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 8th 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
140 ~1987
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

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ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1959 and 1960

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DR. Z. A. DESAI

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1959 and 1960

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM,
RED FORT, DELHI

BY Y. K. BUKHARI

Of the twenty-one inscriptions exhibited in this Museum, one is in Sanskrit, the rest being either in Arabic or Persian. Four of these inscriptions, including the one in Sanskrit, have been already published, three in the previous issues of this series, and one in the series of the Memoirs of the Archaological Survey of India. The remaining seventeen have been arranged and dealt with in chronological sequence, as far as possible, in this paper.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The earliest record of this group is engraved on an arch-shaped stone slab of red sandstone measuring 1'7" in width and 3'4" in height. Written in Arabic and Persian, it is executed in embossed Naskh characters. The first two lines at the top forming a rectangular panel comprise Bismillah and Quranic verses; below this panel is another rectangular panel leaving a blank space between the two, which is inscribed with the first Muslim Creed. Next comes the bordered panel which contains a decorative mihrab. On three sides of the slab runs a border inscribed with a few more Quranic verses; followed by the date in words. The panel at the base of the slab contains two lines in Persian too badly damaged to admit of clear decipherment.

Information regarding the exact provenance and the monument to which the epigraph under notice belonged is somewhat confusing. It is reported to have been brought from Mehrauli near Delhi, though Cunningham believes it to have come from Okhla where another inscription of the same type was found fixed over the doorway of an old square tomb of the time of Iltutmish. According to Maulavi Muhammad Shuaib, the present epigraph belonged to a certain mosque of the time of Iltutmish, firstly because the date A.H. 608 (1211 A.D.) given in the epigraph falls in the

1 Epigraphia Indo-Modemica (E.I.M.), 1913-14, pp. 11-12, 35-45, pl. III and VII; 1919-20, p. 9, pl. IV (b).
3 I am thankful to Dr. Z. A. Desai for the help and guidance I have received from him in the preparation of this article.
4 Exhibit No. 40 1001.
5 Holy Qur’an, ch. VI, v. 1.
6 Ibid., ch. III, vv. 18, 19.
8 A. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, vol. XX (Calcutta, 1885), p. 161. This tomb is not extant now and the epigraph is at present set up into the walls of the Naubat Khana in the Red Fort, Delhi.
The reign of Itutmish who had ascended the throne a year earlier, and secondly because the mihrāb carved on the present slab conforms to the architectural feature of the mihrāb of the days of Itutmish, as indicated by the similarity between this mihrāb and the one found at the Jami’ mosque of Itutmish at Ajmer. Further, the bottom lines of the record, in Maulavi Shuaib’s view, contained most probably the name of Itutmish. J. Horovitz who published the date portion of this inscription and its plate was also of the same opinion. On the other hand, Cunningham assigned the inscription to Qutb’s-Din Aibak whose name he claimed to have read in the bottom lines. Though badly damaged and difficult to decipher the full text in this part, the name of Qutb’s-Din Aibak with a few words before and after is clearly readable. However, the record cannot belong to his reign as he had died in the previous year. It may, therefore, be presumed that the inscription which was engraved in the reign of Itutmish referred to the late Qutb’s-Din in some way. As far as I can judge, the inscription requests the visitors to offer prayers for Qutb’s-Din Aibak. Another explanation may be that this Qutb’s-Din Aibak is not identical with the founder of Mamluk dynasty, but this appears to be a remote possibility.

**TEXT**

*Plate I (a)*

(a) **Topmost lines.**

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) الحمد لله الذي خلق السماوات والأرض وجعل الظلمات والزور ثم الذين كفروا قب(bit)هم يعدلون
(3) لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(b) **Around the arch on three sides.**

شهد الله انه لا إله إلا هو وملائكة واتراك الاعمال قايمين بالقسم لا إله إلا هو العزيز الحكيم

(c) **Bottom lines.**

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

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

 translation

(a) (1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. ‘Praise be to God, Who hath created

(2) the heavens and the earth and hath ordained the darkness and the light; nevertheless they who believe not the Lord, equalize other gods with Him.’

(3) There is no god, but Allâh; Muhammad is the Apostle of Allâh.

---

2 *EJ*, 1911-12, pl. XVIII, 1.
3 Cunningham, op. cit.
INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, RED FORT, DELHI

(b) 'God hath borne witness that there is no god but He; and the angels, and those who are endowed with wisdom profess the same; who executeth righteousness; there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Verily, the true religion to God is Islam.' In the months of the year 608.

(c) (1) ........... the humble slave raised.............................................

(2) ........... whosoever comes over (this) place, may offer prayer for Qutbuddin Aibak.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The next inscription is engraved on a slab of red sandstone measuring 1'2" by 2'1½". The slab is reported to have been originally fixed about two feet down into the west side of a well, situated about 300 yards to the east of the village of Sultanpur near Delhi. Written in relief in the typical Nasîrî style of the earlier period, this epigraph is also much damaged. It is dated A.H. 561 (1262-63 A.D.) and mentions the construction of a well by Sâlih, the liberated slave of Badruddin Ayâz Rûmi, out of his personal money. The record further states that the income accruing from the well was endowed for the mosque renowned in the city of Delhi.

M. Zafar Hasan had published the following reading of this inscription in his monumental work on the protected monuments of Delhi:

But this reading, besides being incomplete is full of errors as will be seen from the reading given below:

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(1) باکر کردن، این چاء و معمور گردانید
(2) از خالص مال خود بندتی، ضریع صلح
(3) معتق بدرالدین ایاز رومی و وقت کردن
(4) این چاء برای مسجد که در شهر دهلی مشهورست
(5) نا بود این حاصل شد، خانجی در
(6) وقت بگذشت بصرف رسد در سال احده و سنت و صبا

TRANSLATION

(1-3) The weak creature Sâlih, the liberated slave of Badruddin Ayâz Rûmi has built this well, having met the expenditure of construction out of his personal money. And he has endowed
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(4) this well for the mosque which is well known in the city of Delhi

(5-6) with a view that whatever income proceeds from it (i.e. the well), was left in endowment (for meeting the expenditure of the mosque). (This was) in the year six hundred and sixty-one (A.H. 661 or 1262-63 A.D.).

Nothing is known regarding the two personages mentioned in the record, namely, Badru’d-Din Ayáz Rûmî and the builder of the well, Şâlih. The former must have been a noble of high rank who unfortunately finds no place in the pages of contemporary annals. The date of the record falls in the reign of Nâṣîru’d-Din Mâhmûd of the Mamlûk dynasty who ruled from 1246 to 1266 A.D.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

The tablet bearing this inscription1 is a slab of red sandstone measuring 3'8" by 1'6" and contains one line of writing in Arabic, executed in bold Naskh letters in relief. It is undated and fragmentary and the extant portion of the epigraph contains merely the laudatory titles of the monarch who is probably none other than ‘Alâ’u’d-Din Khaljî.2 The purport of the record is not clear from the text, nor do we know anything about the original findspot of the slab except that it was previously lying loose at Mehrauli near Delhi in the mosque of Maulâna Majdû’d-Din, which is a monument of the Mughal period.3 It is obvious that the epigraph cannot be contemporary with the said mosque. The text of the inscription has been read as under :

TEXT

Plate I(c)

محمّد إسحاق عالم مجلس إعلان شیخ شیخ عالم، عالم غارق اعظم علاء، الدنيا، و الذين غياث

........ [لا]م

TRANSLATION

The founder of the basis of pillars of the Universe, Majlis-i-A’lî, Emperor of the world, most exalted Ghâzî ‘Alâ’u’d-Dunyâ wa’d-Din, helper of [Islam].................................

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This inscription is carved on a slab of grey stone measuring 2'11½" in length and 1'8" in breadth.4 It was originally set up on the west wall of the western dâlah in a khanqâh in the village of Sayyidul-Ajaib near Delhi.5 Beginning with Bismillâh, the record consists of seven lines of Arabic in verse form, incised in Naskh characters of an ordinary type. It does not bear any date, but from the text of the record which forms a prayer to God invoking divine help, it appears that a water tank was constructed. Its importance lies in the fact that the supplicator who ordered the construction of the tank is Ma’rûf, a famous noble, holding the post of the Chief of Chamberlains under Firûz Tughluq.

---

1 Exhibit No. 40/1004.
2 These titles are also to be found in ‘Alâ’u’d-Din’s inscriptions on the ‘Alâ’i Darwâza at Quût (ElM, 1917-18, pp. 24-29).
4 Exhibit No. 40/1005.
5 For an account of the khanqâh, see Zafar Hasan, op. cit., vol. III, p. 121, who says : The inscription is not dated and consists only of a few Arabic verses in prayer to God from Ma’rûf.
(a) Undated inscription of a tank, from Sayyidul-Ajaib, near Delhi (p. 5)

Scale: .15

(b) Inscription of a step-well, dated A.H. 923, in the reign of Sikandar Loṭī, from Kotla Mubarakpur, Delhi (p. 8)

Scale: .17
This is partially confirmed by the fact that the inscription was found at the village of Sayyidul-Ajaib, which being apparently a corrupt form of Sayyidul-`Hujjāb was associated with Ma’rūf who may have owned it or resided there. This would assign the inscription to the reign of Firuz Tughluq or the second half of the fourteenth century A.D. The text of the record reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate II(a)

(1) Bismillah al-rahim al-râhim dhu-n-nishâb ur-râhîm al-mâlik awâlîhî allâhu a’âmîrîhî. In Allâh’s name, the Merciful, the Compassionate; and I invoke Thee, O our Truthful and Evident Lord, and I beg to refer to you my need, O You from whom help is sought.

(2) For, if the men do not supplicate, Thou might get angry, while Thy promise is that ‘We respond to the prayers of the supplicators’.

O my Master, Thou dislikest the chiding of the supplicants (and) now we are supplicants before Thee.

---

1. Bashir-ul-Din Ahmad, *Waqi’at-D avi-l-Hukumat-i-Dhîl*, vol. II (Agra, 1919), pp. 373-74, has also given an incomplete reading of this epigraph.

2. This word is clearly so in the cattam, but the hemistich does not conform to the metre which is a variation of *fâg*, the engraver seems to have made some mistake here. Could ‘‘malal?’’ be the intended word?
(3) thirsty, and presenting our goblet without water towards Thee; so please, quench our thirst.

And my cup in my hand is (nothing but) this tank, (in other words) I desire water (for the tank), O our Lord of the worlds!

(4) O You who are generous to the helpless creatures! When any helpless and thirsty (person) comes to the door of the munificent in the hope of getting some water, they pour sweet water into his pot by way of kindness and grace.

(5) (As compared to them) Thou art most capable of favouring us, O Protector of those who seek refuge!

Cause rainy water to fill this tank of mine for ever so that it remains (full) till eternity.

(6) O Generous Lord! Have mercy on Thy slave Ma'rub, for Thou art the best of the Merciful!

I am the destitute slave standing at the door of my Lord, while Thou art Allâh, the enricher of the pauper!

(7) Sins and crimes come from the creatures while complete concealment of crimes is Thy grace.

O Master, forgive us the sinners! O my God, do not reckon strictly if we have forgotten!

Ma'rub, entitled Sayyida-l-Hujjâb (the chief of chamberlins) was the son of Khwâja Waâhid Quraishi. Both the father and the son were the disciples of Haâdat Nizâm-id-Din Auliyâ. When on the birth of Ma'rub, his father had brought him before the saint who was then performing his ablutions, the latter had put a little water into his mouth and given him the name Ma'rub.

Ma'rub was a pious and God-fearing man, well-versed in theology and other sciences. In the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, he was made 'Imâdu-l-Mulk and was later favoured with the title of Sayyida-l-Hujjâb by Firuz Shâh Tughluq who, impressed by his sagacity, sincerity and merits, made him his Privy Counsellor (nadîm). A staunch follower of the tenets of Islam, he devoted most of his time to the perusal of the commentaries of the Qur'ân and led a pious life.

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The slab of granite stone, which measures 1'10'' by 3'1'', was originally found half buried in the old step-well in a certain garden in the village Lako Sarai, near Delhi. It bears an inscription of twelve lines, first two of which contain the Muslim creed and Bismillâh, while the last has merely the word "Nu'ayr". The remaining nine lines are of historical interest. The epigraph executed in Nasîkh letters in relief is too badly damaged to admit of a correct and complete reading, but

1 For the status and duties etc., of Sayyida-l-Hujjâb which was the title usually conferred upon most trusted nobles or the princes of royal blood, see Dr. I. H. Quraishi, The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi (Lahore, 1942), pp. 59-60.

2 For a detailed notice, see Sâms Sirâj 'Asif, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shâhi (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 445-51. Ma'rub seems to have been endowed with poetic talents. The present inscription affords a specimen of his Arabic poetry while his poetical gift in Persian can be judged from the inscription from the arcade building on the southern side of the step-well in Haâdat Nizâm-id-Din Auliyâ's tomb. This inscription confirms the fact that the same Ma'rub was given to him by the saint, has been noticed in Zafar Hasan, Guide to Nizâm-id-Din, Mem. Arch. Sur, of Ind., no. 10, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 9-10, where a detailed account of his life is given. It is also worth-while to note that the calligraphy of both the Arabic and Persian inscriptions is the same and hence, the Arabic inscription may have been engraved in or about A.H. 781, the date of the Persian inscription.

3 Exhibit No. 40/1003.

whatever could be deciphered seems to refer to the repairs carried out to the step-well at the instance of one Khwaja Bu Sa'id. The inscription is dated Monday, the 24th Shawwāl, A.H. 840 (1st May, 1437 A.D.) which falls in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah of the Sayyid dynasty. As regards Khwaja Bu Sa'id, no information is available. The text has been deciphered by me as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate III (a)*

(1) لا الله الا الله محمد رسول الله
(2) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(3) آم بین باشین کے بخشند جان توان در مروه تین
 آم خضوو پاد عبسی قر بخوانند روست
(4) چشمہ کوثر کے جاری عشت در باغ بخشند
 در دعاشی مسماں طوییله کوثران جوماست(؟)
(5) چاه زمزم وصف آن چشمہ حو از حجاج خواند
کفن نا این باشین از خاک صفا و مریحاب(؟)
چونکہ اندر آئینہ (؟) صور
(6) در برائ اومن...
از کرامات سعید دیر خواجه بو سعید
........................................
شک مرت اینجین جشمہ کے
(7) در دوشنہ از مہ شوال بوہ بست چار
بدور .... رس خواجه بوہ خود .... راست
........................................
کفر طریقت ساخته بوہ خواجه ...
(8) شیخ .... مسعود .... را مرتیہ باصفات
........................................
هبدو سال و ...
........................................
بوہداست از ...
........................................
(9) همیو لطقف الله ...
خیر جاری ر حکفا الفت ...
ماست
آمین (10)
This is a bilingual inscription carved on a slab of black marble (2' by 1' 6") which is said to have been discovered at the village of Mubarakpur Kotla in Delhi. The right portion of the slab contains an inscription in Persian prose engraved in embossed Nasḵa letters in seven lines assigning the construction of a well during the reign of Sikandar Shāh of the Lodī dynasty to one Shaikh Sikandar, son of Shaikh Bāyāzīd, son of Shaikh Yaḥyā Shīrānī and Bibi Murād Khātūn, daughter of Dilāwar Khān Shīrānī and wife of the said Shaikh. The construction is said to have been carried out at the instance and support of Bibi ʿAīsha, daughter of Sūlṭān Buhlūl and a disciple of the above-mentioned Shaikh. The epigraph, which is dated the 20th Ṣafar, A.H. 923 (14th March, 1517 A.D.), has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate II (b)

(1) بناء این عمارت چهار در عهد دولت شاه گنار مکان اسلام
(2) بناء المجاهد ثم سبيل اتاق سکندر شاه بن بهلوش شاه
(3) سلطان خلیف اتاق مکه و سلطانه دریافت ثواب
(4) ابن خیر جامی شیخ سکندر بن شیخ یازید بن شیخ بهلاش شیرازی
(5) و باب مراد خانون بنت دلاور خان شروان اتباع شیخ مذکور
(6) فرماش و دل برین خیر بیبی عائشه بنت سلطان بهلوش
(7) مرید شیخ سکندر مذکور العشیرین من عمر سنن ثلاث عشیرین و تسعاية

TRANSLATION

(1) Foundation of the construction of this well (was laid down) during the reign of the king,
who is the conqueror of infidels, the Shelter of Islam,
(2) Warrior in the path of God, Sikandar Shāh, son of Buhlūl Shāh
(3) Sūlṭān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in order to get reward
(4) (for) this ever-flowing bounty by Shaikh Sikandar, son of Shaikh Bāyāzīd, son of Shaikh Yaḥyā Shīrānī
(5) and Bibi Murād Khātūn, daughter of Dilāwar Khān Shīrānī, wife of the above-mentioned Shaikh
(6-7) (and this charitable work was done at) the instance and under advice of Bibi ʿAīsha, daughter of Sūlṭān Buhlūl who is the disciple of the said Shaikh Sikandar. (Dated) the 20th of the month of Ṣafar, year A.H. 923 (14th March, 1517 A.D.).

To the left of the Persian inscription is a Sanskrit record with almost the same contents as above. The Sanskrit text which comprises fifteen lines incised on the stone in Nāgarī alphabet, with one line carved at the bottom of the slab, is cited below in Roman characters.

1 Exhibit No. 40/1009.
3 The Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, has kindly supplied, on request, the transcript of the Sanskrit version along with a note on it.
Inscriptions from the Archaeological Museum, Red Fort, Delhi

Text

1. || Symbol || Saũvat 1573 vasaũta-ritau chaśtra-mā[se]
2. Krīśṇa-pākṣhe | saḿtamyāṁ tithau | śanī-bā(व)re | mūla-naksh-
3. atre | Vairīyāṁ nāma yoge || akhaṇḍa-ājñā-pravi(ti)pā-
4. laka | ma(sa) [ma]gr-aiswa(व)a|rya-kalita suratrāṇa-śri-Va(Ba)ha-
5. lola-va(ta)naya-pātisāha-Śrī-Sikanḍara-vīja-
6. ya-rājye || Sesa-Ahiā-[s]uta-Bājīda-mu-
7. vta(suta ?)-seṣha-Sikanḍara | Serāṭī-gotre | tasya bhā-
8. ryā bibi-Murādi-shātū śrī-Dilāvara-khāta(na)-
9. putrī | Saravāṇi-gotriya | Murāde-Puny-ā(ṇy-ā)-
10. rthaṁ sva-punya-ā(ṇy-ā)rtham cha | bibi-śrī-Āsā pāti-
11. śrī-Baholola[h*] tat-sutā Śrī-Sikanḍa-
12. rasya-bhagni | tayā kārāpito (kārito)-yaṇi kū-
13. paḥ | ā-chandar-ārkaṁ naṁdatu sa-bhṛtartri(-trī)-bhṛ-
14. tra(trī)vyo(वyā)ṣ-cha || Sana 923 māha Sa-
15. pha[ra] terika 20 || maṁgalyam bhavatu ||

Contents

"The inscription bears the dates: Vikrama Saũvat 1573, Chaitra-badi 7, Saturday: Hijri San 923, 20th of Saphara, corresponding to the 14th March, 1517 A.D. It was incised during the reign of Pātisāha Sikandara, son of Suratrāṇa Baholola. There was a person named Sekha Sikandara who belonged to the Serāṭī family and was the son of Bājīda, son of Sekha Ahīā. His wife was Murādi Khāṭū who was the daughter of Dilāvara Khāna of the Saravāṇi family. Lady Āsā, daughter of Pātisāha Baholola and sister of Sikandara, caused a well to be excavated for the merit of the said Murādi (Murāde) and of herself."

