. 1 May plus 20 equals 21 May. So the first day of Shuhūr 741 was 21 May 1340. The Hijrī year 741, however, did not begin until the end of June—in other words, the Hijrī year current when 1 Shuhūr San 741 would have taken place was 740. Therefore, if the assumption that when the Shuhūr year was introduced it was identified with the number of the Hijrī year current is correct, it could not have been introduced in A.H. 741 (1340 A.D.). Following this procedure, all the Hijrī dates from 741 through 781 have been given along with the Shuhūr dates.

Examining the table, one can see that it was possible for the Hijrī and Shuhūr years to be identified with the same number only from A.H. 745 through 776 (A.D. 21 May 1344 through 1 June 1375). The Shuhūr year, therefore, could not have been introduced before A.H. 745, nor after A.H. 776. And the two eras "diverged" in A.H. 777 (1375 A.D.), not in the period of the 740's.

The numerical evidence alone does not establish the exact year in which the era was first used for book-keeping purposes. It does make highly dubious the assertion that it was introduced by Muhammad Tughluq since from 21 May 1344—the earliest date the era could have been introduced as seen above—he was absent from the Deccan and returned only in 1345 for the siege of Daulatābād. Conditions in the Deccan were extremely unsettled in 1344-45, and political hegemony was not restored until after the establishment of the Bahmanī dynasty in 1347. It seems far more likely that the era was first used officially by the Bahmanīs between 1347 and 1375 while creating and consolidating their own political and revenue structures, rather than during the confusion of the political collapse of the Tughluqs.

There now remains Bendrey's statement about the "Jawhar Chief". This may be a reference to an officer named Malik Jauhar,¹ but the Persian source—which Bendrey does not give—must be studied closely. The statement as given is clearly ambiguous—most political leaders take great pride in introducing a "new era". Usually this is a figurative statement; and when it is literal, it means enumerating years from the time of the ruler's accession rather than introducing a new system.

VI. HINDU LUNI-SOLAR TERMS RELEVANT TO UNDERSTANDING SHUHŪR SAN CALCULATIONS

The section describing the method for calculating Shuhūr San date equivalencies was presented without explanation because of the complexities of Hindu calendar calculations. In

¹ By "Jawhar Chief" is intended the Chief or Rājā of the erstwhile Jawhār State situated within the geographical limits of Thāna District, near Bombay. Prof. Bendrey has perhaps derived his information from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XIV (London, 1908), p. 88, which too, unfortunately, does not quote any source. Thus any reference to an officer Malik Jauhar is out of question; Miss Martin was misled by the similarity of names. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this particular piece of information needs further scrutiny and study as stated by Miss Martin.—Ed.

order to understand why the method presented is accurate and also to indicate under what circumstances there may be discrepancies in Pillai's tables affecting the Shubhār San, it is necessary to examine certain aspects of the Hindu luni-solar calendar, and also to consider certain assumptions made by Pillai when compiling his tables.

i. THE LUNI-SOLARY YEAR, SIDDHĀNTAS AND ANKRĀNTIS

Indian calendar systems generally follow the same procedural rules for calculations; however, the constants used to define the length of certain astronomical periods may differ slightly. These constants define systems which are called siddhāntas; and there are two major siddhāntas in use in the sub-continent. One of these systems, the Surya Siddhānta, is found throughout the sub-continent; the other, the Ārya Siddhānta, is used in the South. The only difference between the two systems occurs in the fixing of the time of the exact moment of Sankrānti—the beginning of each solar month; and, for the centuries with which this essay is concerned, this involves a difference of .06 to .11 of a day.

The luni-solar year used in India is calculated on the basis of both lunar and solar phenomena. The solar calculations involve the sidereal year—a year measured in terms of the time required for the earth to move around the sun and return to a particular position determined in relation to the (apparently) fixed stars. Each of the twelve months of the solar year begins when the sun enters a different *rāśi*—Sign of the Zodiac—and the exact moment of its entrance is called a sankrānti. Pillai suggests that it is helpful to think of these solar months as “hinges” and to consider the lunar months as “doors” which swing on the hinges.¹

The moment of Mēsha Sankrānti—the phenomenon which determines the beginning of the solar year and the first day of the first solar month—is a “hinge”, and the new moon which precedes this sankrānti starts the lunar month associated with that sankrānti—it is the door hanging on the Mēsha Sankrānti hinge. On the second sankrānti of the year, the next lunar month is hung, beginning on the new moon which precedes that sankrānti. Usually (but not always) the solar months have a regular number of days, varying from 29 to 31, depending on the month. The actual length of the lunar month, however, is 29.53 days. It is possible, then, for a month of 30 or 31 days to have two new moons; and that solar month will then have two lunar months commencing within it. Much more rarely, there is no new moon in a 29 day solar month, and so a lunar month is dropped from the calendar in that year.