While nothing is traceable in the available historical records about the different personages mentioned in the above inscription, namely Shaikh Sikandar, his wife Bibi Murād Khāṭūn who was the daughter of Dilāwar Khān Shīrwānī and 'Aīsha, daughter of Buhūl Lodī, it is obvious that they belonged to the illustrious group of royalty, nobility and saintly order. Is it not surprising that even 'Aīsha should have been ignored by contemporary and later writers? Our inscription is thus the only record to preserve the name of this princess who seems to have been a philanthropic, God-fearing, religious-minded and generous lady of her time. Incidentally,

1 The "q" in Serāṭī is obviously the engraver's mistake for "q".
reference to another daughter of Buhlul Lodl, namely Subhân, is found in an inscription at Sarhîn in East Panjab, which gives her date of death A.H. 901 or 22 years before the date of the epigraph under notice.\footnote{C. J. Rodgers, Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab (Lahore, 1894), p. 55.}

**INSCRIPTION NO. 7**

This record is embossed on a sandstone slab (1'3" x 2'5")\footnote{Exhibit No. 890/1035.} which was originally fixed into a well in the village Arakpur, Bâgh Mochl, Delhi.\footnote{Zafar Hasan, op. cit., vol. II, p. 216.} It comprises a Persian inscription in prose in seven lines, executed in crude Naskh characters. The inscription is damaged at several places, particularly in the portion bearing the date which is not clearly readable. The epigraph records the construction of a well in the reign of emperor Jahângîr by Râm Râî, son of Mulûk Chand of Rohtak, whose surname was Mochl, after which perhaps the garden was so named. It may be pointed out that Zafar Hasan calls the builder Râm Dâs whereas the epigraph clearly names him Râm Râî. The inscription has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate III (b)

1) [ب]ین جام
2) رام را
3) [ب]ن ملک کند
4) رهکا خطاب
5) مرجی در
6) عهد پادشاه
7) جمانگیر سنہ [23?]

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This well (was constructed)
(2) by Râm Râî,
(3) son of Mulûk Chand
(4) of Rohtak, surnamed
(5) Mochl, in
(6) the reign of king
(7) Jahângîr, (in the) year 10(23?) (1614 15 A.D.).
(a) Jahāngīr’s inscription of a bridge, dated A.H. 1031, from Salimgarh fort, Delhi (p. 11)

(b) Inscription of the tomb of Sayyid ʿĀshīq Muhammad Shāṭṭār, from Purānā Qalʿa, Delhi (p. 16)

(c) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1080, on a stone-vessel (p. 17)
INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM, RED FORT, DELHI

INSCRIPTION NO. 8

This inscription\(^1\) is carved on a slab of white marble measuring 3' 9" by 1'8½" which was set up on the west side of the bridge of Salimgarh, to the north of the Red Fort, before its removal to the Museum.\(^2\) The epigraph is written in Persian verse and executed in elegant Nasta'liq letters incised on the stone. The slab is well carved and decorated, having been divided into square and rectangular panels alternately. The epigraph assigns the construction of a bridge to the Mughal emperor Jahangir in his 17th reign year corresponding to A.H. 1031 (1621 A.D.), the work having been supervised by Husain Chalapi. The name of the calligraphist who designed the inscription is Sharif.

Salimgarh fort (only the rampart) was built in A.H. 953 (1546 A.D.) by Salim Shāh, son of Sher Shāh, after whom the fort derives its name.\(^3\) It is situated on the west bank of the river Jamuna at the north end of the Red Fort. The bridge referred to in the epigraph was constructed in front of the southern gate of Salimgarh and was replaced by the Railway bridge in recent times. The record reads as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate IV (a)*

| جهل جلاله | جهل جلاله |
|——|——|
| جهل جلاله | جهل جلاله |
| (1) | (1) |
| الله أكبر | بحكم بادشاه هفت کشور |
| شهنشاه | هذه شاهنشاه |
| بدلا و داد و ندیب | بکر |
| یا فاضل | یا ناصر |
| یا فاضل | یا ناصر |
| چہانگیر انپ شاهنشاه اکبر | چہانگیر انپ شاهنشاه اکبر |
| یا حی | چہانگیر |
| چہانگیر | چہانگیر |
| جلوس | جلوس |
| سنھ 17 | سنھ 17 |
| کہ وصی دا نشاد کرید تحیر | کہ وصی دا نشاد کرید تحیر |
| حسین چابی | حسین چابی |
| خان ہی تاریخ اتمامی خرد گنت | خان ہی تاریخ اتمامی خرد گنت |
| کلہ شرف | کلہ شرف |
| 171 |

**TRANSLATION**

(a) *Square panels.*

(1) God is great, may His glory be great! O Opener!

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\(^1\) Exhibit No. 49,1023.


\(^3\) For references to Salimgarh which was also called Nārīgadh in the Mughal period (Sayyid Ahmad, op. cit., p. 41), please see Abul-Fażl, *ʻInā-i-Âbbār*, vol. I, Eng. trans. by Bluemhann (Calcutta, 1873), p. 413; *Tāriḵ-i-Firžūg*, pt. I (Lucknow, 1900), p. 230; Sayyid Ahmad, op. cit.; Carr Stephen, op. cit.

\(^4\) This word ought to have been "شہنشاہی".
(2) O Helper! O Bountiful! O Living!
(3) 17th regnal year of Jahāngīr (1621 A.D.).
(4) Under the superintendence of Ḥusayn Chalapī (and) written by Sharīf.

(b) Main text.

(1) By the command of the king of the seven climes, (who is) an emperor in respect of justice, equity and deliberation,
(2) Jahāngīr, son of emperor Akbar, whose sword has subdued the whole world,
(3) when in Delhi was constructed this bridge whose description cannot be given in writing,
(4) for the date of its completion, Wisdom said, '(It is) the bridge of the emperor of Delhi, Jahāngīr'. Year 1031 (A.H. or 1621 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 9

This inscription is engraved on a slab of white marble of the size of 1'7"×2'7", which is said to have been found lying loose near the Dargah of Ḥaḍrat Nūrūmūd-Dīn Auliya in 1904 A.D., when the Agra Canal was dug. The epigraph which is cut in raised Nastaliq letters comprises 23 lines of writing in Persian prose containing many grammatical mistakes. In the words of Mr. Irvine, 'the composition is rambling and confused. Much seems to be an attempt at rhyming prose and this accounts for the number of extraordinary inversions in the order of the words.'

The epigraph mentions the three early Mughal emperors, viz. Humayūn, Akbar and Jahāngīr and pretends to recount the life and activities of Maḥmūd Khān, a stirrup-holder, who lived during the reigns of the aforesaid kings. The inscription begins with Bismillāh which is followed by the praise of God, Adam, the Holy Prophet, his four Companions, Khwāja Qūtbūd-Dīn and Niẓāmu’d-Dīn Auliya, the well-known patron-saint of Delhi to whose dargah Maḥmūd was greatly attached. The inscription further states that Maḥmūd Khān who was a disciple of Khwāja ‘Ali Haqqānī of the Chishtiyya order, was in his old age asked by emperor Jahāngīr to go to Delhi, settle there, serve in the tomb of Humayūn and also build his own tomb. Accordingly, he built a Gor Khāna (family grave-yard), a well, a mosque and a rest-house surrounded by four walls of stone and brick in the mahjulla (or place) known as Bāj Khān, the total expenditure having been 290,000 tānkas. Maḥmūd bequeathed these buildings to his heirs, i.e. sons and grandsons, namely Jamāl Khān, Husain Khān, Kamāl Khān, Jala’il Khān and Khusḥāl Khān. The copyist of the inscription is ‘Abdu’l-Nābi.

The date portion after the word '923' is covered with one inch-broad iron nail that has fixed the inscriptive slab into the wall. The Catalogue reads the date '924' (one thousand and two) which is very much doubtful as it does not fall in the reign of Jahāngīr. Personally I think, Mr. Irvine is right when he maintains that the date ought to be read A.H.

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1 For the text as well as translation of this inscription, see Sayyid Ahmad op. cit., p. 42; Carr Stephen, op. cit., p. 196; Vogel, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
2 Exhibit No. 40/1022.
3 Blackston, op. cit., p. 8, No. C.17.
4 Ibid., p. 38.
5 Ibid., p. 39. (Now that the slab has been dislodged, the reading of the Catalogue has been found to be correct.—Ed.)
Plate III (c)

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم اول بزرگ نام الله که عزه هزار عالی بیافرده و بیغ آدم آدم صفت ایت دوم حضرت محمد مصطفی که امت اوند و جهاندار با صفا حضرت ابابکر حضرت عمر حضرت عثمان حضرت علی ذکر حضرت خواجه قطب‌الدین دیز تخت دهلی قاپم و دایم است کرامات اوهود مدادگار حضرت شیخ نظام الدین اولیا در تخت دهلی کرامات [وا] و ظهور [وز] ست عرض میادی [وا] این عمود در طوفان بنتی ایشان

2. نگیر دایم حضورنست عرض میادی این عمود چندر روزی که حیاتم غنیمت دارد هرودتی که اجل رستاره ندارد هر روزی که میگذرد ببشار عرض میادی [وز] این عمود خانه واحدی کشتی میریم خواجه علی حقانی بیر مست بزگوار عرض میادی این عمود به برگان خود بدنوار از دولت

3. مادر و پدر خود عیش فراخت کردیم ارمن طمأنن سالها بسیار عرض میادیم عمود خان بدرگه خدا و ذکر جنت آتشیای محبوباً بادشاه و ذکر جلال الدین محمد استار بادشاه ماند نام به قرنه پادشاهان و از غلامی خویان ندارد عار بدن درگه قدمت الخدمت۱ دیز رکاب دار و سر افراز کرده ابوالغفار نورالدین محمد

4. جهانگیر بادشاه حکم شد که تو بیر شده طولانی جنت آشیا و باکولی (؟) بکن اختیار

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۱ Ibid., p. 38, f.n.
In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. Firstly, great is the name of God who has created the eighteen thousand worlds and the seed of man, Adam, the chosen (friend) of God; secondly, (the Prophet) Muhammad, the chosen, whose followers are all men; and the four select friends, Ḥadrat Abū Bakr, Ḥadrat 'Umar, Ḥadrat 'Uthmān and Ḥadrat 'Alī.

The mention of Ḥadrat Khwāja Qutbū'd-Dīn in the seat of Delhi is perpetual, may his kindnesses be a source of help!

1 One "ود" is redundant.
Inscriptions from the Archaeological Museum, Red Fort, Delhi

(4-5) As regards Ḥadīrat Shaikh Ṣa'id-Dīn Auliya in the seat of Delhi, his kindnesses are evident. Humbly says this Māḥmūd who is ever present in the performance of their service.

Says this Māḥmūd: Value the few days of the present life. When death approaches, there would be no remedy. Count each day which passes away. States this Māḥmūd: I am the disciple of the house of the Qāshi order.

(7) Khwāja ʿAlī Ḥaqqānī is my spiritual guide. Says this Māḥmūd to his elders humbly: Through the

(8) good wishes of my father and mother I have so much enjoyed my life for so many years that no desire whatever is left unfulfilled. Humbly Māḥmūd Khān prays to the court of

(9) God: May the name of Jannat ʿAqīlī Māḥmūd Humāyūn and the name of emperor Jalālūd-Dīn Mūḥammad Akbar be perpetuated for many centuries.

(10-11) and years and may they be given the robes of paradise after the soul has departed from the body. This old slave of the court, Māḥmūd, the stirrup-holder, does not feel any shame in serving the kings and the god. (He) is exalted by the emperor Abu'l-Muṣṭafar Nūrūd-Dīn Mūḥammad

(12) Jahāngir who said, 'You have grown old; serve in the mausoleum of Jannat ʿAqīlī (Humāyūn) and assume the attendance (?) there;'

(13) go to Delhi, live there; build your graveyard and house there. (Consequently), this humble slave (Māḥmūd) built a graveyard in the capital of

(14) Delhi in the maḥalla of Bāji Khān; it was built with honestly earned money together with a well, a mosque and a rest-house and four walled enclosure

(15) of stone and brick. The total amount of expenses, on labour as well as material, was two lacs and ninety thousand (290,000) tankas. Says Māḥmūd:

(16) Being 89 years old, I have come near the end. I have passed my life in ease and comfort, through the kindness of kings. O Māḥmūd,

(17) no wish is left unfulfilled; after whatever giving and taking, buying and selling, (in short) all bargains we have done in the market-place (of the world), no more is to be done now. When the time of death

(18) comes near and the soul leaves the body in the seat of Delhi, the body should be interred in that cemetery. (My) sons and grandsons

(19) who are my descendants and heirs, namely Jamāl Khān, Ḥusain Khān, Kamāl Khān, Jalāl Khān, and Khūshbāl Khān

(20) and small and big will inherit the cemetery and the tomb. In the seat of Delhi, the officers, the landholders, the elders

(21) and the neighbours should respect this wish and entrust these to my sons, for after

(22) (my) death they are my heirs and deserve the possession of this tomb which was built by me with honestly earned money. The small and the big, the neighbours,

(23) the Shaikhs and the sons of the Shaikhs, to all I say my greeting and ask the permission to leave Delhi (forever). Whateover the owner of the building said, the writer of the letters 'Abdu'n-Nābi has copied (on the stone).

(24) Year thousand (and twenty two ?).
INSCRIPTION NO. 10

This is a slab\(^1\) of red sandstone (2'3" × 1'3\(\frac{1}{2}\)") bearing a Persian inscription in one line executed in elegant *Nasta’liq* characters in relief. It was found among the debris during excavations at Purāṇa Qal'ā in Delhi in the year 1914.\(^2\) The text of the record merely refers to the tomb of one Sayyid ‘Āshiq Muḥammad Ṣaḥṭār and contains no date, but from the style of calligraphy, it may be assigned to the late Muḥājal period. As regards Sayyid ‘Āshiq Muḥammad Ṣaḥṭār, nothing is known from available sources, but from the suffix Ṣaḥṭār, it is reasonable to hold that he belonged to the order of the Ṣaṭṭāris.\(^3\) The text of the inscription reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate IV (b)*

Ruaṭa ḫaḵč-e Șāhid Ṣaḥāḥ-e Ṣafār

**TRANSLATION**

The holy tomb of Sayyid ‘Āshiq Muḥammad Ṣaḥṭār.

INSCRIPTION NO. 11

This red sandstone slab,\(^4\) measuring 1’ × 1’5”, also bears a Persian inscription in six lines executed in *Nasta’liq* letters in relief. The epigraph is partly damaged in the third and sixth lines. Dated the 12th Rabi’ I, A.H. 1080 (31st July, 1669 A.D.), in the 12th year of Aurangzeb’s reign, the record mentions the construction of a well by a lady named Dil Pasand. No information is available regarding the find spot of the inscription and the name of the builder is also unknown. The epigraph reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate V (a)*

(1) در عهد مکی الدین محمد  
(2)  
(3)  
(4)  
(5)  
(6)  

(1)  
(2)  
(3)  
(4)  
(5)  
(6)  

\(^1\) Exhibit No. 10/1022.

\(^2\) Blakiston, op. cit., p. 10.

\(^3\) For the founder of this order, etc., please see *Adhikār-i-Abrār* (Agra, A.H. 1326), p. 285; Ghulām Sarwar, *Khusrav-l-Aṣfīyā*, vol. II (Lucknow, A.H. 1329), p. 36.

\(^4\) Exhibit No. 40/1033.
(a) Inscription of a well, dated A.H. 1080 in Aurangzeb's reign (p. 16)

(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb's time, dated A.H. 1117, from a well at Arakpur (p. 18)

(c) Inscription on a marble basin, from the Dargah at Qadam Sharif, Delhi (p. 18)
TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Muḥyi’-̣Dīn Muḥammad, Aurangzeb
(2) Bāḏshāḥ ‘Ālamgīr, Mūsammāt (i.e. the lady named)
(3) Dil Pasand built a well out of her own money.
(4) On the 12th of the month of
(5) Rabi’ I, (year) 1080 of the Hijra era, corresponding to
(6) the 12th year of the auspicious reign (31st July, 1669 A.D.), it was brought to completion.

INSCRIPTION NO. 12

The following Persian inscription in prose is carved in embossed Nāšūḥi characters around the outer border of a vessel, carved out of a single piece of stone, which is alleged to have been used for the purpose of purifying water for emperor Aurangzeb while in camp. The vessel is said to have possessed this characteristic that when it was immersed in a bucket of water, it allowed only pure water to percolate inside through its fine pores, while all impurities were carefully excluded.¹ The epigraph does not mention any such details but merely contains the name of the king and the date A. H. 1080 (1669-70 A.D.).

TEXT

Plate IV (c)

آب مقطر سنک صاق اروزگنیز عالمی نب کیر پادشاه غازی

سنی 1080

TRANSLATION


INSCRIPTION NO. 13

This ordinary sandstone slab measures 16" × 19" and is reported to have been originally fixed in a well in the village Arak pur Bāgh Mochi,² another inscription from which place has been noticed above.³ It contains an inscription running into five lines executed in embossed Nastalīq letters. The epigraph assigns the construction of a well in the Bāgh-i-Mochi, to Har Rām Sābu, son of Jagat Rāi who, like Dil Pasand noticed above, does not seem to have been a person of much note as nothing is traceable about him in contemporary or even later records. The inscription is dated

¹ Blakiston, op. cit., p. 17.
² Exhibit No. C-51.
³ Inscription no. 7.
the 11th Shawwāl, A.H. 1117 (15th January, 1706 A.D.), in the 50th year of Aurangzeb's reign. The text reads as follows: --

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(1) در عمده بادشاہ عالمگیر غازی
(2) سنه بیجہ جلوسی هبیری یکهمزار یکصد و هفت [دم]
(3) هرام ساهب بن جکر رکه در بالغ[دم]
(4) مرجی بن انIQUESEN دم
(5) ازد هم شهر شوال ..................................

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of the king 'Ālamgir Ghāzi,
(2) (in) the 50th year of accession, one thousand one hundred and seventeenth year of the Hijra era (1706 A.D.),
(3-4) Har Rām Sāhū, son of Jagat Rāi, built this stream of beneficence in the Bāgh-i-Mochī.
(5) 11th of the month of Shawwāl..........................

INSCRIPTION NO. 14

This is written on a basin of white marble, which measures 3' x 2' at the base and is 2'1" in height. It is said that the basin originally belonged to the Dargāh of Qadam Sharif, situated at about a mile and half to the south of the Lahori Gate, Delhi. The inscription is written in ink. The style of writing is Nastā'liq, while the language is Persian. Dated A.H. 1222 (1807 A.D.), it reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate V(c)

[ہ] ۱۲۵۲ [سنه]

TRANSLATION

Water of the holy foot-print of Mūhammad, the Prophet of God. A.H. 1222 (1807 A.D.).

The basin, according to the date inscribed therein, is only 150 years old and, therefore, not contemporary with the Dargāh referred to above which was built by Firūz Shāh Tughluq in A.H. 776 (1376 A.D.). Tradition has it that the holy foot-print of the Prophet was brought from Egypt at the king's instance by Makhduūm Jāhān-i Jāhān Gagh, a well-known saint and spiritual guide of Firūz Shāh Tughluq, and placed on the grave of Fath Khān, son of the latter. According

1 Exhibit No. 40/1026.
2 For a detailed account of the tradition, see Maulavi Muhammad Umar, Aţẖāru's-Sāhib (Delhi, A.H. 1329), pp. 87-90.
(a) Bilingual inscription of Akbar II, from a ruined temple near Purānā Qal‘a, Delhi, (p. 19)

(b) Bahādur Shāh Zafar's inscription of a well, from a well inside the Red Fort, Delhi (p. 21)

(c) Inscription on a stucco-Medallion, from Mehrāuli, Delhi (p. 22)
to Sayyid Ahmad, there was a kāschrā of white marble over the grave which was filled with water in order to wash the holy foot-print and this water was distributed among the visitors.

INSCRIPTION NO. 15

This bilingual inscription1 is carved on a sandstone pillar (12 × 51"), now fixed to the wall in the right hand corner of the main entrance of the Museum. Originally, the pillar belonged to a ruined temple situated at a distance of about 250 yards from the south gate of the Purānā Qal’a.2 On the top of the slab is carved a cow feeding its young one. This is followed by the Persian version consisting of nineteen lines inscribed in ordinary Nasta’īq letters, with the preceding eleven lines in Sanskrit. The first seven lines of the Persian text are executed in bold letters. The epigraph records endowment of twelve bighas of land together with two pakka wells therein for a temple of Lord Krishna built by Bāja Sohan Lal Bahādur Singh on the plot of land purchased by him. It also embodies certain directions for the descendants of the owner regarding the administration of the endowment in general and the control of its income and expenditure in particular. The inscription is dated the 11th of Sha‘bān, A.H. 1245, corresponding to 18th Magh-audi, 1886 Samvat, in the 24th year of the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar Shah II. The Persian version has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate VI(a)

(1) مزایی دوازده یکمین اراضی پاته معمود
(2) دهنه چاه پاته که متصلاً قلمه کمکه
(3) زر خرید منقر است و در آن
(4) اراضی منقر پاته سری
(5) کرشن بهگوان مرتب
(6) کتابیاند شد لیذا برای
(7) آل و اولاد و افرای
(8) خود نوشته که اند که اند پاته آمده نقد اراضی منقر باشد در مصارف
(9) منقر بایدی شود ضعیف
(10) زیاده یک پاته که مطلوب باشد و برخاذ سری بهگوان
(11) فهیمه ای بهزیکت مضايقه ... نیست و هرکس بوجارت
(12) برای بیجا و پوجا خواهد ماند اورا مناسب است
(13) که بدل مصروف شده بیجا لما بیجا اور اکر بوجا خاطر خواه

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1 Sayyid Ahmad, op. cit., ch. I, p. 229.
2 Exhibit No. 40/1031.
3 Zafar Hasan, op. cit., pp. 104-5, where an incomplete text of the record is also given.
(13) نغواهد کرد منفر و وارثان منفر را برای موفرق آن
(15) اختیار است فقط تحریر تاریخ [باین] هم شعبان سنه [۱۴۳۱]
(16) هجري مطافط ماه سدي تشترشی سبت سنه ۱۸۸۶
(18) يوم جمعه سنه ۳ جلسه میانه مانوس میانه
(18) محمد أكبر بادشا煌 شاپی حسین جا راجه سرگن لعل پهادار سبکه
(19) [نا] لکه

TRANSLATION

(1) (Whereas) twelve bighas of land together with two
(2) pakka wells near the old Fort
(3) were purchased by me, the attester, and (whereas) on the
(4-5) said plot of land a temple dedicated to Lord Sri Krişhan has been built by me,
therefore
(6-8) it is written for (the guidance of) my sons, descendants and relatives that whatever in-
come in cash accrues from the said land, it should be spent
(9) on the maintenance of the temple .........................twentyfive (per cent) of the
income in cash is allotted
(10) for the things needed and treating them as the offering to Sri Bhagwan
(11) be consumed without .................hesitation. For every pujari (priest) who
(12) is employed for service and worship (at the temple), it is essential
(13-15) that he performs the pujā whole-heartedly. If he fails to do so satisfactorily, I, the
donor, and my heirs shall be competent to discontinue him. That is all. Written on the 11th
of Sha'ban, A. H. 1245
(16) Hijri, corresponding to Māh Sudi, 13, Šaṁvat 1886,
(17) Friday, the auspicious regnal year 24 of
(18) Muḥammad Akbar Shāh Bāḏgah Shāzi for Rāja Sohan La'ī Bahādur Singh
(19) Nāik.

The Sanskrit version reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

1 Śrī-Gaṇeśāya namaḥ [*]
2 Yat-pād-āmbuja-chaśčāra
3 rika-matinā vitme (?)
4 Śivasya-ślayaṁ rājñā
5 Sohanalālakana pa-
6 da[yoḥ] saukhyā-pradāṁ ch-ārpi-
Contents

The inscription contains a stanza in the Śārdula-vikrīḍita metre. The reading of some letters is doubtful. But it seems to record the dedication of a temple by a Śaiva ruler named Sohanalāla in favour of the god Śiva in the year (Vikrama Samvat) 1886, Plava, Māgha-Sūdi 13, Friday, corresponding to the 5th February, 1830 A.D.¹

INSCRIPTION NO. 16

This is a square slab of white marble,² measuring 1’10” by 1’10” by 4”. It contains a Persian inscription in verse written in Thulūḥ characters in ink. The epigraph consists of two lines forming two couplets and the words ‘‘الله أكبر’’ written on the top and the words ‘‘محمد بیری’’ and the date in the centre, between and beneath the two lines respectively. The record assigns the construction of a well to Zafar. Though the inscription is not of much antiquarian interest, its importance lies in the fact that the builder is none other than Bahādur Shāh II, the last Mughal ruler (1837-1857 A.D.), firstly because the date of the inscription, viz. A.H. 1256 (1840 A.D.), falls in the period of his reign, and secondly, the poetic name Zafar also avers that the record is associated with Bahādur Shāh II who used to compose verses under that name.³ Owing to absence of any information regarding its whereabouts, it is difficult to locate the well to which the record belonged.⁴ The date is given in figures and is also contained in the chronogram occurring in the last hemistich. The inscription reads as under:

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

الله أكبر

(1) ان جز ما تادگاره که آبی شریت فند و نیامست
محمد بیری

(2) ازین خوشتر نباشد سال تاریخ هریدا چشم راب حیات است

سنہ ١٢٥٦

¹ The transcript with a note on the Sanskrit portion of the inscription was kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ooctacamund.
² No. 40/1094.
³ For other inscriptions composed by Bahādur Shāh II, see Zafar Hasan, op. cit., vol. I, p. 98; vol. II, p. 295; vol. III, p. 44, etc.
⁴ It is reported to have belonged to a well situated to the north of the ḫammām (royal bath) in the Red Fort, Delhi.—Ed.
God is great.

(1) O Zafar! this well is a memorial constructed by us; its water is like the syrup of sugar and candy.

Muhammad Birā

(2) There could be no chronogram better than this: The spring of the Water of Life has appeared. Year A.H. 1256 (1840 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 17

This epigraph is on a medallion of stucco, 1’7½” in diameter, which is reported to have originally come from Mehrauli near Delhi. The medallion is decorated in Tughrā style and contains only the words "الملك لله " (Kingdom belongs to God only). Calligraphically, the inscription is significant for its execution in fine Tughrā style which may be assigned to the Mughal period (plate VI).1

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1 The word 'Birā' is very much ambiguous. The correct reading is "إِيَرُ مُعَمَّضَ" (Birā.Muhammad).—Ed.
2 Exhibit No. 40/1020.
4 According to the Catalogue, the inscription probably belongs to some early Mughal mosque. Similar stucco decoration is found in the Khairu’l-Manṣūr mosque opposite Purānā Qal’ā (Indrapat) and Moṭh Ki Masjid.
A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA
FROM MURSHIDABAD

BY M. KHATUN

In the course of my tour of Murshidabad with the Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, in November 1956, three inscribed stone slabs were noticed above the central archway of an old dilapidated mosque at Naginabagh1 in the Lalbagh subdivision of Murshidabad District; the mosque is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the Murshidabad Railway station. The slabs were so loose as to be on the point of falling down. On inquiry, it was learnt that the plot of land on which the mosque stood belonged to a person named Shri S. K. De, who was using it for cultivation. The inscribed slabs were then acquired from Shri De as presentation through the good offices of the District Magistrate of Murshidabad and brought to the Indian Museum in September 1957.

Of the three slabs, the central one measures 2'11" by 7\(\frac{1}{2}\)" and the other two 1'3\(\frac{1}{2}\)" by 8" each. Being of indurated shale, the slabs are not in a good state of preservation and consequently, some of the letters have flaked off. The three slabs contain one continuous Persian inscription, of five couples cut in relief, which records the construction of a mosque by a lady mentioned only as Begam in A.H. 1136 (1723-24 A.D.). The style of writing is Nasta‘liq of clear and beautiful execution representing one of the finest examples of this style as found in the inscriptions of the later Mughal period.

The mosque to which the above inscription belongs has been referred to in some publications as the Begam Ma-jid, and mentioned among the places of interest along with the tomb, now a protected monument, of Nawwâb Sarfarâz Khân (1739-40) of Bengal, which is situated close by.2 The mosque is in better preservation than the Katra one,3 and is a handsome building, wrote Beveridge in 1892.4

Curiously enough, though the date is very clearly inscribed and given also in a chronogram, none of the learned authors, who referred to this inscription has noted it correctly. For example, Beveridge reads it as 1146 A.H.5 while P. C. Majumdar mentions it as 1131 A.H.6 reasons for this wide divergence of reading being inexplicable. O’Malley in the District Gazetteer: Murshidabad, gives its date in Christian era as 1719,7 which corresponds to the Hijra year 1132; it is

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1 The place, locally known as Nektahal or Lenkatkal, lies to the east of Sahanagar thana of Lalbagh subdivision.
3 I.e. the Katra mosque built by Murshid Quli Khan in A.H. 1137.
4 Beveridge, op. cit.
5 Ibid.
6 Majumdar, op. cit.
7 O’Malley, op. cit.
just possible that the Arabic numeral ‘‘١٤’’ (6) was mistaken by him for ‘‘١٥’’ (2).
Following O'Malley, Shri A. Mitra, gives the same date (i.e. 1719 A.D.) for the Begam Masjid. The description of this mosque as given by Shri Mitra is misleading and found on scrutiny to contain more discrepancies. According to him, 'To the west of the kibla Nizamat is the Begam Masjid built in 1719 A.D., a big mosque but not architecturally distinguished'. He further states that 'it was erected by Mani Begam, west of the Mubarak Manzil, formerly called Kandil Bag'. The description given above is rather confusing and it is not clear which particular mosque has been referred to here. For though the name and date of the mosque correspond to those of the Begam Masjid as described by O'Malley, the name of the builder given by Shri Mitra points to a different mosque named Chawk Masjid, situation of which has not even been described properly. Situated to the south-east of the palace, abutting the walls of the Qal'a Nizamat, is the Chawk Masjid built by Mani Begam, wife of Nawwāb Mir Ja'far; it was constructed in 1767, and not in 1719 as Shri Mitra says. It was erected on the site of the Chahal Sutān or Audience Hall of Nawwāb Mursīd Quli Khān. Also, the Mubārak Manzil was known as Fendal Bāgh and not 'Kandil Bag' as Shri Mitra says, probably after John Fendal who was a Judge in 1817-19 and afterwards Chief Judge of the Sadr Diwān 'Adālat at Mubārak Manzil.

As regards the builder of the Begam Masjid no authentic information is available from any source. The inscription on it does not record any particular name and mentions only a 'Begam' as its builder. Popularly it is sometimes attributed to Sarfarāz Khān's mother and sometimes to his wife. Zinātu'n-Nisā or 'Azimatu'n-Nisā, mother of Sarfarāz Khān, is known to be the builder of another mosque at Azimnagar in the Lalbagh subdivision. She was the only daughter of Mursīd Quli Khān, the nāẓīm and diwān of Bengal and was married to Nawwāb Shujā'u'd-Daula, governor of Orissa and later, successor to his father-in-law in the nizamat of Bengal. Her reputation as a pious lady of virtuous disposition has been mentioned by some contemporary chroniclers. Due to some domestic fray, she parted with her husband and came to reside in Murshidabad with her son Sarfarāz Khān in great splendour. It was probably, then, that the mosque in question was constructed by her.

On the other hand, we do not have any information about Sarfarāz Khān's wife: even her name is not mentioned in chronicles. Chulām Husain has gone so far as to say that '.. Sarfarāz Khān had no married consort of his own rank, but only concubines........'; The author of the Ri'yāqī's-Salātīn, though mentioning only casually the 'wedded Begams' of Sarfarāz Khān who were banished by 'Aliwardī Khān to Dacca after Sarfarāz Khān's defeat and death at the battle of Giria, does not give any further account of them. We find the names of other prominent ladies who took active part in the politics of that period or who were reputed for their acts of munificence for the sake of religion, but the name of Sarfarāz Khān's wife is not included among them.

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1 Mitra, op. cit.
2 Ibid.
3 For references to her, please see Charles Stewart, History of Bengal (London, 1813), p. 410; Chulām Husain Khān, Siyāsī-Mu'ta'abkhhīrīn (Lucknow, 1897), vol. II, pp. 470, 492, etc.; Chulām Husain Sallīm, Ri'yāqī's-Salātīn, Eng. tr. Abduss-Salām (Calcutta, 1904), p. 321.
INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA

(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1136, from a mosque at Naginabagh, Murshidabad (p. 25)

Scale: 1:12

STATE MUSEUM, HYDERABAD

(b) Inscription of 'Alā‘ūd-Dīn Bahman Shāh, dated A.H. 754, from Gulbarga (p. 31)

Scale: 1:12
The text of the inscription in question reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (a)*

(a) *Right slab.*

(1) خلایق سجدگه عرش خارم
(2) بهشت آنین مقامی ساخت بیکم

(b) *Central slab.*

(i) 1st panel:

(3) تعالی انت عجایب مسجد ساخت
(4) که بر فراق ملاکه سایه انداده

(ii) 2nd panel:

(5) چه مسجد [؟] صفا مانند جنت
(6) چه مسجد معنی ایجاد رحمت

(iii) 3rd panel:

(7) بیا درخست از عقل امداد جسم
(8) حدث این نزول آباد جسم

(c) *Left slab.*

(9) خرد گفتا مكان فیض اینست
(10) بنای عزت دنیا و دنست

1136

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This empyrean-roofed place of prostration for the people of the world (and)
(2) this paradise-like place has been constructed by the Begam.
(3) Glory be to God! What a wonderful mosque she has constructed
(4) which has thrown a shadow over the forehead of the Angels!
(5) *What a mosque!* (It is) like paradise on account of purity.
(6) What a mosque! (It) means the improvisation of (Divine) mercy.

(7) For its date, I sought the aid of Reason;

(8) I sought to know about the coming up of this abode abounding in descents (of mercy)

(9) Wisdom said, 'This is the house of bounty;

(10) (this is the) foundation of the honour of this as well as the other world'.

(11) (A.H.) 1136 (1723 A.D.).

The chronogram, contained in the last hemistich, yields the date given also in figures.
INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE STATE MUSEUM, HYDERABAD

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

Of the seventeen Arabic and Persian inscriptions exhibited in the State Museum, Hyderabad, as many as thirteen—eleven from Raichur and one each from Mudgal and Shahpur—have been previously published in this Series.1 Three of the remaining four come from Gulbarga, now in Mysore, and one from Bidar. While readings of the published inscriptions are complete and accurate for the most part, there have crept in at a couple of places errors either of print or through oversight. It would be worthwhile to point out these mistakes before we proceed further with the study of other inscriptions.

Taking the Mudgal inscription first, it will be seen that the name occurring in the last line of the text is """"زم "" and not """"زم """", the letter "" being distinct in the plate.2 The rest of the reading is correct.

Of the Raichur inscriptions, the reading of the record belonging to Mahmūd Shāh Bahmani’s reign needs to be corrected in two or three places. This inscription is said to have originally belonged to Shākar Bāoli near Kāli Masjid in Raichur and records the construction of the well and its adjuncts by Nūru’d-Dīn Karim, a disciple of Nī’matu’llāh Wali.3 In line 10 of the reading of this epigraph, the first word is left undeciphered.4 I venture to suggest that the word is """"باجمال """" and the reading of the whole line should be """"باجمال """", i.e., ""(if a friend reads it some day), he may come to our rescue with a prayer"" (lit., with the recitation of "" "" the opening chapter of the Qur'ān). Again, the first word of the line 11 has been read as """"نئ "" "", but in my opinion "" "" should be the correct reading, as there is no trace of the letter "" "" in the plate.5 But these are mistakes of minor nature. However, there is a mistake of some consequence in the reading of the text engraved in the right vertical panel, which has been read thus:""من سرامست خان عشر "" ""شبان المعظم إلخ"" . The first part of this reading which is translated as ‘I am Sarmast Khān’ is difficult to comprehend, as this name stands out of context and hence, it is apparent on first sight that there is some mistake in the reading of this portion. A close scrutiny of the plate will reveal that the correct reading should be ""خامس عشر من شبان المعظم إلخ"", i.e. 15th of (the month of) Sha'bānu’l-Mu’azzam. It will be observed that """" of """"خامس "" has been inscribed above the word """"من """" has been misread as """"مست """", while what has been read as """"سر "" between """"من """" and """"مست """" is nothing

2 Yazdani, op. cit., pl. XI (b).
3 K. M. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 13.
5 Ibid.
but the decorative motif in the form of repetition of the letter 'س', as has been done, practically throughout, in the inscription. Moreover, there is no trace of 'ئ' of the so-called reading 'خان' in the plate. There should, therefore, be no doubt about the accuracy of the amended reading, suggested above, which has been checked on the stone by me in the course of one of my visits to the Museum.

In another inscription of the same king recording the construction of a mosque, the published text contains three mistakes, all of print. But no attention has been drawn to the fact that at least in two places the scribe or the engraver has been guilty of the act of omission and commission in the design or engraving of the text, which was perhaps due to the intended intricate calligraphical style. Thus, for example, in line 2, the letters 'نه' beneath 'نه' are superfluous, while in line 4 the words 'س هولاول' have been left out. Similarly, another inscription designed by the same scribe contains omission of letters or parts of words: It also belongs to the reign of Mahmud Shah Bahmani and records the construction of the Fatih Burj. Here, as in the previous instance, the 'م' of 'المكرم' and either 'بن' of 'بن نظام الفدين' or 'زو' of 'شمور' are not to be found in the plate. This may perhaps be due to the not so uncommon arrangement of calligraphical style whereby a single letter is made to serve the purpose of two.

Lastly, we may take up the reading of the inscription that originally appeared on the Qadiriyyah Burj. This inscription has been correctly read except that the reading of the date, viz. A.H. 1039, requires careful scrutiny. My reading of the date is not '١٠٣٩' but '١٠٣٩'. The error in the reading is due to the fact that the figure '١' is not quite distinct on the stone, but even then it is not '١٠٣٩'. A minute observation of this figure in the plate will show that the figure is really '١'; its circular portion on the right has lost its sharpness and distinctness due to the wear and tear of time, with the result that the two fork-like sides of the portion have been merged into one thick line creating an illusion of two lines. Consequently, I have no doubt at all that the correct reading of the date is A.H. 1049 and not 1039. It is corroborated by the fact that Malik 'Abdul-l-Wahhab, son of Raihun, who is mentioned in the inscription under review as deceased had died not earlier than A.H. 1048, as the epitaph on this tomb at Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh tends to show.