As stated above, the length of the regular solar months ranges from 29 to 31 days. Occasionally, however, the regular month may contain an extra day. This happens in the Tamilnāḍu system when the moment of Sankrānti occurs after sunset.² Instead of beginning the new month immediately, it is not extended by one day. It is for this reason that a particular date in a single solar month cannot be identified as always occurring 56 days after Mēsha Sankrānti. And, therefore, in every year the calculation of the day the sun enters the Nakshatra Mrigashīras must be calculated by the addition of the 56 day difference.

ii. THE LUNI-SOLAR DAY, NAKSHATRAS AND TITHIS

There are two ways of defining daily time in the Hindu luni-solar system. One of these is in terms of nakshatras. In non-technical terms, a nakshatra corresponds to a lunar mansion, and

¹ Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

² For a more detailed explanation, see sub-section iii. The Indian Civil Day.

there are 27 lunar mansions in the Hindu calendar system. From the point of view of an observer on the earth, this nakshatra cycle is complete when the moon has travelled around the earth until it has regained its position in regard to a fixed group of stars identified as a particular nakshatra—a period of a little over 27·32 days. Since there are 27 nakshatras, the time unit of one nakshatra is equal to a little more than one day, say about 1 day 18 minutes.

The other method of defining daily time is based upon the time required for the moon to move from one new moon to the next. This period is about 29·53 days long, during which the moon not only travels around the earth but also travels with the earth in its orbit. In so doing, it moves to a point further in the earth's orbit, and in order for the sun's rays to be blocked out sufficiently for another new moon to occur, it must move further around the earth as well. There are 30 tithis in this lunar period, so that one tithi is slightly less than the western day, say about .98 of a day.

As daily time-keeping units, nakshatras and tithis have no effect on the *Shuhūr* San. The term nakshatra, however, is used in regard to fixing the first day of the *Shuhūr* year which occurs when the sun enters the Nakshatra *Mrigasīras*. A more technical definition of a nakshatra is the portion of the ecliptic occupied by the moon on successive days. Since the ecliptic is the apparent path of the sun through the stars over a period of a year, the sun also moves through the 27 nakshatras. And just as the sun moves around and appears to re-enter the constellation *Mēsha* once a year, it also will pass through each nakshatra at a particular time each year. In his footnote referred to above, Pillai calculates this time by measuring the distance between the point of *Mēsha Sankrānti* and the point which indicates the entrance of the sun into *Mrigasīras* in degrees of longitude and then converts this measurement into days. Since the stars involved are so distant as to seem to be fixed, this distance is a constant, and the time required to traverse it is also a constant. Thus the sun's entrance into the Nakshatra *Mrigasīras* always occurs 56 days after *Mēsha Sankrānti*.

iii. THE INDIAN CIVIL DAY

On a day-to-day basis, time is kept according to the divisions of the Indian Civil Day. This day begins at sunrise, not at midnight, and is split into 60 units called *ghaṭikās*. Pillai has used the civil day as the basis for his calculations, and when he cites the moment of *Mēsha Sankrānti* at the top of the page of his Ephemeris dealing with each year, he has expressed that moment in decimal places of the civil day. For example, in 1400 A.D., *Mēsha Sankrānti* took place on 26·24 March according to the *Surya Siddhānta*. Checking either the book-marker or end-sheet, the decimal .24 of a day equals 14 and $\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās*, or 5 hours 45 minutes. This time is reckoned from sunrise; if sunrise were at 6:00 A.M., then the time indicated would be 5 hours 45 minutes later, or 15 minutes before noon. Assuming that the mean sunrise time for India is 6:00 A.M., then any fraction over .75 of a day, or over 45 *ghaṭikās*, would take place after midnight; and in western terms that would put it into the following day.

In different parts of India there are different calculations for the commencement of the civil day. In Orissā, irrespective of the moment of *Sankrānti*, the first day of the solar month begins on the actual day (i.e. civil day, calculated from sunrise to sunrise) of the *sankrānti*. In areas of Malabār, if *sankrānti* occurs before 18 *ghaṭikās* have expired, then that civil day is the civil *sankrānti* day; if *sankrānti* occurs after 18 *ghaṭikās* have expired, then the next civil day is identified as the *sankrānti* day. In Tamilnāḍu, the cut-off point is 30 *ghaṭikās*; if *sankrānti* occurs when 30 *ghaṭikās* have expired, then the next civil day is identified as the *sankrānti* day. And in Bengāl, when *sankrānti* occurs during the first 45 *ghaṭikās* of a day, the next

day is the civil sankrānti day; if it takes place after 45 ghāṭikās, the following day is the civil day.¹

Examining Pillai's tables once again, two things should be noted about the relationship between the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti and the first day of the first solar month, 1 Mēsha-Chittirai. Pillai gives two calculations for the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti, one in the Surya Siddhānta, one in the Ārya Siddhānta. In his tables he gives date equivalencies of Mēsha-Chittirai and the Christian date. Whenever the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti according to the Ārya Siddhānta corresponds to .50 of a day or more, 1 Mēsha Chittirai corresponds to the next Christian day. For example, in 1436, Mēsha-Chittirai took place at 26.56 March according to the Ārya Siddhānta. Pillai gives the day of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai as 26 March. In 1440 however, Mēsha Sankrānti took place at 26.69 March in the Surya Siddhānta and at 26.52 according to the Ārya Siddhānta. In this case Pillai gives the date equivalency of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai as 27 March. Pillai has used the Tamilnāḍu system for calculating the civil day in his tables, as well as the Ārya Siddhānta, and both of these are southern systems. Nowhere is it made explicit, however, that the various rulers of the Deccan from the fourteenth through the nineteenth centuries used these two southern systems exclusively for their astronomical calculations.