The Shahpur inscription in the Museum recording 'the building of a mosque or some other shrine', was published by Dr. G. Yazdani, who read it as under:

يعد سلطان سلطان على عاداشاء ثاني ........ ملكته ........ شيخ أبوالفحسن بن قاسم
عبدالعز يز ................ خ١٨
١٠٣٩

1 In the translation of the text in the left vertical panel, the words 'Husain, son of' after 'vais' have been left out in print.
2 Ibid., p. 13, pl. V(b).
3 Ibid., p. 16, pl. VI (a).
4 Ibid., p. 21, pl. IX.
5 Z. A. Desai, 'Some Unpublished Inscriptions from Kurnool', *EJAS*, 1955, pp. 37, 41-42. A somewhat detailed notice of 'Abdu'l-Wahhab will also be found there.
6 Yazdani, *Inscriptions of Shahpur, Gogia and Sagar, etc.*, *EIM*, 1931-32, p. 5, pl. IV (b).
The epigraph is badly damaged and the letters have become somewhat indistinct. However, after a few concentrated efforts, I have been able to decipher almost whole of the portion left unread by Dr. Yazdani. My reading of the inscription is this:—

بعود سلمان الفارسي، تتميز الساحة في عالم ملكه عبد المومن شيخاء أبو الواثنين

فاضي محمد بن عبد العزيز؟ تتميز صاحب

1048 هجري

In this connection it might be of some interest to know that in Shahpur, there is another inscription mentioning Shaikh Abu'l-Hasan of the last-mentioned record and also engraved in the same calligraphical style. Dr. Yazdani had also published a reading of this inscription which is unfortunately not satisfactory. This inscription is fixed in the left wall of a well situated at a distance of about a furlong from the Travellers' Bungalow towards the west, and according to Dr. Yazdani, ‘records the building of a tomb and a mosque by one Abu'l-Hasan in memory of a pious lady named Junaid Bi’. This statement is true only to the extent that the building of a mosque and a tomb by Abu'l-Hasan are referred to in the epigraph. But the person in whose memory the buildings were set up is not a lady Junaid Bi by name, but a saint Babu Sistanji who was ‘Junaid the second' in saintliness. The inscription also refers to the fact that the saint died on the 8th of Rabi' II of an unspecified year. Dr. Yazdani's reading runs as under:—

جند بن ما ما سنججل ألمه
که کشت هکمک وصال خود وافق
چهار دوم دوم آن جوز دوم
ز کشکش و فاکش اخلاقی
همیشه بود از جوز ابولاحسن عاطف
پکشکش..... کرد روده و مسجد

I venture to suggest the following reading:—

بنود هیکیکی راز غیب را کشف

که کشت هکمک وصال خود وافق

چهار دوم دوم آن جوز دوم

ز کشکش و فاکش اخلاقی

همیشه بود از جوز ابولاحسن عاطف

که آنکه گنگ ... ژوشت و واصف

It is intended to study in this short paper the remaining four inscriptions exhibited in the Museum in chronological order. Covering a period of about three hundred and fifty years, they represent the Bahmani, Adil Shahi and Mughal rulers. It should, however, be remembered that these inscriptions do not originally belong to any single place but were found at Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur as will be described at their respective places.

3 (The word *waqfit* meaning a marina is somewhat out of place here, although it is used in the well-known ghazal of Imam Ghazi—Dr. Yazdani, *Ibid.*, En. 2.) For the saint, who was a disciple of Sheikh Miansh Shamsul Lahab, see M. Abdul Jabbar Khan Malikpuri, *Ta'la khai lalig and Alama Dukail* (Hyderabad, A.H. 1392), p. 992.
INSCRIPTION NO. 1

This inscription, which forms the earliest record of the group, originally belonged to the mosque of Malik Saifu’d-Din Ghori, situated at a short distance outside the Zanjiri gate of the Fort at Gulbarga. The mosque is a structure of modest dimensions built in ribatie style and is now used as a place of worship by the Hindus. The inscriptive slab which had been broken into four pieces lay at an old shrine, about a hundred yards from the mosque, before it was shifted to the Museum.

The importance of the inscription was recognised as early as in the first decade of this century, when Major T. W. Haig published a reading of its text along with a translation and a short note in the first number of this Series. Major Haig, who did not publish its facsimile, commented as follows on this inscription:

'This is, from an historical point of view, the most interesting of the inscriptions at Gulbarga. It records the foundation of a mosque by one, who was apparently, a darwâsh of some sanctity, but the stone on which it is cut is now broken into pieces, and lies by an old shrine just without one of the gates of the fort. It is difficult to decipher and I am not satisfied that the readings are correct in every case, but the important part of the inscription, the name and title of the king in whose reign it was cut, is clearly legible, and removes all doubt as to his correct style. The legend which connected the patronymic Bahmani with the caste-name Brahman is thus shown to have no foundation in fact.'

The reading given by Major Haig is not free from mistakes and misprints though the inscription is not as ‘difficult to decipher’ as he would have us believe. His statement, too, that the builder was apparently a darwâsh of some sanctity is purely conjectural and has no evidence in the text to support it. Moreover, since the inscription has not been illustrated so far, it is only proper to republish it and give its facsimile so that its correct reading can be duly authenticated and also, the students of Muslim epigraphy can have some idea of the script in which this earliest of the Bahmani inscriptions is executed.

The record is in Persian prose and comprises three lines of writing engraved in relief on a piece of slab measuring 48" by 21". It records the construction of the mosque by Saif Daulatshah Zalbiyya in A.H. 754 (1353-54 A.D.), during the reign of the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, ‘Alau’d-Din Abu’l-Muzaffar Bahman Shâh. The style of writing is Nashk in bold hand which, in general outlines, is not at all different from the calligraphy that marks the inscriptions of the Tughluq period. It is only natural that the newly created kingdom could not remain free, as in the sphere of architecture, from the traditions of calligraphy prevalent in the northern kingdom from which it had just separated itself.

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1 T.W. Haig, 'Inscriptions in Gulbarga', E.I.M., 1907-08, p. 1. A short description of the mosque, along with a somewhat better reading of the inscription than that of Haig is to be found in Bashirul-Din Ahmad, Wazirat-i-Mandlayat-i-Bijapur, vol. III (Agra, 1915), pp. 508-09.

2 Haig, op. cit. For Dr. G. Yazdani’s views on this aspect of the well-known story, see E.I.M., 1927-28, p. 20 and ibid., 1931-32, p. 11. For further contribution on the subject of the lineage etc., of the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, see H. K. Sherwani, The Bahmanis of the Deccan (Hyderabad, 1953), pp. 28, 42, 48-50; Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini, 'Was Hassan (Bahman Shah) called Bahman?’, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad Dn., Vol. XXXII, no. 1, Jan., 1958, pp. 51-52, pl. I. The reading and interpretations of Dr. Husaini, who also published his views on the subject in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, Vol. I, no. 1 (Dacca, 1950), p. 76, pl. I, are somewhat unity and could only be commented upon in a note at the end of this article which was written in 1957.
The correct reading of the inscription runs as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (b)*

(1) این مسجد مبارک اللہ تعالیٰ و تیارک بھیمغ ایت اللہ خیبرات و تبیع اقبال معاذات

خدا نگان سلطان

(2) علان و الدین ابیالمظفر بهمن شاه سرطان دینه و دنیا بنده امیدوار

*حضرت کریم* و

(3) سیف دولتش زلیبیا در شهور سلیم و خسین و سبعمائی عمارت کریم ایت الاباد

اباد باد بحق عاری بیت مصور و کعبه مشهور

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This auspicious mosque for the sake of God, the most Exalted and Blessed, during the reign of the layer of the foundations of good deeds and the altar of the good fortune of praiseworthy actions, the lord of Sufis,

(2) 'Ala‘ud-Dunyā wa‘d-Din Abu‘l-Mu‘azzafar Balhman Shāh, may God prosper his religion and his world, the creature, hopeful of the presence of the Almighty, (namely)

(3) Saif Daulatsah Zalibiyā, constructed in the months of the year seven hundred and fifty-four. May it remain till eternity of eternities through the grace of the Great builder of the Prosperous House and the Celebrated Ka‘ba.

It will be seen from the above reading that the correct name of the builder is Saif Daulatsah Zalibiyā. It is obvious that Saif was his own name, and Daulatsah that of his father. But the term Zalibiyā suffixed to these names is intriguing. This word is so clearly inscribed in the record that no other reading, not even Zakariyyā as commonly accepted, is admissible. We have, therefore, to accept as almost certain that Zalibiyā was the nick-name by which Saif was known among his contemporaries.

Likewise, it is difficult to establish his true identity as we do not come across any specific mention of this name in available historical records, contemporary or later. There have been more

1 Haig, op. cit., reads ‘‘اَنْهَ‘‘.

2 Ibid. has ‘‘تَطْلِع‘‘ which is obviously a misprint.

3 Ibid. omits.

4 Ibid. reads ‘‘دِوْلَتِهُمْ‘‘.

5 Ibid. has ‘‘حَضْر‘‘, a misprint.

6 Ibid. reads ‘‘سِیْفَ الدِّوْلَةِ شَاهِ زَکْریَا‘‘.

7 Ibid. reads ‘‘تَ‌نََان‘‘ before ‘‘ایت‘‘.

8 Zalibiyā is described as a sort of fritter or pan-cake (Steingass, London, 1947), p. 620.
than one person, with names answering nearest to this nomenclature, who are to be contemporary with the record under study. For example, the contemporary 'Iṣāmī mention 'n-e Qādī Saif, the muqta' of Arka who, in about 1352 A.D., defected from Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and joined Alau'd-Din Bahman Shāh. A noble, Saifu'd-Daula by name, is mentioned in an inscription, dated ten years earlier, from the Qandhar Fort in Nanded district of the erstwhile Hyderabad State. Then there is Malik Saifu'd-Din Ghori, after whom the mosque where the present inscription is reported to have been originally set up, is popularly known. Similarly, we find at least two nobles of repute who have lived during this period and who bore the same Daulatshah; one of them is Daulatshah al-Bībakī, a prominent noble under Ghīyūsh'd-Din Tughluq Shāh and his son Muḥammad Shāh, while the other is Daulatshah, the Muhammad-bāghī of Alau'd-Din Bahman Shāh himself. While thus the identity of either the son or the father cannot be established satisfactorily, it would be wrong to say that he was apparently a daru'ī as Major Haig is inclined to believe.

As regards the date of the record, it has been opined that the era meant is Shubār Sun and not Hijra, and hence the words ‘دور نہور انہ’ taken by Major Haig to denote the Hijra era, should in fact mean the Shubār era. While it is true that the Shubār era had made its appearance in Deccan about a decade earlier, it is not wholly beyond doubt if the present inscription was dated in that era. Consequently, I have taken it to mean Hijra era only.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

Nothing is known regarding the findspot of this inscription except that it was brought to the Museum from Raichur. Unfortunately, this epigraph, engraved on a slab of stone measuring 34” by 28”, is so badly damaged and weathered that it is difficult to make out its purport. The letters have mostly abraded and disappeared so much so that it is not possible to decipher anything save a word here and there. However, according to my reading of one hemistich, it is dated A.H. 798 (1395-96 A.D.) which falls in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani II who ruled from A.H. 780 (1378 A.D.) to A.H. 799 (1397 A.D.). This date can be safely assigned to the epigraph on palaeographical grounds also. The style of writing is practically the same as to be found in the inscriptions, mostly of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmani I (1358-1375 A.D.) and his successors, to be found at Gulbarga and elsewhere. It is difficult to say anything else about this inscription, but it is fairly certain that the record belongs to the last half of the fourteenth century and represents one of the earlier Bahmani rulers.

1 'Iṣāmī, Farṭuṣ-Salāfīn, Aga (Agra, 1938), pp. 553, 554, 555. A later author, 'Alt Tabāṣṭakī, Bahrān-i-Ma-
2 'Iṣāmī, Farṭuṣ-Salāfī, Aga (Agra, 1938), p. 22, however, names him Mu'ina'd-Din.
3 E.I.M. 1919-20, p. 21.
4 He died in 1397 A.D. Firāhīs the only historian to mention this nobleman. For a detailed account of his career, see Sherwani, op. cit., pp. 61, 78-80, 89, 91, 92, 116, etc. The grave of Malik Saifu'd-Din Ghori is shown at Gulbarga in one corner of the terrace on which the tomb of Alau'd-Din Bahman Shāh stands.
5 Daulatshah Muḥammad al-Bībakī is mentioned in contemporary histories of Barani and 'Iṣāmī and also in a few inscriptions from Broach and Cambay in Gujurat (E.I.M, 1933-34, Supplement, pp. 35-37; Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1936-37, Appendix D, No. 42).
6 Tabāṣṭakī, op. cit., p. 16.
7 K. M. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 12.
8 For example, cf. ARIE, 1938-39, App. D, Nos. 105, 112, etc.
INSCRIPTION NO. 3

This bilingual epigraph, originally from Bidar, is an interesting record engraved on a slab measuring 19" by 28". A little more than one third of the slab contains a Persian inscription beginning with one line of religious text in Arabic. This version is followed by a Sanskrit record in twenty-one lines incised on the stone in Nāgari characters.

The Persian version contains eight lines of writing engraved in relief in Nāshī characters with a definite tendency towards cursiveness which with the passage of time, latter, took shape. In other writings, of the calligraphical form known as Shikasta. The writing which seems to have been originally carved in low relief has been affected considerably due to the weathering of the stone and wear and tear of time with the result that the letters have almost lost whatever prominence of relief they originally possessed. Consequently, the inscription has become difficult to decipher and that is probably the reason why this interesting record has remained unpublished till now.

The Persian record, besides the religious text in the first line, comprises two lines of prose and five lines in verse and, runs to the effect that a step-well was caused to be constructed on the 14th Jumādā lII, A.H. 848 (28th September, 1441 A.D.), during the reign of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī II, by Makhdūma-i-Jahān, Bibi Shahnāz, obviously for public use. Makhdūma-i-Jahān is further mentioned in the inscription as the mother of Khān-i-Mu'azzam and Khāliq-i-A'mam Mahmūd Khān. Thus, this record mentions, besides the king, two more members of the royal family. Mahmūd Khān is probably none other than the king's brother who was given charge, towards the close of his father's reign, of Malur, Kullum, etc., which, he is said to have held till his death.1 If this identification is correct, Makhdūma-i-Jahān Bibi Shahnāz would be a wife of Ahmad Shāh I, and probably, a daughter of Muhammad Shāh II, in which case the name of this queen-mother, not mentioned in historical works, becomes known to us only through the present epigraph. It is also to be noted that the text of this inscription explicitly makes the Bahmanī kings' descendants of the great Persian heroes Bahman and Darā.

As regards the Sanskrit version, Shri R. M. Joshi, Director of Records, Agra Pradesh, now retired, had told me in the course of my visit to Hyderabad in 1957 that quite sometime back he had prepared a reading and translation of the same. On my informing him that I proposed to edit the Persian version, he kindly agreed to send me his study on the Sanskrit counterpart which is published immediately after this article (p. 38).

The Persian version reads as follows: —

\text{Plate VIII (a)}

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم فاتحة خير حافظا و هو ارحمد الراحمين يا غفور
(2) ذكر بناه؟ تاريخ جهار دهم ماه جمادا الآخر سنه؟ ثمان و اربعين و امامايه
(3) محمد نجاح
(4) بيبه شهناز والده خان معظم خلف؟ اعظم عمود خان
(5) شد فنا ابن بالين ار عون خداى كن تکان
(6) وب سال از هجرت بلغامر آخر زمان
(7) بيبه شهناز و هبة و عبد شة عادل كى بود
(8) جهان و هشت و هبة و عبد شة عادل كى بود

\footnote{Tabāštāni, op. cit., pp. 54, 64, 71; Sherwani, op. cit., pp. 206, 210.}
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(6) مادر عموط خان مهوری؟... شاه
(7) عورت شاهبة سعادت باک دامن بود تا
(8) بر کشاپید از پهیران جان بصدق دل زبان

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. 'For, God is best as Protector and He is the Most Merciful among the merciful.' O Forgiver!

(2) Account of the construction, on the 14th of the month of Jumādā II (of the) year eight and forty and eight hundred, (by) Mākhdūma-i-Jahān

(3) Bibi Shahnāz, mother of the magnificent Khān and great royal scion Maḥmūd Khān:

(4) This step-well was constructed, through the help of the Lord of the universe; the year, from the Hijra (exodus) of the last of the prophets, was

(5) forty and eight and eight hundred and (it was) the reign of the just king, who is directly descended from Bahman Shāh and Dārā Shāh, namely, Ahmad (Shāh), the protector.

(6) (The builder is) the mother of Maḥmūd Khān of Mahūr (?) ....... king ............. .

(7) She was a fortunate woman and chaste; hence, such a running bounty came into existence (through her). Whosoever drinks water therefrom,

(8) may, at every moment, loosen the tongue from the gird of soul with sincerity of heart in the prayer (i.e., pray sincerely and heartily) for the happy end of these three personages.

It will be seen from Shri Joshi’s article on the Sanskrit version referred to above that while the Persian record bears the date equivalent to 28th September, 1444 A.D., the Nāgari counterpart bears a date which is seven days earlier. As regards the correctness of the gist of the Sanskrit version given by Shri Joshi, I do not consider myself competent enough to say anything except that it is definitely not quite clear, which fact may perhaps be due to the damaged nature of the record. For example, it would not be out of place to refer to a few points in Shri Joshi’s article here. Firstly, it is not clear from his gist of the Sanskrit version as to whether king Ahmad referred to therein is Ahmad I or Ahmad II. Likewise, the statement that ‘Maḥmūd Khān had endeavoured to spoil the interests of her (queen’s) son’ is somewhat confusing and is not cleared by Shri Joshi’s explanation quoting the incident of the rebellion of Ahmad II’s brother. For, the king’s brother who revolted unsuccessfully at the instigation of Deva Rāi is Muḥammad Khān and not Maḥmūd Khān who was also another brother of the king. Lastly, the queen Zebā Chelira, daughter of the Raja of Sангmeshwar and Aghā Zainab have evidently nothing to do with the queen of the inscription, as the latter was the queen-mother, i.e. wife of Ahmad I and mother of Maḥmūd Khān whose name, according to the Persian version, as seen above, is Bibi Shahnāz.

The Sanskrit version, it will be observed, is far more detailed than its Persian counterpart, but it is a pity that a fuller reading of the same was not possible.

1 Qur’an, ch. XII, v 64.
2 The Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who was referred to in the matter, informs that the reading is incorrect in many places.
(a) Bahmani inscription of a step-well, dated A.H. 848, from Bidar (p. 33)

(b) Step-well inscription of Aurangzeb's reign
dated A.H. 1105, from Gijbarga (p. 35)
INSCRIPTION NO. 4

This inscription, the last of the present study, is from Gulbarga, where it is reported to have been found in the course of clearance of a bādi (step-well) in the Furman Tālāb. Major Haig has included this inscription also in his article on the inscriptions of Gulbarga referred to above. While his reading is almost accurate except in one place, the translation reads the word 'Mir' in both the places as 'Nūr'. He also reads the regnal year as 'Si w Hent' instead of 'Si w Hent' as will be pointed out later. Moreover, this inscription also, like other inscriptions of Gulbarga noticed by him, has not been illustrated nor has any mention been made as to the style of its writing, etc. Hence, it was deemed proper to include it also in the present article.

The record comprising four lines of writing in Persian prose is inscribed in Nasta‘liq characters in relief on a slab of stone measuring 23" by 15". The writing has lost its sharpness of outline in most places, but from what can be judged from its present state, its calligraphy is of a fairly good order. The epigraph records the construction, obviously of the step-well, by Mir Muḥammad Shafi, son of Khwāja Mir in the year A.H. 1105 (1691 A.D.). One Muhammad Shafi, without the prefix Mir, is mentioned as one of the officials of Aurangzeb in the Mughal chronicles. He was killed in a skirmish between the group of royal officers, sent by the emperor with the robes of honour etc. for Prince Mu‘azzam immediately after the fall of Golconda and the troupe, headed by Shaikh Nizām of Hyderabad, at Mangal. He was then the mughāri of the deorhi and is probably the same officer who had previously held the offices of the mughāri of the ghulākhāna and of the mir-i sāman of Prince Muḥammad Sultān. This Muhammad Shafi may have been identical with the builder of the step-well referred to in the present record.

The inscription reads as under:

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

(1) در عشر پادشاه عالمگیب میر محمد نفیع
(2) ولد خواجه میر بتاریخ بیست و هفتم شهر ثامان سنہ
(3) سی و هنت مطابق سنہ یکموزار و یکم و پنج هجری
(4) فی سبیل الله تیار نمود

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the emperor ‘Alamgir Ghāzi, the servant Mir Muḥammad Shafi;
(2) son of Khwāja Mir, on the date 27th of the month of Sha‘bān, year
(3) thirty and seven (of the reign), corresponding to the year one thousand, one hundred and five of the Hijra era,
(4) constructed this in the way of God (i.e. for God’s sake).

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1 Bashirud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 503, where the text is probably copied from Major Haig, op. cit., p. 9.
2 Haig, op. cit.
3 Sāqī Musta‘id Khān, Mu‘ādhir-i-‘Alamgirī (Calcutta, 1871), p. 268.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 205.
6 Ibid., p. 146, where the instance of the death of two persons who had descended into the well in his Hāshī for taking out the bucket that had fallen and the near-to-death condition of the third man is related.
7 DGA/60
Major Haig has read the regnal year as "س و هشت", while I prefer to read it as "س و هفت", for in my opinion, the rounded portion of the letter "ف" has been obliterated on the stone, thus giving the impression that the said letter is "ش". A close scrutiny of the plate will show that there is space only for the letter "ث" with one dot above and not for the three-notched "ش". Moreover, the regnal year thirty-seven was not yet over on the 27th Sha'bān, A.H. 1105 (13th April, 169 A.D.), the date of the record.

Note.

After the article was written, I was required to go in the beginning of January 1958 to Iran where I remained for about a year. In Tehran, on going through the then latest issue of the Islamic Culture, I found that the last to refer to the inscription of 'Alīu'd-Din Hasan Shāh (No. 1, ante) and in a sense to edit it is Dr. S. A. Q. Husaini, who published its text, translation with notes and plate in the course of his discussion on the title Bahman of the above-mentioned prince. 1

It has been the sad experience of the writer that the study of inscriptions having a bearing on some aspect of Indo-Muslim history or otherwise, as published in leading journals in our country is usually found to lack due care or exactness of details in the preparation of the reading and translation of the texts. In a few instances, the readings which are faulty are found to be insisted upon as correct while their translations also, in some cases, leave much to be desired. A few such instances have been pointed out in a previous number of this Journal. 2 Since quite a number of writers on the subjects concerned with Indo-Muslim history are not fully conversant with Persian and Arabic and hence, are dependent on the English versions of the original sources, it is felt that Dr. Husaini's views may be examined here in brief.

It is evident that Dr. Husaini was not aware of the fact that the inscription was quite some time back removed to the Hyderabad State Museum from Gulbarga and that it has been previously published, at least twice, first by Major Haig and subsequently, by Bashirud-Din Ahmad. Dr. Husaini may have first got his information about this inscription from Major Haig's article in JaLB, 1904, Extra, pp. 2-3. 3 Unfortunately, not only does Dr. Husaini's study of the epigraph under notice fail to improve materially the readings of either Haig or Bashirud-Din Ahmad, but on the other hand, it contains a few errors and misleading statements both in the reading of the text as well as in the translation and notes which should not perhaps go uncorrected in the interest of the Perse-Arabic paleographic studies. While a comparison of Dr. Husaini's observations with the study given above will bear this out, attention in particular is invited to the following points:

In the first line of the text as read by him, the reading "نله" is a mistake for "نله".

The word read by Dr. Husaini as "زليبية" in the second line reads "زليبية" on the stone; there is no trace of "لف" in the plate illustrating Dr. Husaini's article, while the dots of "ع", "ب" and "ى" in "ليب" are quite distinct in the illustration.

1 Dr. S.A. Q. Husaini, 'Was Hasan (Bahman Shab) called Bahmani ?', Islamic Culture, vol. XXXII, no. 4, January, 1958, pp. 51-52, pl. I.
2 NIAPS, for 1955 & 56, pp. 37, 107-108, etc.
3 Husaini, op. cit., p. 51.
4 Ibid.
But, apart from this, Dr. Hussaini’s remarks on the phrase denoting the name of the builder which he has read as “سیف دولتشه از کیا” are confusing and also ambiguous. For example, he translates the phrase as: ‘Sword of the Government of the King of the Pure’, and adds in a foot-note that Saif ‘appears to be the chief part of the name of the builder of the mosque’. Then again in another foot-note, Dr. Hussaini states that “شکوه از کیا” usually refers to the Prophet Muhammad. These observations, in my humble opinion, are vague and ambiguous and consequently, likely to create some confusion. As it is, Saif is the proper name; Daulatshah is also the proper name which should not be normally translated.

At another place, Dr. Hussaini states: “The ‘دولتشه’ or the form of writing of ‘دولتشه’ suggests that the builder was called so. Daulat Shah was the Shahnah-i-Bargah under Bahman Shah and was probably in charge of construction of works.” The conjecture about Daulatshah’s being probably in charge of construction of works, which seems to have been suggested to Dr. Hussaini by the term Shahnah-i-Bargah, needs to be substantiated.

It will be noticed that the name of the builder cannot be properly made out from Dr. Hussaini’s translation of the inscription. He seems to have been also aware of this point and consequently, he stated as an alternative that the orthography of the word “دولتشه” suggests that the builder was called so. The simple fact is that Daulatshah, like Saif, is the proper noun, and is not infrequently met with, as is pointed out above in the main text of my article. In short, Dr. Hussaini has not only refrained from giving the correct meaning or significance of the words concerned, but he has, in his efforts to explain these terms, perhaps unnecessarily, made certain conflicting observations.

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1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., f. n. 4.
3 Ibid., p. 52, f. n. 2.
4 Ibid., f. n. 1.
5 Bargah means ‘audience-hall’.
Sanskrit Version of the Bilingual Inscription from the State Museum, Hyderabad

By R. M. Joshi

This is a bilingual inscription carved in Arabic and Sanskrit on a rough granite. The inscription is 28.5" by 15.5" in dimension. The Arabic and Persian portion is incised over a portion of 10.5" and contains 8 lines while the Sanskrit portion occupies 18" and runs into 21 lines. This inscription was picked from the precincets of Bidar, the second seat of the Bahmani kingdom, which was first established in 1347 A.D. at Gulbarga, now included in the Mysore State. The capital was shifted to Bidar in 1422 A.D. by Aymad shah Bahmani I.

Bidar is situated on a plateau, 2330 feet above the sea-level. The distance of the town from Hyderabad is 82 miles by road and 100 miles by rail. The climate of the place is bracing but there is a great scarcity of water. The town is situated on the brink of the plateau which has the upper crust formed out of laterite, a soft rock with limonitic surface. Below this crust of a varying depth of 100 to 500 feet, there is the Deccan trap which alone can hold the rain water. Wells cannot be sunk here unless one goes to the depth of about 100 feet. This physical feature of the place is essential to understand the significance of the inscription which records the construction of a beautiful well overflowing with fresh water, the approach to which was made by steps.

The Sanskrit version relates to the reign of king Alau'd-Din Aymad II (17-4-1436 to 7-5-1458), the date being the 10th of the bright half of Ashwin, Shalivahan Saka 1366, Raktakshi cyclic year, corresponding to the 21st of September, 1444 A.D.

The writer of the text appears to have had a good knowledge of Sanskrit language and alliterated prose style which is the special feature of Sanskrit masters like Dhamal or Basabhaṭṭa. My reading of the text is as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

1 Sri Ajaya jagadgurusthi sthitah Karihne trigunapunatiti murtaye Brahmane namah
2 Tadajnaya jayata bhutale Smim bhuri pratapana .. Ahamododya Narendra pakshi Shye
3 -ou mahun Bahmani pati shahah Mahendrasya Kuberasya nagari nagariyasi apeksha
   Bedaram yasya na
4 garam nagaram imam muktamayam Pradanadyam
   puram..................Nanakam
5 Sundari Vaditrira badhirayate tribhuvana deepti bhirandha yate yasmin ra-vishena ...
   tri-rahu
6 miara padmayate yaddurgadhikrita malikam........Kotapah Kritnasayahmada
   Bahma
7 -ni narapateh mam.....mukte.....raja mahendra ................Karaaman...

(38)
The gist of the above, as far as it is decipherable, is given below:—

"Bow to the Brahma, who is the cause of the Creation, Sustenance and Destruction of the Universe, which is full of all the three qualities and transcends all the three qualities. As ordained by Him, was born great Bahmani King by name Ahmad. His glory could be compared with that of Lord Indra or Lord Kubera and his capital city could be matched favourably with the capitals of these great celestial kings. His capital was laden with pearls and other articles of wealth. His good deeds were advertised throughout the world with beat of drums that deafened the hearers. The translucence of his capital so dazzled as to cause blindness. This king was like a hawk among kings. He had overpowered king Deva Rāi of Vijayanagara. King Ahmad had a beautiful queen who surpassed the goddess of beauty and love, Rati. The queen Bibi Sultāna had he surroundings made out of rich and glittering articles (which appeared) as if besmeared by the (uice of the moon’s rays. Mahmūd Khān had endeavoured to spoil the interests of her son. But when her husband, the servant of God, was ruling the world, it was not possible that any thing could take place against their interests. She, therefore, caused to be constructed, at Bidar, where the elevated towers and pinnacles of mansions beautified the sky, a well of fresh water equipped with several steps for easy access to the water therein. The water of the well was delicious and surpassed that of the ocean. The thirsty people drank it as the chātak bird drinks directly from heavens. This well was constructed on the 10th Day of Ashwin, 1366 Stālivahan Śaka, Raktākshi. It will last as long as the Sun and the Moon are there."

Sri Deva Rāi, the contemporary of ‘Alā’ud-Din Ahmad II, had to suffer reverses on account of the non-payment of the tribute and was compelled to pay 8 lacs of Huns, twenty elephants and two hundred girls adept in the art of dance and song. This campaign against Deva Rāi was led by Muḥammad Sultān, the brother of ‘Alā’ud-Din in 1436 A.D. Deva Rāi had studied the psychology of Muḥammad Sultān in this campaign. He laid a trap and conspired against ‘Alā’ud-Din
by persuading Muhammad Sultan to assert his own independence and get half the kingdom for himself sharing it with his elder brother. Deva Rāi sent men and money to support the rebel prince. But ‘Alāʿūd-Din smelt the danger and suppressed the insurrection and softened his brother by giving him the jagir of Rajachal.1 This event had certainly put the interest of the Queen and her son into jeopardy.

After his first campaign against the Vijayanagar king in 1436 A.D., ‘Alāʿūd-Din had attacked the Rāj of Sangameshwar and obtained a beautiful daughter of the latter as a consort and she was named Zeβă Chehra. But this created some trouble in the harem. Sāgha Zainab was the chief wife of ‘Alāʿūd-Din, whom he had given the title of Malika-i-Jahān at the time of his coronation. The father-in-law, Nāsir Khān, was held in high esteem because he was descended from the second caliph ‘Umar al-Fārūq. He had received support from Ahmad Shāh, king of Gujarat, but they could not hold their own against ‘Alāʿūd-Din. But the privileges of Sāgha Zainab might have been acknowledged. The Sanskrit portion does not give the name of the Queen. But it mentions the Queen-mother. Therefore it is possible that the wife of Ahmad Shāh I is personified therein. Her name occurs in the Persian portion. This will justify the reference to the interests of the mother and her son.

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1 Sherwani, op. cit., p. 232.
(a) Inscription from Sola Khambá, dated A.H. 1070 (p. 41)

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1094, from Taragadh (p. 42)

(c) Inscription, dated A.H. 1104, from a mosque in Dargáh Bázár (p. 44)

(d) Inscription, dated A.H. 1114, from the tomb of 'Abdu'lláh Khán (p. 46)

(From a photograph)
PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS AT AJMER

AKBAR ALI TIRMIZI

In the last issue of this journal I studied Persian inscriptions of Ajmer belonging to the Mughal period and extending up to the reign of Shāh Jahān.1 In the present article, which is a continuation of the same study, it is proposed to survey the rest of the Persian inscriptions which are spread over a period of about two centuries (1659-1852 A.D.), ranging as they do from the reign of Aurangzeb down to that of the last Mughal emperor of Delhi.

Behind the Shāh Jahānī Masjid and just at the back of the shrine of Shaikh Husain is an edifice called Sola Khambā. It is so called because its three domes rest on sixteen pillars. Running around the pillars, there was at one time a fretted stone parapet, whose remains are still to be seen. The Sola Khambā is rectangular in plan (40′ by 20′) and contains five graves. Over the middle arch of the edifice facing the east there is fixed a slab of marble, measuring 1′3″ by 2′4″, at a height of about 11 feet from the floor. The slab bears an inscription in Persian verse recording the construction of the tomb by Shaikh Alau’d-din in A.H. 1070 (1669 A.D.). The date which is indicated by the chronogram occurring in the last hemistiche is also given in figure engraved at the bottom. The style of writing is Nastaliq and the metre of verses a variant of Muḥāfrān. The epigraph has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate IX(a)

(1) بناء ملك و دين خواجه معين الحق
(2) كه هست در که عالی سپه مکه ثانی
(3) جواز مرقد أن شاهباژ عرش تشین
(4) كه زیر شهر و بیضا مسلمان
(5) بنای مقبره بنیاد شیخ علاء الدین
(6) كه باد عاقبت و بیخبر ارزان
(7) جو فکر در زنی امام سال رفت خرد
(8) بکفت روانه مزیب شمر بانان

(9) 100

TRANSLATION

(1) Khwāja Mu’inu’d-Din, the asylum of Community and Faith,
(2) whose sublime mausoleum is second Mecca;
(3) in the vicinity of the sepulchre of that royal falcon whose seat is Lord’s throne.


(4) (and) under whose royal feather lies the egg of Islam,
(5) the foundation of the mausoleum was laid by Shaikh ‘Alau’d-Din.
(6) may his end be good!
(7) When Reason sought for the year of (its) completion,
(5) Wisdom said, ‘Count with ease (the words): adorned mausoleum’.
(9) 1070 (A.H.)

The phrase ‘روضة مزيب’ gives the year A.H. 1070 (1659 A.D.). According to Mr. Sarda, Shaikh ‘Alau’d-Din was a descendant of Khwaja Mu’inu’d-Din and a religious dignitary during the reign of Shāh Jahān. The author of the Mu’inu’l-Auliya makes him a cousin of Shaikh Husain. But neither of the two give the source of their information. We are, however, told by Muhammad Wārizh that on the 11th Jumāda I, in the 26th regnal year of Shāh Jahān (30th March, 1653 A.D.), Shaikh ‘Alau’d-Din the Sajjāda Nashīn of Khwaja Mu’inu’d-Din Chishtī was given a robe of honour and a female elephant, and was accorded permission to return home. Further, when Shāh Jahān visited the Mausoleum on the 28th Dhi’l-Hijja of the next year (27th October, 1654 A.D.), he distributed ten thousand rupees and gave some to ‘Alau’d-Din.

An inscription is engraved in relief on a marble slab (19' by 16') fixed in the wall of the house of Mr. Zakir Husain, an attendant of the shrine of Sayyid Husain Khing Sawar at Taragadh. Nothing is known regarding its original findspot. The purport of the record is also not clear. It is very likely that the inscription might have served as an epitaph on some tomb. The text which is executed in beautiful nastaliq characters comprises one Persian verse, the metre being a variant of Khufi. It has been read as follows:—

**Text**

*Plate IX(b)*

(1) شاد از زندگی فضل یاک خدا

(2) همست تاریخ یا امام رضا... ۹۰۴

(1) On Darwish (i.e. the beggar) was bestowed the favour of the holy Lord;
(2) the chronogram is (found in the words): *O Imam Rīḍā!* 1094.

The chronogram yields the year A.H. 1094 (1682 A.D.), which falls in the reign of Aurangzeb. While nothing is known about Darwish, it is quite likely that he professed the Shi’ite creed.

The mosque of Sayyid Muhammad in the Dargah Bāzār bears two inscriptions of the same date. One of them is found over the arches of the facade, while the other is fixed into one of the niches in the back-wall.

The former comprises nine verses in Persian composed in the Ramal metre and records the erection of a mosque by Sayyid Muhammad, a *locum-tenens* of Khwāja Mu’inu’d-Din Chishtī, during the reign of Aurangzeb. The date A.H. 1104 (A.D. 1692) as offered by the chronogram

1 Sarda, Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive (Ajmer, 1941), p. 97.
2 Imamūd-Din, op. cit., p. 279.
3 Muhammad Wārizh, Padshah Nāma, Ms. Raghunir Library, Sitamau (M.P.), vol. I, fol. 73b.
(a) Another inscription of A.H. 1101 from the Bābakī at Mosque (p. 15)

(From a photograph)

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1115, from a mosque (p. 16)

Scale: 1:4
contained in the last line is also given in figure. The style of writing is Nasta‘iq. The epigraph has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate X (a)*

1. ای خوشا دور شهنشاه جهان آفاق گر
2. دادرک شاهی که آمد زیب اورنگ کی
3. خسرو عادل شهنشاه وی وای کی
4. می تراوید از و دیوار دین مسیقی
5. هر چیا شد مسجد و حراب و منبر کو
6. نیم دیوار از و لیل و شمس و دریا
7. خاصه آن مسجد که نور دیده اهل برقین
8. قدمه ارزاب دین سید محمد میتیه
9. جانشین قطب ربیای معین الدین که او
10. هر زمان هر وقت عربوب جناب کبیر
11. رونق افزای گرامی سنبد پریان چشتم
12. زینت آرای نگوین نقش ایوان هنیه
13. کرد بیجا مایه عقیق برای علیه
14. بلکه به جه عاصمان توiqu و قرنان لنی
15. یاکس نه سی تکلف از مالانک پذیرد
16. هر که پاشد اندرو یکه احتجه پادکر خدا
17. بود ناجی درنیه تاریخ سال او خرد
18. گفت گویی الیقت نیک زیبا که بنا

(300م 110)

**TRANSLATION**

1. How happy is the reign of the emperor of the world, the conqueror of the universe, the upright king who has come to be an ornament for the throne of piety.

2. The just monarch, the saintly emperor, the lord, on account of whom the faith of Mustafa trickles from the doors and walls.

3. In every lane, wherever there is a mosque, a prayer-niche and a pulpit, the night, the sun and the forenoon read a sermon in his name;

---

1 There is a pun on the title of Aurangzeb, which literally means 'bodecker of throne'.

2 Accept his suzerainty.
(4) especially (in) that mosque which the light of the eye of the men of certainty,\(^1\) chief of the devouta, Sayyid Muhammad the chosen,

(5) the locum-teneor of the pole-star of divinity. Mu'\(\text{u}\)'n\-'d-Din, who (latter) is all the time and every moment beloved of the Almighty Lord,

(6) (and who is) the augmenter of the grandeur of the revered seat of the Chishtiya saints, (and who is) the decorator of the embellished design of the gallery of guidance,

(7) raised capital of the hereafter for the whole world (by constructing the mosque), or rather (he obtained thereby) an order and mandate of emancipation for the sinners.

(8) God forbid! He who remembers God therein for a moment, surpasses even angels, to be frank.

(9) Naji was in search of a chronogram, when Wisdom said, 'Say: excellent and beautiful Baitu'l-Miqaddas is erected'.

(10) 1104 (A.H.).

The whole of the last hemistich except the first two words forms the chronogram yielding A.H. 1104 (1692 A.D.) which is also given in figure.

The inscription on the niche, also assigning the construction of the mosque to Sayyid Muhammad, is partly in Persian and partly in Arabic verse. It is carved in relief in Nastaliq characters and comprises two verses in a variant of the Ramal metre. It has been read as follows:—

TEXT

\textit{Plate IX (c)}

\begin{center}
egin{tabular}{c}
(1) ساخت چون سید محمد بدر حق

(2) مسجدی زیبا که انا نسجد

(3) کت هاین سال تاریخ بنا

(4) حسبه تَنَیت مسجد

(5) حسبه تَنَیت مسجد

(6) حسبه تَنَیت مسجد
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\(^1\) The Sufis.