The effect on the calculation of Shuhūr San dates, if other systems were used, would only occur when certain time periods were involved. Had the Surya Siddhānta been used rather than the Ārya Siddhānta, since the difference is .06 of a day in the fourteenth century and .11 of a day by the end of the nineteenth century, very few dates would have been affected, and only those dates where Mēsha Sankrānti took place at a crucial moment of the civil day. If one of the other three systems of computing the civil day had been used, then only during certain portions of a day would there have been an effect on establishing 1 Mēsha-Chittirai from the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti. In the Malabār system, times from .30 to .50 of a day would not convert to the next day as the Tamilnāḍu system does; and in the Bengāl system, times from .50 to .75 of a day would be the same as the Tamil system; all other times would be one day advanced.

The circumstances under which a discrepancy might be discovered are limited. When there is an accompanying Hijrī date, since the method presented uses Hijrī tables for finding the equivalent Christian date, there will be no discrepancy. In cases when only a Shuhūr date is available for establishing the first or last day of the Shuhūr year, there is a possibility of error. The only way this error can be detected and rectified is if a document clearly states that particular serial day of the Shuhūr year fell on a Hijrī date (or Hindu date, for that matter) of such-and-such, and it can then be demonstrated that the moment of Mēsha Sankrānti which began that Shuhūr year fell into one of the vital time periods listed in the preceding paragraph.

Recalling what was said earlier in the essay about the introduction of the Shuhūr San suggests that it is more probable that these two southern systems have been used rather than the other systems. To begin with, the Shuhūr San was first introduced in the South, not in the North. It was not until some two centuries later that it appeared in the North as the Faṣlī era. Furthermore, it seems to have been introduced by the Bahmanīs, a southern dynasty despite their northern origins, the strength of whose kingdom was dependent upon the agricultural conditions of the South. As the Shuhūr San was applied to Deccani conditions and used Hindu dating calculations for setting its initial day, it is logical to anticipate that local personnel would be used to establish important moments in that local system. Since the Tamilnāḍu system of calculations was the most widespread in the Bahmanī areas—the Bengāl system being far removed, and the Orissā

¹ See Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

and Malabār systems being confined to relatively small regions removed from the areas of Bahranī dominance—it is the most likely system to have been employed.

VII. 1 MĒSHA-CHITTIRAI EQUIVALENCIES : AN UNUSUAL PATTERN

An examination of Pillai's calculations for the date of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai indicates an unusual pattern of date-changes which repeats itself over a period of a little more than a century (see Table 2, *infra*). The reason for this strange looking pattern has to do with the discrepancy in the Christian calendar calculations between the real length of the year and the length used for calendar calculations. The real length of the year is 365 days 3 hours 48 minutes and 45 seconds, or slightly less than 365 and $1/4$ days. Every four years an extra day is added to correct the calendar, but since the real calculation is a little less than $1/4$ of a day per year, this extra day slightly over-compensates for the real discrepancy. In order to demonstrate exactly what happens, Table 3 has been prepared. For convenience in reckoning, the length of the year has been rounded off to 365 days 5 hours and 48 minutes. In terms of a fraction of a day, 5 hours and 48 minutes equal 348 minutes over 1440 minutes or $87/360$ ths. The years are imaginary, beginning with XX01, and each year evenly divisible by 4 (e.g., XX01, XX05, XX48) is a leap year.

Following the table, the year XX01 expires after 365 days, but there are $87/360$ ths of a day left in the real year, so the calendar is missing that fraction of a day, it is minus $87/360$ ths of a day. The year XX02 will also be a 365 day year, losing another $87/360$ ths, so that the total time discrepancy will be minus $174/360$ ths. The same situation applies to the third year, the total time lag at the end of XX03 being minus $261/360$ ths. The year XX04, being divisible by 4, will be a leap year of 366 days and plus $360/360$ ths of a day are added; however, the real addition of time is (minus $87/360$) (times) (4), or minus $348/360$ ths. The calendar has added plus $360/360$ ths, so that the calendar has moved ahead of the real time by plus $12/360$ ths. In next year, XX05, $87/360$ ths are lost again, and the calendar is once more behind real time, the sum of a positive $12/360$ ths and a negative $87/360$ ths being minus $75/360$ ths. Expanding the table to cover 120 years (because a fairly small and regular fraction has been used), the table comes around to the beginning again as far as the fractions are concerned, and one whole day has been added.

Analysing the contents of the table, it begins with a pattern of three minus signs and one plus sign: then it moves to a pattern of two minus signs and two pluses; the next shift is to a pattern of one minus and three pluses; the fourth change is to a pattern of four pluses; finally the pattern is one day extra along with the original pattern of three minus signs and one plus sign.

Comparing this pattern with the dates of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai from 1348 to 1479, the same pattern is seen (the years do not correspond exactly because the fraction used to compute Table 3 was rounded off rather than a precise fraction). Beginning in 1348, there are three minus years in a row—that is 26 March—and in 1351 a plus year, or 27 March. This pattern repeats for some years. Then in 1379 the pattern changes to two minus and two plus days—i.e., 26, 26, 27, 27 March. In 1406 there is a shift to one minus and three plus days—i.e., 26, 27, 27, 27 March. In 1437 the pattern of all pluses emerges—i.e., 27, 27, 27, 27, March. And in 1467 an entire new day is added, the 28th of March, and the original pattern of three minus and one plus day begins again—i.e., 27, 27, 27, 28 March.

VIII. ANOTHER TABLE FOR CONVERSION

Many scholars working with South Asian materials may not have continuous access to Pillai's *An Indian Ephemeris*, and moreover, it is difficult to carry when on tour. A small, fairly inex-

pensive volume which is available (originally priced at Sh. 10/50, now perhaps slightly more) is G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville's *The Muslim and Christian Calendars*, London, Oxford University Press, 1963. One drawback to the volume is that the user has to calculate date equivalencies; however, the method is quite simple and can be learned very easily by anyone who is not petrified when faced with normal addition and subtraction. Furthermore, dates in this volume covering the centuries when the Shuhūr San was in use agree with the dates in the *Ephemeris* with two exceptions: the Freeman-Grenville volume follows the Gregorian reform of 1582, and there is an error in assigning the week day corresponding with 1 January from 1582 through 1878.

For adapting dates up to the calendar reform of 1582 and after the calendar reform of 1752, the following method can be used:—

(1) On a separate sheet of paper, convert the 1 Mēsha-Chittirai dates of 25, 26, 27 March, etc., and 9, 10, 11 April, etc., to their appropriate dates corresponding with the sun's entry into the Nakshatra Mrigashīras 56 days later.

(2) Using Pillai's tables for 1 Mēsha-Chittirai, along with the list of equivalencies prepared in 1 above, 25 March will be immediately understood as 20 May, 26 March as 21 May, etc.

(3) In the Freeman-Grenville volume in the column labelled "Christian date to Muḥarram 1", on the right side, enter the correct date of the entrance of the sun into the Nakshatra Mrigashīras corresponding with each Christian year. The column will then read 15 May 1344-21/5; 4 May 1345-21/5; 24 April 1346-21/5; etc. It is easiest to make the entry after the Christian year (rather than before the Hijrī year) because every 33 years or so two Hijrī years will begin in the same Christian year (1356, 1388, 1421, etc.).

(4) Then treat the date which has been entered with the same method with which all dates in the Freeman-Grenville volume are treated.

Dates in the *Ephemeris* were not reformed until 1752, while the Freeman-Grenville dates are reformed from 1582. So that the tables may be internally consistent, it is necessary to correct the Pillai figures when entering them into the Freeman-Grenville tables. Since 4 October became 14 October in 1582, Pillai dates such as 28 and 29 May will be converted to 7 and 8 June. In 1700 with the leap year day, the discrepancy becomes one day more. By keeping the table in the Freeman-Grenville volume consistent, all dates in the volume can be used the same way. And any figure which is the result of a series of calculations can then be converted at the end to correspond with the English calendar.

The error in assigning the week day corresponding with 1 January is a systematic error from the year 1552 through 1878. Each 365 day Christian year consists of 52 weeks and 1 day, so that if a year begins on a Sunday it also ends on a Sunday, and the next year begins on Monday. In leap years, because of the addition of an extra day, if a year begins on Sunday, then the following year begins on Tuesday. In 1551 the year began on Thursday; in 1552, then, it began on Friday. Freeman-Grenville has put back the day to Wednesday instead of advancing it to Friday, so that from 1552 onward, until 1871, all days are two days out of phase. During this period, whenever Thursday is given as the first day of the year, it must be corrected to read Saturday; when Monday is given, it must be corrected to read Wednesday, etc. In addition there is a typographical error in the year 1706; Saturday is given, but Sunday would be correct in terms of the systematic error. From 1872 through 5 January 1878 the error is reduced to only one day, and those eight years must be corrected by the addition of one day—Wednesday should be corrected to read Thursday, etc.