\(^{\ast}\) This can also be read as "" تنپیت "" meaning 'was built' as suggested to me by Dr. Z. A. Dossi, the editor of this journal. If this reading is accepted, it would neither conform to the metre nor agree with the rules of grammar, since the verb \textit{Baniyat} being in the feminine gender and the subject \textit{Masjid} being in the masculine gender, the construction of the sentence would definitely be wrong. (Mr. Sayyid had originally read the word as "" تنپیت "") meaning a house and hence given the date of the record as A.H. 1059, instead of which I suggested that it should be better read as "" تنپیت "" which would also yield the date A.H. 1104. It was then that Mr. Sayyid thought that "" تنپیت "" was a better reading; I had made it clear to him that while I did not want to insist on the reading suggested by me as being absolutely correct, I was still inclined to prefer "" تنپیت "" to "" تنپیت "", from the way it is inscribed, as also from the fact that "" تنپیت "" is to my knowledge an unusual term for construction, etc., of buildings. As for the grammatical and metrical irregularity shown by Mr. Sayyid, I may only say, as I pointed out to him also, that not only in India but elsewhere too, not excluding Arab countries, inscriptions are not free from grammatical and like mistakes.—Ed.)
TRANSLATION

(1) Since Sayyid Muḥammad constructed for the sake of God,
(2) an elegant mosque wherein verily we offer prostrations,¹
(3) the invisible angel, for the year of construction said,
(4) 'For the sake of God sprouts up a mosque'.
(5) 1104 (A.H.).

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields A.H. 1104 (1692 A.D.) as the date of the construction of the mosque which is also given in figure at the bottom of the inscription.

It is obvious that Sayyid Muḥammad of the present epigraph is identical with that of the previous inscription. One Sayyid Muḥammad, Muṭāwali of the mausoleum of Khwāja Muḥ’īn ud-Dīn was awarded a robe of honour, a female elephant and a present of one thousand rupees² on the 1st Shawwal of the 4th year of Aurangzēb's reign (A.H. 1071-20th May, 1661 A.D.). The other person, Nāji, the poet who composed the chronogram, is not known to us.³

The mausoleum of 'Abdu’l-lah Khān, situated on the Beawar Road just near the Allahshākhā Building opposite the present Railway goods-shed, in the quarter that is being called 'Abdu’l-lah-pūra after the name of Sayyid 'Abdu’l-lah—father of the two famous Sayyid brothers Qūbul-Mulk 'Abdu’l-lah Khān and Amīrul-Umarā Husain 'Āl Khān—is built of unpolished white marble and is square in shape with about 35 feet a side. It stands on a platform surrounded by a plinth of about 3 feet above the ground level. At the four corners are piers with half octagonal columns upon two of their sides. The columns are spanned by heavily cusped arches and the ceiling between the outer and the inner squares is flat formed of long slabs of marble. The tomb is in the centre of an inner square at the four corners of which are smaller piers and half columns with cusped arches between them. Over its northern arch in the inner face is fixed a marble slab (11" × 16") at a height of about 13 feet from the plinth. It bears an inscription, engraved in relief in Tuhfat characters, comprising a chronogram, which incidentally forms part of a Quranic verse,⁴ followed by the date in figure. The chronogram when worked out yields the date A.H. 1114 (1702-3 A.D.), and the figure on the stone which seems to indicate A.H. 1124 (1712-3 A.D.), is obviously ‘١٣٢٠’ for the ten-figure looking like ‘١’ is nothing but the result of a scratch on the stone. The text 'and ye enter my paradise' obviously forms an epitaph which cannot be that of Sayyid 'Abdu’l-lah Khān because the word ‘Azureb' in the epitaph must refer to the death of a lady. In the absence of any other evidence, we can only hazard a guess that the chronogram may refer to the death of 'Abdu’l-lah Khān's wife whose tomb is situated on the other side of the road, just opposite to the mausoleum of 'Abdu’l-lah Khān.⁵

¹ It may perhaps be better translated thus: . . . an elegant mosque so that we might offer prostrations.—Ed.
³ He may possibly be identical with Aga Muḥammad Ḥusayn with the poetical name Nāji, a poet and scribe of Aurangzēb's reign. For an account of his career and verses, see Muhammad Afdal Salīḥ Kāshgārī, Asliyatul- Shu‘arā, ed. S. A. Dilawari (Lahore edition), pp. 115-118.—Ed.
⁴ Qur’ān, ch. LXXIX, v. 30.
⁵ This tomb is of white polished marble of finest quality and though small in size, is among the most elegant buildings that Ajmer can boast of. It has but few equals as far as purity of design and delicacy of workmanship are concerned. This quadrangular mausoleum which rests on a marble platform consists of the tomb surrounded by perforated screens with a parapet and guddas but without any roof. The platform had a balustrade as is evidenced by the mutākkā holes which are still seen though the balustrade has succumbed to the ravages
The epigraph reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate IX (d)*

١١١٣

**TRANSLATION**

And ye enter my Paradise. 1114 (A. H.)

Just behind the mausoleum of 'Abdu'llah Khān to the west is situated a mosque, over the central miḥrāb of which, at a height of about 12 feet from the floor, is fixed a marble marble slab measuring 26° by 16° and containing an inscription in Persian verse written horizontally in four panels, each containing one hemistich.

The style of writing is *Nastaʿlīq*. The record states that a mosque and a garden were built under the supervision of Dānīgh. According to the author of the *Aḥsan‘a‘-Siyar*, the said mosque and the garden were built at the instance of Sayyid 'Abdu'llah Khān by Dānīgh, who also brought a channel of water from the Ana Sāgar into this garden.¹ The mosque has survived but the garden is no more. The inscription has been read as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate X (b)*

١ از اهتمام دانش تعمیر راین مکان
٢ آرایه برای زمین پاد چاودان
٣ بانی و مسجدبست نشان از جان عبان
٤ تاریخ این پنای نکو روشن جان

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Under the supervision of Dānīgh, this edifice was raised,
(2) may it adorn the surface of the earth for ever!
(3) It constitutes a garden and a mosque which are manifest indications of Paradise;
(4) (hence), the chronogram of this fine edifice is: *Garden of Paradise*. (A.H.) 1115.

The chronogram yields A. H. 1115 (1703 A. D.) which falls in the reign of Aurangzeb. The sources at our disposal do not help us in establishing the identity of Dānīgh.

¹ Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 105.
² This word is inadvertently engraved as "١١١٣" on the stone.
(a) Another inscription from the tomb of 'Abdu'llah Khan, dated A.H. 1122 (p. 47)

(b) Inscription, dated in the fourth regnal year of Farrukh Siyar, over the gateway of the same tomb (p. 48)
The mausoleum of ‘Abdu’llâh Khân described above bears another inscription in Persian verse which is engraved on a slab of marble (27" by 24") fixed on the outer face above the southern arch, at a height of about 18 feet from the ground level. The inscription begins with religious text in Arabic denoting the merciful and pardoning attributes of God and then follow five Persian couplets recording the construction of the tomb at the orders of Husain ‘Ali Khân, in A.H. 1122 (1710-11 A.D.). The style of writing is Nasta’lîq and the metre of the verse, a variation of Mu’âshâthâh.

The epigraph has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate XI(a)

(1) و هو الغفور الرحيم
     جو رخبت بست ز دار فتا بدار جنان
     امیر عادل عبد الله خان عاليشان
(2) حسن خلق علی خان نیر تابان
     که هست حسین علیخان پاتناف جنان
     دیالیت آنی ای نیست هدایت الله را
(3) اشراز فرزند ز اروه حکم لطف نشان
     باکندند که فلک روشن علیشان
     که به سید سامسی لقب بهشت لشی
(4) گفت روشن عالی بگوش دل پنهان
     سروش نهاد ز سال بنای اشرف او

**TRANSLATION**

(1) And He is the Pardoner, the Merciful.

(2) When the just noble ‘Abdu’llâh Khân of high dignity packed up his chattels from the house of frailty to the mansion of paradise,

(3) the one with Hussain-like nature and ‘Ali-like generosity, the resplendent luminary, who is by the unanimous opinion of the world, Hussain ‘Ali Khân,

(4) beckoned with commanding eye-brow having the trace of favour, to the honest person, namely Hidayatu’lâh

(5) that for the Sayyid of lofty title who took up his abode in paradise, he might construct a mausoleum of sublime dignity like heaven.

(6) The angel from the invisible (word), for the year of its noble construction, whispered into the ear of the heart saying, ‘(It is) a sublime mausoleum’. 1122 (A.H.).

The chronogram contained in the words ‘sublime mausoleum’ yield A.H. 1122 (1710-11 A.D.), which is also given in figure. The occupant of the tomb ‘Abdu’llâh Khân was a Sayyid Bârah, commonly known as Sayyid Miyân. A Hazârî under Râhu’lîlâh, he received a maqsûd in the service of Aurangzeb on the 8th Jumâdî I, A. H. 1094 (25th April, 1683 A.D.). In the 28th regnal year (A. H. 1096=1685 A.D.), he accompanied prince Shâh ‘Alam against Abu’l-Hasan, the ruler of Hyderabad, and did good service in that campaign. In the course of the siege of Golconda, when Râhu’lîlâh Khân was summoned to the court, ‘Abdu’llâh was left as his deputy at Bijapur, where after sometime he was made substantive governor. On Sunday, the 19th Sha’bân, A. H. 1101
(18th May, 1690 A. D.), he was made faujdar of Nanded. Later, he is reported to have held the Gujedari of Ajmer. Of his many sons, two figured prominently a little later: Quṣbu’l-Mulk Abdu’llah Khan and Amiru’l-Umarah Husain ‘Ali Khan, known to the students of Mughal history as ‘Sayyid Brothers’.

It is Sayyid Husain ‘Ali Khan, younger of the two brothers, who is mentioned in the record as having ordered the construction of the tomb of his father. He was governor of Ranthambor in the suba of Ajmer under Aurangzeb and later he was appointed faujdar of Hindaun near Bayana. After an eventful career during which he, along with his brother earned the title ‘King-maker’, he was assassinated by Mr Haider at Toda on the 6th Dhi’l-Hijja, A.H. 1132 (28th September, 1720 A. D.). His body was brought to Ajmer and was buried in ‘Abdu’llah Ganj.

As regards Hidayatullah who carried out the construction of the mausoleum we have no definite data. According to Mr. Sarda, Hidayatullah was a Khwajasara, but he does not quote the source of his information.

Over the main gate of the same mausoleum appears an inscription which comprises a short text in Arabic purporting to the eternity of God and frailty of everything else and the date in Hijra as well as regnal eras. The inscriptive tablet (2’11”×1’5”) which is of marble is fixed above the arch at a height of about 17 feet from the ground level. The record is inscribed in Thuluth style and reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XI(b)*

1. سنه ١١٢٤ (1) ـ
2. الله باقی و کله باقر (2)
3. جلوب فرخ شاه سنه م (3)

**TRANSLATION**

1. 1127 (A.H.).
2. Allâh is eternal and everything else is frail.
3. 4th year of the Farrukh Shâhí regime.

We are told that on the 26th Jumâdil II, A. H. 1126 (28th June, 1714 A. D.), Sayyid Husain ‘Ali Khan was at Pushkar, west of Ajmer, on his way back from Medta. Again, on the 30th

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4 Sarda, op. cit., p. 135, seems to have based his account on Akbar Jahân, op. cit., p. 165, who also does not disclose his source.
Rabi' I, A. H. 1127 (25th March, 1715 A. D.), he marched against Deccan by way of Ajmer. It is just likely that he had ordered the construction of this gateway to the mausoleum of his father round about this time.

Just near the Chhatri gate in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Khwaja Mu'inuddin lies the tomb of one Mirza 'Adil. The top of the marble sarcophagus is inscribed with an inscription in two parts, the first containing the words Allah and Muhammad in the middle and the First Creed on the right and left, while on the top is inscribed the Bismillah. The formula "يا معين" is inscribed on the top and the sides nine times. The second part contains a poetic fragment of four verses commemorating the death of Mirza 'Adil, which took place on the 29th Shawwal, A. H. 1182 (8th March, 1769 A. D.). The inscriptions are executed in Nasta'liq style of writing. The main portion of the text has been read as under:

**TEXT**

Plate XIII(a)

نيم عشرین زمان در من شهر 
و ایلحم حکمت فیضی آموده 
مخته گیپ ز تاریخ چنان گردوده 
میرزا عادل باعدل بخشان آموده

سته‌ی 1182 هجری

**TRANSLATION**

(1) At that moment, it was the 29th of Shawwal,
(2) when once stuffed with bounty joined the mercy of God.
(3) The voice from the Unknown for its chronogram said, thus,
(4) 'Mirza 'Adil, the just, is reposing in heaven'. 1182 (A.H.).

The date A. H. 1182 (1769 A. D.) given in figure is also offered by the chronogram contained in the last hemistich.

Mirza 'Adil was one of the Mirzas of Mandsaur in Malwa who governed Ajmer on behalf of the Sindhiyas. When in the year A. H. 1182 he passed away, Ajmer was under Mahadji Sindhiya.

The 'Idgah, which is situated near the Government College, has five gates and is 130 yards in length and 40 yards in width, while its enclosure is 17 yards deep. Over its central mihrab is fixed a slab of marble (1'8" by 9"), at a height of 14 feet from the floor. The slab is divided into five horizontal panels, each containing a verse. The inscription, which is executed in Nasta'liq letters

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2. The total space occupied by the epitaph is 10" by 36" and the poetical fragment 10" by 18".
and composed in Mutāqā'id metre, states that the ʿIdgāh was constructed by Chaman Baig with the help of Shamsu'd-Din in A.H. 1187 (1773-74 A.D.). The epigraph has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate XII(a)

(1) شه ملكك توحيد خواجه معين
جبن بر درس سود عرش زرين

(2) ز فيض شاه فخر و زيب جاه
يكني نبأ دين متيين

(3) ز اخت و كرم آن ولي اله
شام شمس دين نور شرع ببين

(4) ز عرص باشا كرد ابن عبيدگاه
جم بیک از روئه مدق و بیکن

(5) پاتارخ سادات خرد این گفت
شد آرایت اصل اهل دین

(6) سنہ 1184 هجری

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The king of the dominion of unitarianism is Khwaja Ma'inu'd-Din, at whose threshold the sublime empyrean rubs its forehead.

(2) Through his (Ma'inu'd-Din's) grace, he (Fakhrul-Din?) became glory and ornament of the world, unique of the age and pride of the firm Faith.¹

(3) Due to the favour and munificence of² that friend of Allah (i.e. Fakhrul-Din), he (Shamsu'd-Din) has become sun of Faith³ (and) light of the Manifest Law.

(4) Through his (Shamsu'd-Din's) help, Chaman Baig built this ʿIdgāh by way of sincerity and faith.

(5) For the year of its chronogram, Wisdom said this. The place of worship of the Faithful has become embelished.

(6) Year A.H. 1187.

The last hemistich gives the date of the construction of the mosque as A.H. 1187 (1773 A.D.), which is also given in figure. According to the Akhsan's-Siyar, Nawwāb Mirzā Chaman Baig was the son of Mirzā 'Adil Baig.⁴ He is reported to have sent from Ujjain one lakh of rupees to Maulānā Shamsu'd-Din, a disciple of Maulūf Fakhrul-Din for the construction of the ʿIdgāh. The Maļānā got it constructed under the supervision of Mirzā Ahmad 'Ali Baig. Chaman Baig was the subedār of Malwa on behalf of Mahādji Sindhi. When he died, his body was brought to Ajmer and interred in the mausoleum of Khwaja Ma'inu'd-Din near the tomb of his father and a marble sarcophagus was built over it.⁵ It bears an inscription containing four verses of didactic nature.

To the south of the mausoleum of Khwaja Ma'inu'd-Din is situated the Garnājāki Dālān built in Rajab, A.H. 1207 (February-March 1793 A.D.), by Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Watā Jāh, the Nawwāb

¹ There is probably a pun on the name Fakhrul-Din.
² It is probably a case of ʿFakhrul-Eid".
³ There is a pun on the name Shamsu'd-Din.
⁴ For Mirzā 'Adil's epitaph, see p. 49.
(a) Inscription dated A.H. 1187 from the 'Idul (p. 50)

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1237, on the Kamatke Dikau, Khwa' in, Nimroon, from p. 50.

(From a photograph.)

(c) Inscription, dated A.H. 1234, from the northern dika in Sejguvs Harman's tomb. Illustrated in p. 51.

Scale: x 23

Scale: x 25
of Karnatak. The middle arch of this dālān, which is of marble, bears an inscription comprising eleven verses in Persian, the metre being Ramāl. Then follows a line in prose giving the names of persons who looked after the construction. The text which is incised on the marble slab is inlaid with black stone. The record has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

(1) هو المعین
آن معین الدين شه شاهنشاه
(2) در حذور خواجه هر دو جهان
(3) بیر جواد و آسمان اعتقاد
(4) فام والا جاه ای درخت
(5) کرمان متمکن کریکوه بیود
(6) از خلوص نیت و صدق عقیف
(7) بر نهاد، کریکوه جه جه
(8) دما سراب مره مترد ان کردن
(9) در زمین شاهم دادشاه
(10) وجد در خود کردن لکبر
(11) کم چون تعمیر و لاجاهی است
(12) سال تاریخ خو در هر دعا
(13) از جلوش شاه رزغ و سی طلب
(14) بر نهاد، دم ای در هر دعا

TRANSLATION

(1) He is the Helper.

(2) In the court of the lord of both the world – that Mu'inuddin, the king of emperors.

(3) when that Amīl-ul-Hind (Chief of India), mine of justice and equity, ocean of generosity and heaven of devotion.

(4) namely, that Nawwab of elevated rank whose name is Wāli Jāh, having high station,

(5) (who) is a successful ruler of the dominion of Karnatak (and) who is undoubtedly a favourite servant of God.

(9) with sincerity of intention and chaste truthfulness laid the foundation of a charming edifice.

(7) with a view that people might repose therein (and thus), it may certainly be the cause of blessings.

(11) in the reign of Shāh Ḥāmī (II) the king, this edifice was constructed with glory and splendour.

(9) I sought from the heart the year of its construction, it got enraptured and opened its lips,

(10) saying, "Since it is an edifice of Wāli Jāh, (and as) its foundation is dedicated to God,

(11) seek the year of its construction in this benediction: may this blessed building endure for ever!" 1207 (A.H.).

(12) Seek thirty-five from the year of the king's accession, (and) it was completed in the holy month of Rījāb.

(13) The devoted servants of Wāli Jāh (namely), Muhammad Ja'far Khān, Qādir Yār Khān and 'Ali Muḥammad Khān had the good fortune of supervising its construction.

The chronogram constituted by the whole of the second hemistich of the 9th verse yields A.H. 1207 (1793 A.D.), also given in figure and corresponding to the date given in words as the thirtieth year of the reign of Shāh ʿĀlīm II. Nawwāb Muḥammad ʿAli Khān Wāli Jāh of Karnatak (d. 1793 A.D.) is too well-known to need any further mention here. It appears from the letters written by the Nawwāb to Mr. Stuart and Mahādji Sindhia that during an illness he had taken a vow to carry out repairs to the sacred buildings at Ajmer and also to construct a new building there; consequently, on his recovery he sent the first two of the superintendents mentioned in the inscription at the end of 1791 A.D. for fulfilling the vow. The latter are reported to have been shown much favour and consideration by Mahādji who was then in charge of Ajmer.

Near the Chhatrī Darwāza and adjacent to the grave of Mīrzā Ḥādī referred to above is a tomb which bears the following inscription executed in Nūr-bāliq characters and recording the demise of Mrsūʿād-Daulā Asad-ul-Mulk Mīrzā 'Abdul-Rahim Baig Khān Bahādur Himmat Jung who passed away on the 8th of Rabīʿ I, A. H. 1214 (10th August, 1799 A.D.).

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(1)

محمد اسم

(2)

علي فاطما حسين

(3)

حسن با ممن

(4)

معن大道شك (sic.)