TABLE I

YEARS WHEN THE HIJRI AND SHUHÜR YEARS COULD HAVE BORNE THE SAME NUMBER

| Hijri Year | First Day of Hijri Year | Last Day of Hijri Year | First Day of <u>Shuhūr</u> Year | <u>Shuhūr</u> Year | Hijri Year Current on First Day of <u>Shuhūr</u> Year | Asterisks indicate years when Hijri & <u>Shuhūr</u> Numbers Differed |
|------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|---|--|
| 741 | 27/6/1340 | 16/6/1341 | 21/5/1340 | 741 | 740 | * |
| 742 | 17/6/1341 | 5/6/1342 | 21/5/1341 | 742 | 741 | * |
| 743 | 6/6/1342 | 25/5/1343 | 21/5/1342 | 743 | 742 | * |
| 744 | 26/5/1343 | 14/5/1344 | 21/5/1343 | 744 | 743 | * |
| 745 | 15/5/1344 | 3/5/1345 | 21/5/1344 | 745 | 745 | |
| 746 | 4/5/1345 | 23/4/1346 | 21/5/1345 | 746 | 746 | |
| 747 | 24/4/1346 | 12/4/1347 | 21/5/1346 | 747 | 747 | |
| 748 | 13/4/1347 | 31/3/1348 | 21/5/1347 | 748 | 748 | |
| 749 | 1/4/1348 | 21/3/1349 | 21/5/1348 | 749 | 749 | |
| 750 | 22/3/1349 | 10/3/1350 | 21/5/1349 | 750 | 750 | |
| 751 | 11/3/1350 | 27/2/1351 | 21/5/1350 | 751 | 751 | |
| 752 | 28/2/1351 | 17/2/1352 | 22/5/1351 | 752 | 752 | |
| 753 | 18/2/1352 | 5/2/1353 | 21/5/1352 | 753 | 753 | |
| 754 | 6/2/1353 | 23/1/1354 | 21/5/1353 | 754 | 754 | |
| 755 | 24/1/1354 | 15/1/1355 | 21/5/1354 | 755 | 755 | |
| 756 | 16/1/1355 | 4/1/1356 | 22/5/1355 | 756 | 756 | |
| 757 | 25/1/1356 | 24/12/1356 | 21/5/1356 | 757 | 757 | |
| 758 | 25/12/1356 | 14/12/1357 | 21/5/1357 | 758 | 758 | |
| 759 | 15/12/1357 | 2/12/1358 | 21/5/1358 | 759 | 759 | |
| 760 | 3/12/1358 | 22/11/1359 | 22/5/1359 | 760 | 760 | |
| 761 | 23/11/1359 | 10/11/1360 | 21/5/1360 | 761 | 761 | |
| 762 | 11/11/1360 | 30/10/1361 | 21/5/1361 | 762 | 762 | |

| Hijri Year | First Day of Hijri Year | Last Day of Hijri Year | First Day of Shuhūr Year | Shuhūr Year | Hijri Year Current on First Day of Shuhūr Year | Asterisks indicate years when Hijri & Shuhūr Numbers Differed |
|------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|--|---|
| 763 | 31/10/1361 | 20/10/1362 | 21/5/1362 | 763 | 763 | |
| 764 | 21/10/1362 | 9/10/1363 | 22/5/1363 | 764 | 764 | |
| 765 | 10/10/1363 | 27/9/1364 | 21/5/1364 | 765 | 765 | |
| 766 | 28/9/1364 | 17/9/1365 | 21/5/1365 | 766 | 766 | |
| 767 | 18/9/1365 | 6/9/1366 | 21/5/1366 | 767 | 767 | |
| 768 | 7/9/1366 | 27/8/1367 | 22/5/1367 | 768 | 768 | |
| 769 | 28/8/1367 | 15/8/1368 | 21/5/1368 | 769 | 769 | |
| 770 | 16/8/1368 | 4/8/1369 | 21/5/1369 | 770 | 770 | |
| 771 | 5/8/1369 | 25/7/1370 | 21/5/1370 | 771 | 771 | |
| 772 | 26/7/1370 | 14/7/1371 | 22/5/1371 | 772 | 772 | |
| 773 | 15/7/1371 | 2/7/1372 | 21/5/1372 | 773 | 773 | |
| 774 | 3/7/1372 | 22/6/1373 | 21/5/1373 | 774 | 774 | |
| 775 | 23/6/1373 | 11/6/1374 | 21/5/1374 | 775 | 775 | |
| 776 | 12/6/1374 | 1/6/1375 | 22/5/1375 | 776 | 776 | |
| 777 | 2/6/1375 | 20/5/1376 | 21/5/1376 | 777 | 778 | * |
| 778 | 21/5/1376 | 9/5/1377 | 21/5/1377 | 778 | 779 | * |
| 779 | 10/5/1377 | 29/4/1378 | 21/5/1378 | 779 | 780 | * |
| 780 | 30/4/1378 | 18/4/1379 | 22/5/1379 | 780 | 781 | * |

TABLE 2

THE PATTERN OF 1 MĒSHA-CHITTIRAI EQUIVALENCIES, 1348-1479

| Year | March Date of 1 Mēsha- Chittirai | One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1348 | 26 | |
| 1349 | 26 | |
| 1350 | 26 | |
| 1351 | 27 | + |
| 1352 | 26 | |
| 1353 | 26 | |
| 1354 | 26 | |
| 1355 | 27 | + |
| 1356 | 26 | |
| 1357 | 26 | |
| 1358 | 26 | |
| 1359 | 27 | + |
| 1360 | 26 | |
| 1361 | 26 | |
| 1362 | 26 | |
| 1363 | 27 | + |
| 1364 | 26 | |
| 1365 | 26 | |
| 1366 | 26 | |
| 1367 | 27 | |
| 1368 | 26 | |
| 1369 | 26 | |
| 1370 | 26 | |
| 1371 | 27 | |
| 1372 | 26 | |

| Year | March Date of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai | One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March |
|------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1373 | 26 | |
| 1374 | 26 | |
| 1375 | 27 | + |
| 1376 | 26 | |
| 1377 | 26 | |
| 1378 | 26 | |
| 1379 | 27 | + |
| 1380 | 26 | |
| 1381 | 26 | |
| 1382 | 27 | + |
| 1383 | 27 | + |
| 1384 | 26 | |
| 1385 | 26 | |
| 1386 | 27 | + |
| 1387 | 27 | + |
| 1388 | 26 | |
| 1389 | 26 | |
| 1390 | 27 | + |
| 1391 | 27 | + |
| 1392 | 26 | |
| 1393 | 26 | |
| 1394 | 27 | + |
| 1395 | 27 | + |
| 1396 | 26 | |
| 1397 | 26 | |
| 1398 | 27 | + |
| 1399 | 27 | + |

| Year | March Date of 1 Mēsha- Chittirai | One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1400 | 26 | |
| 1401 | 26 | |
| 1402 | 27 | + |
| 1403 | 27 | + |
| 1404 | 26 | |
| 1405 | 26 | |
| 1406 | 27 | + |
| 1407 | 27 | + |
| 1408 | 26 | |
| 1409 | 27 | + |
| 1410 | 27 | + |
| 1411 | 27 | + |
| 1412 | 26 | |
| 1413 | 27 | + |
| 1414 | 27 | + |
| 1415 | 27 | + |
| 1416 | 26 | |
| 1417 | 27 | + |
| 1418 | 27 | + |
| 1419 | 27 | + |
| 1420 | 26 | |
| 1421 | 27 | + |
| 1422 | 27 | + |
| 1423 | 27 | + |
| 1424 | 26 | |
| 1425 | 27 | + |
| 1426 | 27 | + |

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| Year | March Date of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai | One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March |
|------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1427 | 27 | + |
| 1428 | 26 | |
| 1429 | 27 | + |
| 1430 | 27 | + |
| 1431 | 27 | + |
| 1432 | 26 | |
| 1433 | 27 | + |
| 1434 | 27 | + |
| 1435 | 27 | + |
| 1436 | 26 | |
| 1437 | 27 | + |
| 1438 | 27 | + |
| 1439 | 27 | + |
| 1440 | 27 | + |
| 1441 | 27 | + |
| 1442 | 27 | + |
| 1443 | 27 | + |
| 1444 | 27 | + |
| 1445 | 27 | + |
| 1446 | 27 | + |
| 1447 | 27 | + |
| 1448 | 27 | + |
| 1449 | 27 | + |
| 1450 | 27 | + |
| 1451 | 27 | + |
| 1452 | 27 | + |
| 1453 | 27 | + |

| Year | March Date of 1 Mēsha-Chittirai | One Plus Sign Indicates One Day's Advance From 26 March |
|------|---------------------------------|---|
| 1454 | 27 | + |
| 1455 | 27 | + |
| 1456 | 27 | + |
| 1457 | 27 | + |
| 1458 | 27 | + |
| 1459 | 27 | + |
| 1460 | 27 | + |
| 1461 | 27 | + |
| 1462 | 27 | + |
| 1463 | 27 | + |
| 1464 | 27 | + |
| 1465 | 27 | + |
| 1466 | 27 | + |
| 1467 | 27 | + |
| 1468 | 27 | + |
| 1469 | 27 | + |
| 1470 | 27 | + |
| 1471 | 28 | ++ |
| 1472 | 27 | + |
| 1473 | 27 | + |
| 1474 | 27 | + |
| 1475 | 28 | ++ |
| 1476 | 27 | + |
| 1477 | 27 | + |
| 1478 | 27 | + |
| 1479 | 28 | ++ |

TABLE 3

THE PATTERN OF CALENDAR YEAR AND REAL YEAR TIME DISCREPANCIES
(SEE SECTION VII. 1 MĒSHA-CHITTIRAI EQUIVALENCIES: AN UNUSUAL
PATTERN, FOR EXPLANATION)

| Number of Year | Discrepancy |
|----------------|-------------|
| XX01 | — 87/360 |
| XX02 | — 174/360 |
| XX03 | — 261/360 |
| XX04 | + 12/360 |
| XX05 | — 75/360 |
| XX06 | — 162/360 |
| XX07 | — 249/360 |
| XX08 | + 24/360 |
| XX09 | — 63/360 |
| XX10 | — 150/360 |
| XX11 | — 237/360 |
| XX12 | + 36/360 |
| XX13 | — 51/360 |
| XX14 | — 138/360 |
| XX15 | — 225/360 |
| XX16 | + 48/360 |
| XX17 | — 39/360 |
| XX18 | — 126/360 |
| XX19 | — 213/360 |
| XX20 | + 60/360 |
| XX21 | — 27/360 |
| XX22 | — 114/360 |
| XX23 | — 201/360 |
| XX24 | + 72/360 |

| Number of Year | Discrepancy |
|----------------|-------------|
| XX25 | — 15/360 |
| XX26 | — 102/360 |
| XX27 | — 189/360 |
| XX28 | + 84/360 |
| XX29 | — 3/360 |
| XX30 | — 90/360 |
| XX31 | — 177/360 |
| XX32 | + 96/360 |
| XX33 | + 9/360 |
| XX34 | — 78/360 |
| XX35 | — 165/360 |
| XX36 | + 108/360 |
| XX37 | + 21/360 |
| XX38 | — 66/360 |
| XX39 | — 153/360 |
| XX40 | + 120/360 |
| XX41 | + 33/360 |
| XX42 | — 54/360 |
| XX43 | — 141/360 |
| XX44 | + 132/360 |
| XX45 | + 45/360 |
| XX46 | — 42/360 |
| XX47 | — 129/360 |
| XX48 | + 144/360 |
| XX49 | + 57/360 |
| XX50 | — 30/360 |
| XX51 | — 117/360 |