(5)

میرزا محمد عبدالحمید

2 Sen, S. N., Calendar of Persian Correspondences, vol. IX (Delhi, 1949), 156-57.
3 The total space occupied by the epitaph is 10° by 50°.
(a) Epitaph of 'Adil, dated A.H. 1182, near the Chhatri gate of the Mausoleum (p. 49)

(b) Another epitaph, dated A.H. 1214, from the same place (p. 52)
(2) Allāh,
(3) Muḥammadm Alī, Baṭṭīma, Ḥasan,
(4) Ḥusain. O Muʿīn (helper)!
(5) Muʿīnu’d-Daula Asadu’l-Mulk
(6) Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Abd-
(7) u’r-Rahīm Baig Khān Bahādur
(8) ‘Himmāt Jang,1
(9) on the 29th Rabī’ I. A.H. 1214,
(10) joined the mercy
(11) of God.

It is regretted that the sources at our disposal do not help us in establishing the identity of Mīrzā Muḥammad ‘Abd’r-Rahīm.

The northern dālān of the shrine of Sayyid Ḥusain Khīng Sawār at Taragarh bears an inscription engraved on a slab of marble (2’ 10” by 4”) fixed into the frieze of the façade. The epigraphy comprises two verses in Persian2 inscribed in a panel each; in the middle are carved the phrase ‘Allāhu akbar’ and the date in figure. It registers the construction, in A.H. 1222 (1807-08 A.D.), of the dālān by Rāo Bālā Inglia at the instance of the saint in a dream. The date is given in figure, words, as well as in a chronogram. The style of writing of the record is Nustalīq. The text runs as under:

TEXT

Plate XII (r)


1 The word “‘Abd al-shahāde” is left untranslated here. Could it have been the nom-de-plume of the deceased?—Ed.
2 The metre is a variant of Ramal.
The date obtained from the inscription is 572 A.D., or 1234 A.H.

On the 1st of the 1st of the Hijri year 1234, the 2nd of the 3rd of the Hijri year 1234, and the 2nd of the 3rd of the Hijri year 1234, the inscription was completed.

The text of the inscription reads:

"..."
TRANSLATION

(1) The name of light, the source of mysteries, is the shrine of Shah Khing Sadr.

(2) Rano Gumānji Sindia, the dignified, constructed the dālān which is so very for Paradise. A H. 1227 (1811 A.D.).

(3) When Gumānji Rāo constructed a spacious building on a fortified mountain.

(4) I sought (its) chronogram; the angel from the Unknown said, 'May the enclosure endure till the day of Resurrection! A H. 1229 (1813 A.D.).

Gumānji Rāo alias Tāntia Sindia was the governor of Ajmer from A H. 1224 to 1231 (1809 to 1815 A.D.) on behalf of Daulat Rāo Sindia of Gwalior.

Just near the Anāqār embankment opposite the western entrance to the conservatory of the Daulat Bāgh, there is a Chishti of Khwaja Qutub-ud-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. A.H. 665-1265 A.D.), the renowned disciple of Khwaja Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti. It is said that the former used to stay at this place whenever he came to Ajmer to pay respects to his preceptor.

The gate to the enclosure of the Chishti bears the following inscription carved on a slab of marble (13" by 8") Compromised in the Nastaʿlīq metre, it records the construction of the tomb of Muhammad Shah along with a mosque and a Lhāwī in A.H. 1239 (1823 A D.) by Mahmūd. The date is given in the chronogram composed by one Latīf. The style of writing is Naʿḵh and the text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(1) بنا دار مجد علی الفوت ورز مجد شه دین پناه (2) سال ۹۳۳ هجری (3) ز ای ای نعمت غوری لطف ز عیتقم، مسجد و خاتم

TRANSLATION

(1) Mahmūd of lofty vision constructed the tomb of Muhammad Shah the asylum of Faith.

(2) Year A. H. 1239.

(3) For the date of its construction, Latīf says, 'How excellent is the mausoleum, mosque and monastary'.

The last hemistich forms the chronogram which gives A.H. 1239 (1823 A.D.). According to the Aḥsam ʿet-Siyar, Muhammad Shāh Khān, who is referred to in the above epigraph, was a friend of Nawāb Amir Khān of Tonk, while Mahmūd, the builder, was a deputy of the former. Col. C. J. Dixon is of the opinion that Muhammad Shāh Khān was a dependant of Nawāb Amir Khān. This is further confirmed by Muhammad Asghar 'All Abru who adds that the Nawāb paid a visit to the mausoleum of Khwāja Mu'in-ud-Din in A.H. 1239 (1823 A. D.), the year in which the tomb, mosque and Āwaʿī were constructed. As regards Latīf, the chronogrammist, no information is available.

1 It would rather be more correct to take the word "‏گوروا‏" as qualifying the verb instead of as an adjective of "‏گورد‏". The sense is obviously that a strong and spacious place was constructed on the mountain (Taraqād).—Ed.
3 Akbar Jahān, op. cit., p. 102.
5 Muhammad Asghar 'All Abru, Tarikh-i-Tonk (Agra, A.H. 1319), pp. 7, 23.
The present address of the government is part of a document as it was written by the author of the document. It appears to be a table of contents or a list of headings. It is not clear what the document is about or what language it is written in.

The text of the document is not legible due to the quality of the image. It seems to be a page from a book or a journal, but the content is not visible.

The page number at the top is 36, and the title of the document is "EPHRAIMA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN."
Qutb Shahi inscription, dated A.H. 919, from Kodangal (p. 57)
A QUTB SHAHI INSCRIPTION FROM KODANGAL.

BY PROF. H. K. SHERWANI

This interesting inscription\(^1\) is carved on two stone slabs, measuring jointly 82" by 28", which are affixed to the southern wall of the tomb of Hadrat Nizāmuddin\(^{1}\) at Kodangal in the Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. Before the disintegration of the erstwhile Hyderabad State in 1956, Kodangal, situated in 17°17' N. and 77°38' E., was the headquarters of the eastern-most taluka of the Gulbarga district, but now it is the western-most taluka of the Mahbubnagar district.

The tomb itself is a four-walled enclosure having no claim to antiquity and the inscription is not in situ. According to the local tradition, the tablet originally belonged to a ruined mosque, situated at a distance of about three furlongs from the village of Ḥusnābād or Ḥusainābād, but the mosque no longer exists. The record purports to be an endowment of two hamlets, Oler Buzurg and Oler Kuchak which were coalesced into a single town of Ḥusainābād and endowed for the purpose of providing a public kitchen for the poor and the needy in honour of the twelve Shi'ite Imāms. The endowment was made by "Malik Qutb-ul-Mulk" in A.H. 919 (1513 A.D.).

The record comprises eight lines of close writing in Persian, interspersed with Quranic verses. The calligraphy of the inscription is in the form of Taqī which was generally employed in royal farmāns. However, the calligraphist does not seem to be an expert in the art as, apart from the inequality of space, there are quite a few mistakes of spelling also to be found, such as "بیعت" for "بویعت"", "تارک" for "تارک"", "امام است" for "امام است"", "بزگ" for "بزگ"", "بیجت" for "بیجت"", "روستی" for "روستی"", "واست" for "واست"", "علی" for "علی"", etc. Some of the vowel points are also wrongly marked.

My reading of the inscription is as under:——

TEXT

Plate XV

(1) سیاس و ستایش احد ب نظر کردار نم مشیر کامگار نم نظیر لنست کمیل شی و هو

السمع البصر و صد هزاران هزار صلوات طلبات بر مرکز دانه رسان و قطب مدار نبوت محمد

امام علی و بر وصی او امام علی

(2) مرتضی و بر امام حسن رضی و بر امام حسن شهید بدرکلا و بر ما زین الماتین

مخصوص و بر امام میرزا محمد باقر و بر امام جعفر صادق و بر امام موسی کاظم و بر امام علی امام علی

موسی رضا و بر امام علی علی و بر امام علی

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(6) اما بعد جوهر هناباد این زاد نمانده اعتماد الملکوک و اسلامیان، ملک فقط:ملک ایسک امام دولتی برک و در کوشش داس و نمی‌خواهد بودند و عیب

(7) ایل بیت رسول در کنار عدم بالا نمی‌نمایند و در عین حال خواست تا روز

یافرمره من اینه و امده و ایه این نهک نامی باقی ماند این لنگر بیجید (sic) دوازده امام ساخت و دو دو یک اولیر کوجک و نهک اولیر یزرگ (sic). هر دو را یک دو کردن و نام قصیده حسین

آباد نهاده وقف لنگر مذکور کردنده

(8) در حاصل حسی در لنگر مذکور خرچ نامگرد باید که هنگ آفریده نه از شاهان و

(9) نه از وزیران و نه از خوشن و نه از ترک و از ایز و نه از یزرگ و نه از کوجک و

(10) در زبان و مهندین و از کننده و سکنده این قصیده ذکر نشده و تعریف

(11) نرسانند، ده ونگ لنگر دوازده امامست (sic) و هر که نیوذی باد دری نام و نگاه و کربند و

(12) مبادر و ... که این قصیده حسن آباد

(13) که وقف لنگر دوازده امامست (sic)، دخال سازد با تعریف رسانه در لعنة خذله و

(14) ملالکان (sic)، و رسولان و خلق اولین و آخرین باشد و ریزه (sic)، ساء دو جهان و ازشافعه

(15) محمد رسول الله دو آن روز که

(16) خلق اولین و آخرین المحمد نسب نه کربنگ بیچبیش و ریزه (sic)، ساء باشد ...

(17) تا تاریخ این وصیت نامه با تاریخ بیت الله برادر است و بهنهامه و روشن شده

۱۹ مسجد سال (sic) النفوذ بدلون این کلمه گردن خواهد سل تاریخه بیافی و السلام

TRANSLATION

(1) Praise and adulation is due to the One without an equal, the Creator without an adviser, Absolute master without an assistant. “There’s no creature like Him and He is the Plenteous, the Seer” and hundred thousands of choice blessings be (showered) on the centre of the circle of Prophethood and the pole-star of the axis of Messengership (of God), Muḥammad Muṣṭafa as well as on his Legatee Imām ‘Alī

(2) Murtaḍa, and on Imām Hasan, the one with whom God is pleased and on Imām Ḥusain, the martyr of Karbalā, and on Imām Zainu’ll-ʿĀbidīn, the Innocent, and on Imām Muḥammad Bāqir, and on Imām Jaʿfar Sādiq, and on Imām Mūsā Kāẓim, and on Imām ‘Alī, son of Mūsā Rida, and on Imām Muḥammad Taqī, and on Imām ‘Alī Naqī,

1 Qur’ān, Ch. XLII, v. 11.
(3) and on Imām Ḥasan ‘Askari, and on Imām Muḥammad Mahdī, and on the progeny of Muḥammad, all of them. Coming to the point; when Divine guidance showed the way to that mainstay of the Kings and Sulṭāns, Malik Qutb’ul-Mulk, may God cause his rule to last for ever and (since) the Divine adage of ‘And God loveth those who are the doers of good’ was sounded in the (drum of the) ear of his heart and (as) with the love

(4) of the Prophet’s household having been instilled into his mind in the veil of non-existence he was sent to the expanse of existence, he desired that (his) good name should last till the day (of judgment) when ‘man would flee from his own brother, his own mother and his father’, (and consequently,) he instituted this langar for the sake of the twelve Imāms and (ordered so that) the two hamlets, Olār Buzurg and Olār Kāchak were coalesced into one single town which, being designated Husainābād, was endowed for the said langar

(5) with a view that its income be spent for the said langar. It is absolutely necessary that no created being, whether kings, or ministers or Khaṭūns, Turks or Tājiks, great or small, black or white, slave or free, unbeliever or Muslim, for any reason whatsoever,

(6) should interfere with or come in the way of the land, the ryots, the officials, the crafts- men or the residents of the town, as it is an endowment in favour of the twelve Imāms. And whoever, God forbid, trespasses on or interferes with the land, the ryots, the officials, the crafts- men or the residents of the town of Husainābād,

(7) which has been endowed in favour of the twelve Imāms, he would incur the curses of God, c. the angels, of the Messengers (of God), and of all the created beings from the first to the last, and would be blotted out of face (disgraced) in this world and the Hereafter; and would be deprived of the intercession of Muḥammad, the Prophet of God, on the day of (Resurrection), when

(8) all the creatures from the first to the last, except Muhammad, will only be concerned with (the salvation of) their own selves, and would be black of face then. And that is all. The date of this Will is the same as that of the House of God, and is made clear in figure as well (thus:—)

A mosque founded on piety: know thou this verse with heart (i.e. sincerity), if thou wishest to know its chronogram. And peace be on thee. (A.H.) 919.

The chronogram is yielded by adding up 885 and 34, the numerical values of ‘‘سجد أسى’’ and ‘‘د’’ respectively.

The village of Husainābād, appearing in the Survey of India Map 56/G as Husnabad and in the Census of India, Hyderabad State, Gulbarga district, 1951, as Husanabad, lies in 17°3' N. and 77°39' E. Situated at a distance of about 4 miles south-south-east of Kodangal, it had a population of 2,560 in 1951, of which approximately 6 per cent was Muslim. There does not appear to be any ‘Āshūr Khāna sacred to the Imāms in the village. There is also a small hamlet named Aled, less than a mile south-west of Husainābād, in 17°2' N., 77°38' E., which may well be the Olār of our inscription, as d and r are interchangeable in Telugu.

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1 Qur’ān, Ch. III, vv. 134, 148; Ch. V, v. 93 etc.
2 Ibid., Ch. LXX, v. 34.
3 This is somewhat obscure. However, it may be that the composer of the text means that the date of the endowment is the same as one obtained by the adding up of the numerical values of the letters of the (part of the) Quranic verse describing the foundation of the (Qubā’) mosque as given in the next line.
4 Qur’ān, Ch. IX, v. 108.
The main importance of the inscription lies in the title of the first Qutb Shahi ruler which is
given as "Malik Qutb 'al-Mulk". As is well known, the title of Malik ceased to indicate exclu-
sively the office of kingship but was affixed to the names of nobles and high officials such as Malik
Maqbul, Malik Kafsir, Malik Maqth, Malik 'Ambar and the like. Here, it is not the Qutb Shah
who is endowing the property, but Qutb 'al-Mulk. This fact is in complete agreement with the
inscription on the prayer-niche of the Jami' Masjid just outside the Bala Hisar Gate in the Gol-
conda Fort,1 the introduction to the official chronicle of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, viz., Tuitkh-i-
Muhammad Qutb Shah, the note in the autograph of Muhammad Qutb Shah himself on the fly-
leaf of the Kanu 'l-Laghah in which he describes his geneology,2 and finally with the inscription
on the tombstone of Qutb 'al-Mulk himself in which he is distinctly named thus.3 I have discussed
this matter fully elsewhere.4

The endowment in favour of the langar is also interesting. Langar originally means anchor, but it has come to mean a public kitchen, endowed for pious purposes, which was like a sheet anchor ensuring the repose of the soul of its donor as well as his salvation in the Hereafter. The term was also applied to the Khansahs of celebrated saints in Persia.5 In Hyderabad, it used to mean a large procession of regular and irregular army and a concourse of thousands of people who followed it rejoicing, shouting and in a merry mood. This was started during the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah (1520-37) and continued as an annual melaa till as late as 1918. It is said to have originated when a mad elephant carried Prince 'Abdulla (later 'Abdulla Qutb Shah) to the jungle to the consension of his mother Hayat Bakshi Begam and the people of the capital. The queen vowed that if the prince returned safely, she would have a heavy chain of gold manufactured and kept in the Ashur Khana, sacred to the twelve Imams, and also would have largesse distributed. The prince returned safely and the gold langar was carried to the Ashur Khana in a huge procession along with the prince. This procession was continued even after the establishment of the Asaf Jahi dynasty and was a great function held every year. The present Nizam, who is proverbial for his parsimonious nature, discontinued it in 1918. The inscription under study is dated A.H. 919 (1513 A.D.), nearly a century before the institution of the langar procession, and it furnishes an evidence that the term langar used for a pious foundation existed long before.

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1 Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica (EIM), 1913-14, p. 48, pl. XIX(b).
2 MS. no. 77, Salar Jang Museum Library, Hyderabad.
3 EIM, 1915-16, p. 27, pl. VIII.
4 Journal of Indian History, 1935, pp. 291-86.
5 Muhammad Bada'ah, Fakhru 'l-Anwar Hajj ( Lucknow, 1892), p. 115.
INSCRIPTIONS FROM CUMBUM IN ANDHRA PRADESH

By Dr. Z. A. DESAI

Cumbum town in the taluk of the same name in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh, is situated in 15°36' N. and 19°6' E., and lies at a distance of 104 miles by rail from Kurnool on the Hubli-Bezwada section of the Southern Railway. It was formerly the headquarter of the taluk, but was abandoned during the last century owing to its unhealthiness attributed to the dirty water of its wells. Cumbum taluk was a part of Kadapa district until 1868 A.D. when, along with two more taluks, it was included in the Kurnool territories to form a separate collectorate.

Cumbum seems to have been an important place in medieval times. In 1515 A.D., it passed into the hands of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara, when he wrested Konjaviru from Pratap Rudra Gajapat of Orissa. In 1579 A.D. or in the following year, Ibrahim Qutb Shāh of Golconda, determined to punish the rajas and chiefs of Konjaviru, despatched a large army under 'Imādu'd-Dīn Muḥammad entitled Haidarul-Mulk, to march against that place. In the course of his operations, after reducing the forts of Vinukonda and Kacherlakota, Haidar-ul-Mulk marched against Cumbum, which also fell without opposition. Before leaving the place, he left a garrison there. Since then, Cumbum seems to have formed a part of Golconda kingdom. However, during the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh, a discontented officer named 'Ali Khān revolted against the royal authority and assisted by Markur Timmana, while on his way to Konjaviru, laid a seige to the Cumbum fort in an attempt to take it but was defeated. Except for this unsuccessful attempt of 'Ali Khān, Cumbum formed a part of Golconda territories and on the final overthrow of the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, passed on to the Mughals.

'Abdul-Nabi Khān, a grandson of Bahādur Khān Miya, the famous nobleman of the Bijapur court, was given the fawdhāri of Kadapa district which, later on, became a petty state, though tributary to Hyderabad like Kurnool, and Savnur. During the rule of his great grandson, 'Abdu'l-Halim Khān, Haidar 'Ali Khān of Mysore overran his country in about A.H. 1191 (1777-78 A.D.), and captured 'Abdu'l-Halim Khān himself. Haidar 'Ali annexed the Kadapa territories which included Cumbum to his dominions and bestowed it upon his brother-in-law Mir 'Ali Riḍā Khān. It was this 'Ali Riḍā Khān who made some improvements in the dam of the famous tank at Cumbum. After his death in A.H. 1195 (1780-81 A.D.), his son Qamar-ud-Din Khān seems to have been appointed in his place. In 1800 A.D., the Nizam of Haidarabad ceded to the British this as well as other districts, which he had acquired from Mysore by virtue of the treaties of 1792 and 1799 A.D., concluded at the close of the second and the third Mysore Wars.

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1 The first date is given in Briggs's Firdaws, vol. II (London, 1829), p. 436 and Heras, Aravvuda Dynasty of Vijayanagara (Madras, 1927), p. 273, while the latter, which is probably the more correct date, is given in the Inscription at Aminabad, mentioning Ibrahim Qutb Shāh's conquests in this part (Sewel and Iyangar, Historical Inscriptions of South India, Madras, 1932, pp. 262, 266).
3 Ibid., p. 448.
4 Shāh Nawāz Khān, Ma'ārifa't-Umarā, vol. II (Calcutta, 1899), p. 55.
Cumbum's association with the Qubbat Shâhi rule is evidenced by only one Persian inscription, which is to be found in the local Jami' mosque, stated to have been constructed in A.H. 1059 (1649 A.D.), by Mir Ḥusayn Aghafî Mâzandarâni, the faujdâr of Cumbum, during the prime-ministership of Mir Muḥammad Sa'dî, the famous general-statesman of 'Abdu'llâh Qubt Shâh. This record has been published in a previous issue of this Series,1 while in this short paper it is intended to study five more inscriptions from Cumbum.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The earliest epigraph of the group is found inscribed on the headstone of a grave in the graveyard adjoining the Jami' mosque of the town. It is most probably dated A.H. 973 (1566-67 A.D.), a year after the famous battle of Raksasatangadi was fought. The inscription is remarkable for its exquisite penmanship; it is excellently executed in reliefs in Naṣīḥa characters of a high order. Unfortunately, some of its letters have peeled off and a few more are in the state of further deterioration subjected as it is to the inclemencies of weather.