| Number of Year | Discrepancy |
|----------------|-------------|
| XX52 | + 156/360 |
| XX53 | + 69/360 |
| XX54 | - 18/360 |
| XX55 | - 105/360 |
| XX56 | + 168/360 |
| XX57 | + 81/360 |
| XX58 | - 6/360 |
| XX59 | - 93/360 |
| XX60 | + 180/360 |
| XX61 | + 93/360 |
| XX62 | + 6/360 |
| XX63 | - 81/360 |
| XX64 | + 192/360 |
| XX65 | + 105/360 |
| XX66 | + 18/360 |
| XX67 | - 69/360 |
| XX68 | + 204/360 |
| XX69 | + 117/360 |
| XX70 | + 30/360 |
| XX71 | - 57/360 |
| XX72 | + 216/360 |
| XX73 | + 129/360 |
| XX74 | + 42/360 |

| Number of Year | Discrepancy |
|----------------|-------------|
| XX75 | — 45/360 |
| XX76 | + 228/360 |
| XX77 | + 141/360 |
| XX78 | + 54/360 |
| XX79 | — 33/360 |
| XX80 | + 240/360 |
| XX81 | + 153/360 |
| XX82 | + 66/360 |
| XX83 | — 21/360 |
| XX84 | + 252/360 |
| XX85 | — 165/360 |
| XX86 | + 78/360 |
| XX87 | — 9/360 |
| XX88 | + 264/360 |
| XX89 | + 177/360 |
| XX90 | + 90/360 |
| XX91 | + 3/360 |
| XX92 | + 276/360 |
| XX93 | + 189/360 |
| XX94 | + 102/360 |
| XX95 | + 15/360 |
| XX96 | + 288/360 |
| XX97 | + 201/360 |

| Number of Year | Discrepancy |
|----------------|-------------|
| XX98 | + 114/360 |
| XX99 | + 27/360 |
| X100 | + 300/360 |
| X101 | + 213/360 |
| X102 | + 126/360 |
| X103 | + 39/360 |
| X104 | + 312/360 |
| X105 | + 225/360 |
| X106 | + 138/360 |
| X107 | + 51/360 |
| X108 | + 324/360 |
| X109 | + 237/360 |
| X110 | + 150/360 |
| X111 | + 63/360 |
| X112 | + 336/360 |
| X113 | + 249/360 |
| X114 | + 162/360 |
| X115 | + 75/360 |
| X116 | + 348/360 |
| X117 | + 241/360 |
| X118 | + 174/360 |
| X119 | + 87/360 |
| X120 | +1000/360 |

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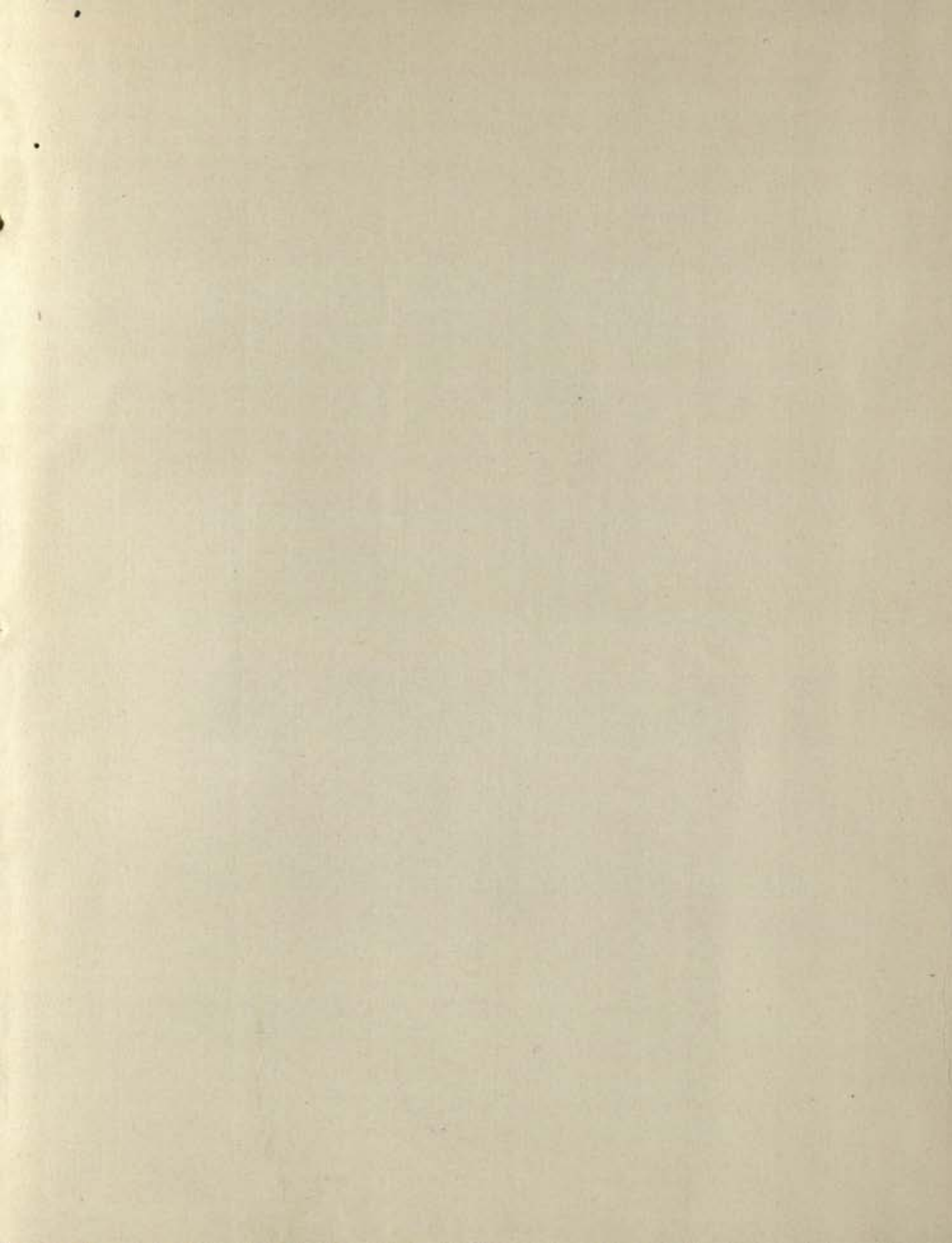
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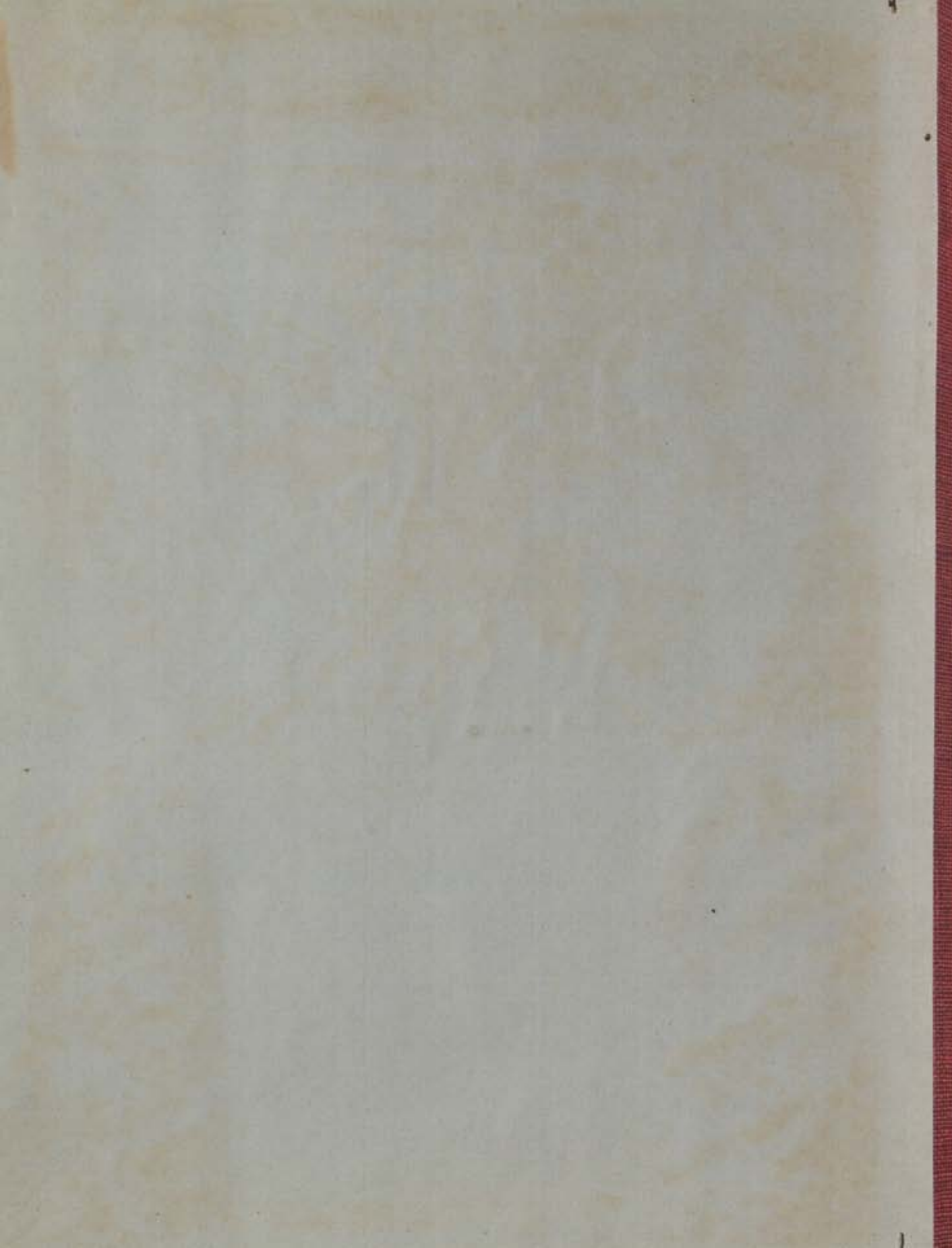
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