The record comprises the Shi'ite duʿūd, followed by the name of the occupant of the grave—a lady, obviously of Shi'a faith, and the date. The inscriptive tablet is arch-shaped, measuring 2.5' from apex to bottom and 1.9' in width.

My reading of the inscription is given below:

TEXT

Plate XVI(a)

الحكم
(1)
الله
(2)
الله
(3)
الله
(4)
الله
(5)
الله
(6)
الله
(7)
الله
(8)
الله
(9)
الله
(10)
الله

[Plate XVI(a)]

TRANSLATION

(1) Authority belongs to God only.
(2) God, Muḥammad, 'Ali.
(3-6) Shi'ite duʿūd.
(7) The grave of Bija Khâṭūn, taken into His mercy and pardoned by Him, in the year (973) A.H. 1566-67 A.D.

The hundred figure of the date is obliterated, but a careful examination of the same on the stone itself has convinced me that it is 9, and moreover there is no space for the figures 10 or 11.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The next inscription of the group is also an epitaph carved on an arch-shaped stone, now lying loose, which seems to have been disengaged from one of the many graves in the same graveyard. This record, likewise, begins with the Shiite durūd registers the date of demise of one Murtadā Quil, son of Husain Khān Dhu’l-Qadar, viz., Jumādã II, A.H. 1070 (February-March, 1660 A.D.). The style of writing is Naskh without any distinctive feature. The inscriptive tablet measures 2’7” from apex to bottom and is 1’9” wide.

The epitaph has been read as follows.--

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

الحكم لله وحد القهار (1)
درود (8)
تاريخ وفات مرحومي مغفورى مرتضى قل ولد حسین خان (9)
ذى الغفر در شهر جمادى الثاني في سنة سبعين ولف سنة 1070 (10)

TRANSLATION

(1) Authority belongs only to Allah, the One, the Subjugator.

(2-8) Shiite durūd.

(9-10) The date of the death of one who was received into His mercy and pardoned by Him, namely, Murtadā Quil, son of Husain Khān Dhu’l-Qadar (ia) in the month of Jumādã II in the year One thousand and seventy. Year 1070 (A.H.=February-March 1660 A.D.).

The name of the person referred to in the record is not traceable in available records, but like many other fellow Persian immigrants he seems to have been a man of consequence who occupied some position in the official set up of his time.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

The next inscription is again a death record of one Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf, the qal’adār of Cumbum, an officer of the reign of Aurangzeb, purporting that he died on the 25th Dhi’l-Hijja of the 50th regnal year of that sovereign. It further states that the construction of the grave took place on the 25th of the month of Muharram, probably of the following year. The grave lies on a raised platform in a graveyard known as Bagā Qubaisā which is not very far from the site where the fort of Cumbum once stood. The inscriptive tablet which is arch-shaped, measures from apex to bottom 2’3’’ and is 1’7’’ wide and 3’’ thick.

1 Dhu’l-Qadar is the name of a tribe the meaning of which in the Turkish language is an archer that never misses his aim’. (T. W. Beale, An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, London, 1894, p. 431). Quite a few members of this tribe, both in India and Iran, are found to have risen to prominence in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D.
The language of the inscription is Persian prose and the style of writting Nastaliq. The reading of the epigraph runs as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVII(a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) لا اله [الا] الله محمد الرسول (sic.)
(3) الله يتأذب بیست و پنج
(4) شهر ذی الحجه سنه پنجاه خواجہ محمد شرف
(5) فلتادار کم از نوکران خدی مکان حضرت عالم‌گیر غازی
(6) فوت شهد و قبر مرحوم بدیوی بیست و پنج محرم الحرام مرتب شد

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
(2) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of God. On the twentyfifth
(3) of the month of Dhil-Hijja in the (regnal) year 50, Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf,
(4) gāl'adār of Kumum, a servant of Khuld Makān (lit. having his abode in Paradise), Ālamgīr
Gẖāzī,
(5) died, and his grave was constructed on the twentyfifth of Muharram.

In the above inscription, Aurangzeb is mentioned with the prefix Khuld Makān, a title by which he was officially mentioned after his death. Aurangzeb had died on the 28th Dhil-Qa'd, A.H. 1118 (20th February, 1707 A.D.), while the above-mentioned gāl'adār is mentioned in the inscription as having died on the 25th Dhil-Hijja of the 50th regnal year, i.e. A.H. 1117 (29th March, 1706 A.D.), and the construction of his grave took place in the month of Muharram, A.H. 1118 (28th April, 1706 A.D.). Therefore, either there is some mistake in the record in the calculation of the regnal year, or more probably, the slab was fixed after Aurangzeb had died.

Available contemporary chronicles do not make any mention of Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf. That he was the gāl'adār of Cumbum and an officer under Aurangzeb is a piece of information I have come across only in this epigraph.

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

The next inscription which is in Persian verse belongs to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the Mughal emperor. It consists of ten couplets inscribed on a slab, measuring 1'2-2" by 2'7", which is found fixed in the west wall to the right of the central mīhrāb of the mosque situated on the other end of the town, known today as Ga-jinālā Masjid. The mosque is so called because of its situation by the side of a nālā spanned by a small mortar bridge. The epigraph records the erection of a mosque in the year A.H. 1142 (1729-30 A.D.) by Muḥammad Šāhīn son of Muhammad

1 This is how Cumbum has been spelt in this inscription.
Kāşim of Tabriz, who was the governor and nāṣīm of Cumbum in that year under the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh. The inscription is important insomuch as it makes it clear that at this date Cumbum was directly under the Delhi government and that it had nothing to do with the Kadpa chiefs.

The style of writing is Nasta’liq of a high order. The quality of verse, unlike in the case of quite a few inscriptions we generally come across, is also quite satisfactory. I have read this inscription as under:

TEXT

Plate XVII(b)

(1) هو الله سبحانه و تعالى
(2) فر در خجسته زمان شاهنشاه
(3) با حمیلی متن مستحکم
(4) خان والافدر بلد مکان
(5) در صلاح امور دین فقها
(6) این حاجی محمد کاظم
(7) آن مکان است بی بزگی خیز
(8) هم بتان را شکست مردانه
(9) ساخت مسجد دران مکان لايق
(10) بال تاریخ کنت هاتف غیب
(11) سال هجر بنی عليه سلام
(12) سن 321 هجری

TRANSLATION

(1) He is Allāh, may He be Glorified, the Most Exalted.

(2) During the august rule of the emperor, king of the world, Muḥammad Shāh,

(3) there was a well-established idol-house in Kuhnumūm which was strengthened and fortified by a small fortress.

(4-5) The Khān of lofty dignity (and) of high position, the source of generosity and mine of beneficence, the Khān (who is) the master of (high) position, (namely), Muḥammad Sāliḥ, who prospers in the rectitude of the affairs of Faith.

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5 This is how Cumbum is spelt in this epigraph.
(6) son of Ḥājī Muḥammad Kāẓīm was the ruler and governor of Kuhnum.

(7) (He is one) of the select grandees of the city of Tabriz, \(^1\) which place is celebrated for producing great persons.

(8) (He) razed to the ground the edifice of the idol-house, and also broke the idols in a manly fashion.

(9) (He) constructed on its site, a suitable mosque, towering above the buildings of all.

(10) The Angel of the Unseen communicated the date of its construction in the words: A mosque, pleasant in appearance, well founded, and elegant.

(11) The year of the migration of the Prophet, may peace (of God) be on him, was fortytwo, one hundred and one thousand.

(12) Year 1142 (A.H. = 1729-30 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The last inscription of this group is from the dam on the great tank of Cumbum, called locally Saillāb Kā Kaṭṭā, which is 'by far the most noteworthy feature of this part of the country'. The magnificent tank was formed by damming gorge amidst hills, through which flows the Gundiskamma river. It ranks as one of the largest tanks in the district and is used for irrigation purposes. As regards the history of the tank, it may be summarised thus: The Hindu sage Jamadegni is said to have commenced the tank which was further improved in the fourteenth century by Gopana Udayar, a governor of the Gajapati of Kalinga. As the embankment often gave way, two shepherd brothers were sacrificed to the goddess of water, and two villages, designated Pedda and Chinna Cumbum, were built to commemorate their names. Subsequently, after the bund was cut and the breach having remained unclosed for about fifty years, Princess Varadarājamma of the Gajapati family, who was on her way to join her husband at Vijayanagara, spent her dowry on the restoration of the tank which was from time to time repaired. Nawwāb ‘Alī Riḍā Khān, brother-in-law of Ḥaidar ‘Ali, mentioned in the inscription below, also made some improvements.\(^2\)

The arch-shaped slab of stone bearing this inscription measures from top to bottom 3'10", is 3' wide and about 3' thick. The lettering on the stone is considerably weathered owing to its exposure to the elements of nature and moreover, the slab is fixed up in such a place that it has been quite a job to prepare its inked rubbing. The site of the epigraph is about a mile and a half from the town and at the same distance from the main dam, where the P.W.D. Inspection Bungalow is situated. The inscription records the digging of a canal by Nawwāb ‘Alī Riḍā Khān in the year A.H. 1193 (1779-80 A.D.). The inscription further describes various agricultural produces of the place, e.g. wheat, sugarcane, etc., and states that the canal was prepared for increasing the yield of rice. Even today, the Cumbum Valley delights the eye with its vast green fields of sugar-candy, wheat, paddy, etc. The epigraph also speaks of Cumbum as equal to Kashmir in beauty.

The inscription, apart form the Bismillāh, comprises five lines of Persian verse of no merit, executed in relief in Nasta’liq letters, which are not so elegant as they are bold.

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\(^1\) A city, now capital of the Western Adhar Bārījān province of Iran.

\(^2\) For a detailed description and history of the tank, see Chetty, op. cit., pp. 218-19. The account has been more or less repeated in the Imperial Gazetteer of India.
date is contained in a chronogram as well as in figures. The text of the record has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVII(c)

(1) Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim

(2) نام خدا نزهان ناز نوري نواب الراز خان

(3) خوان درج بیرنج تا واحشود بهر کس

(4) اندر فضای کنهم روید نبات گنبد

(5) کشیر را بتوام هر چاود سوی میدان

(6) از جود تا رضاین تحولین نام نیکر

(7) حوایجه تا بدن تاریخنامه آن

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Year 1193

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

(2) A canal, like that of the Water of Life, was prepared in the name of God, through the generosity of Nawârâb 'Ali Râdâ Khan.1

(3) in order that the dishes of rice may be available in full supply to every body without any trouble since, the loaf of jouâr does not appeal to the aspirations of the great.

(4) In the plain of Kuhumân grow candy and wheat; (with) plains on all sides, it is twin with Kashmir.

(5) It is necessary for every animate being to offer thanks for his kindness, just as thanksgiving to God the Most High (for His favours) has been made obligatory for man.

(6) Make over to good name (by practising virtues) from generosity to resignation, if you wish to know its date-scroll.

(7) Year 1193 (A.H.=1779-80 A.D.).

The date is yielded by adding the numerical values of the letters contained in the words from "جواد" to "رضوا" occurring in the first hemistich. These words, "جواد نواب علی رضوا", on adding up the values of their letters according to Abjad system, give the date A.H. 1193 (1779-80 A.D.).

Mr 'Ali Râdâ Khan, referred to above, is the famous officer and brother-in-law of Haidar 'Ali Khan, the sultan of Mysore; Sultan Tîpû of immortal fame was born of his sister. 'Ali Râdâ Khan seems to have been one of Haidar's best officers, as his son Qamaru'd-Din Khan was that of Tîpû. Before he entered Haidar's service, 'Ali Râdâ was residing with his family in Barh Mahal, after enjoying for some time the qâ'âadârî of Gurramkonda. He was summoned

1 This phrase constitutes the chronogram, as stated in verse 6 below.

2 This is how Cumbum has been spelt in this inscription.
from Barh Mahal, and the third sister of Ḥaidar ‘Ali’s first wife was given to him in marriage.\(^1\) In about A.H. 1170 (1756 A.D.), he was appointed favijār of Barh Mahal whence, on receipt of Ḥaidar’s message, he joined him at Bangalore, where Ḥaidar had gone with a small force to punish an unruly poligar.\(^2\) Two years later, he was left at Balapur with strict instructions to take the fort of Nandi, where the said poligar had shut himself up. He besieged the hill fort, accordingly, and subdued it within a short time. In A.H. 1175 (1761 A.D.), he was appointed favijār of Serah, which he surrendered to the Marāhtas in the following year, as he could not put up a sufficient defence against their attack. He also entered the service of the Marāhtta chief Mādhav Rāo, who treated him kindly, and later, appointed him in charge of Gurramkonda, when it was wrested from the hands of Ḥaidar’s officers by Mādhav Rāo.\(^3\) Not long after this, however, ‘in consequence of his ties of kindredship with Ḥaidar’, he returned reconciled to the latter, but was again taken captive in A.H. 1182 (1768 A.D.), by the Marāhtta chief Trambak Māmā, a maternal uncle of Mādhav Rāo.\(^4\) He was sent as a prisoner to Poona, but was ultimately released at the mediation of Nānā Fādnāsī. Ḥaidar conferred upon him the jāgīr of Gurramkonda and Dīndigul. In the following years, he accompanied Ḥaidar or his son Ṭīpū in several expeditions at one time or the other, and was given charge of the Kāḷīpā estate, after the same was reduced by Ḥaidar and its chief Ḥālīm Khān taken prisoner.\(^5\) In A.H. 1195 (1781 A.D.), he was killed in the battle of Muhammad Bandar deeply mourned by Ḥaidar.\(^6\)

\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 78-79, 89.
\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 150, 156.
\(^4\) Ibid., pp. 186-191.
\(^5\) Ibid., pp. 351, 357, 362, 365, 380.
\(^6\) Ibid., p. 429.
INSCRIPTIONS OF ALAUD-DIN KHALJI FROM CHITORGADH

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

Chitorgadh, headquarters of the district of the same name in the State of Rajasthan, came into possession of the Guhila kings of Mewar in the first quarter of the eighth century A.D. The twenty-ninth Guhila king, Saktikumāra, was defeated by the Paramār ruler of Malwa, Muuj (974-93 A.D.), who annexed Mewar to his dominion. The latter's nephew, King Bhojadeva, is reported to have taken up residence at Chitor for sometime. The Paramāras continued to rule over the territory until the time of Naravarā and Yashovermā (1134-35 A.D.), during whose reign Siddharāja Jayasimhā, Chauluksya king of Gujarāt (1093-1143 A.D.), brought it under his sway. It remained under the Chauluksya till the time of Ajayapāla (1173-70 A.D.), when Rāwāl Sāmantasimhā of Mewar (1171-79 A.D.) recovered it from the Chauluksyas, but before he could consolidate his hold, he was attacked and driven out of Chitor by Kirtipāla, the Chauhāna ruler of Jalor in Marwad. Within a short time, however, Sāmantasimhā's brother, Kumārasimhā, managed to wrest his ancestral dominion from the hands of the Jalor chief with the help of the Gujarāt king. Thereafter, the fortress remained in the possession of the Guhila kings for about a century and a quarter until 1303 A.D., when Rāwāl Ratansimhā lost it, after a siege of about 8 months, to the Delhi Sultan, 'Alā'udd-Dīn Khalji, who named it as Khiḍrābād and appointed his son, Khiḍr Khān, as its first governor.¹

That Chitor remained directly under the authority of the Delhi Sultans throughout the reign of 'Alā'udd-Dīn and, at least, until the accession of Muḥammad bin Tugḥlūq Shāh in 1325 A.D., is a matter of difference among the modern writers on the subject.³ For example, according to Haldar and Lal, 'Alā'udd-Dīn, having found it impossible to hold out Chitor against the gallant Rajputs, ordered his son Khiḍr Khān to vacate it—after about ten years, according to Haldar and between the years 1313 and 1315 A.D. according to Lal—and hand it over to Māldeva Songārā. The account of what happened afterwards as given by these authors is again a matter of conjecture rather than of facts based on unimpeachable sources. According to this account, Chitor remained under the direct or indirect control of the Sultans of Delhi till about 1325 A.D., after which it was conquered by Rānā Hamīr of Sisoda, while Lal asserts that after the death of Māldeva in about 1321, Hamīr became master of the whole of Mewar, and assumed the title of Mahārānā.³

These writers have unfortunately overlooked a few pieces of evidence in the course of their study. The story of Māldeva's appointment as governor is first met with in the annals of Firīṣhta, who wrote at least three hundred years after the conquest of Chitor. Moreover, as Lal himself has noticed, there is some discrepancy in Firīṣhta's statement about the time of Khiḍr Khān's evacuation of Chitor.⁴ The other source of the story is Nainsū's Khayālī compiled in 1650-66 A.D.—

³ Haldar, op. cit., p. 100; Lal, op. cit., p. 131. Dr. Mahdi Husain, The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tugḥlūq (London, 1938), pp. 94-100, En also dealt with this aspect of Chitor's history at some length.
⁴ Lal, op. cit., p. 130, f.n. 30. In view of the inscription of 'Alā'udd-Dīn Khalji, dated 1310 A.D. (described infra), as well as Firīṣhta's statement implying the presence of the imperial garrison in Chitor in the year 1311-12, he fixed the time of Māldeva's appointment between the year 1313 and 1315. Haldar, op. cit., p. 166, also computes the period of Khiḍr Khān's governorship as 10 years which would give 1313 as the initial year of Māldeva's governorship. These conclusions, based as they are on unsubstantiated evidence, can at best be termed arbitrary.
about three hundred and fifty years after the event—which also, according to Lal himself, is 'not a historical work in the real sense of the term'. On the other hand, the narrative of an early writer, 'Iṣāmī, concerning the events of Chitor and Gujarat during the reign of 'Alā'u’d-Din and his son Qūṭb-u’d-Dīn Muḥārak Shāh, puts the whole thing in a different perspective. At least, Lal's statement of the Sisoda chief Hammīr's becoming the sovereign of the whole of Mewar in 1321 A.D. after the death of Māldeva is proved to be utterly baseless. Fortunately, two very important records of the early Tuglūq period have survived, providing extremely valuable evidence on the point. For example, the fragmentary Chitor inscription of Chiyāthu’d-Dīn Tuglūq Shāh's reign (1320-25 A.D.), now deposited in the Udaipur Museum, mentions Malik Asadu’d-Dīn, presumably as a governor. The same Asadu’d-Dīn is clearly mentioned as the governor of Chitor in the other and the only surviving complete Muslim record, still to be seen at that place, which is dated the 18th September, 1325 A.D., in the reign of Muḥammad bin Tuglūq. It is obvious that Malik Asadu’d-Dīn, a nephew of Tuglūq Shāh, who was appointed ʿāṣb-i-bārbak of the realm in 1320 A.D., had only succeeded a previous governor of Chitor and continued to hold the same post till at least the first year of Muḥammad bin Tuglūq's reign. Otherwise, if he were freshly appointed to govern Chitor, it would mean that Chitor was reconquered by Chiyāthu’d-Dīn Tuglūq Shāh, some time after his accession, but such an expedition against Chitor by Tuglūq Shāh, who, incidentally, is mentioned by 'Iṣāmī as having gone to that place at least twice, before his accession, to meet A'in-ul-Mulk Multānī with a message from Qūṭb-u’d-Dīn Muḥārak Shāh, is unknown to students of history. Thus, it is an established fact that at least until September 1325 A.D., Hammīr of Sisoda had nothing to do with Chitor. Moreover, the account of Hammīr's taking Chitor, his being attacked in turn by Muḥammad bin Tuglūq and the latter's defeat and arrest at the hands of the former, which does not find mention in any historical work, reads more like a tale than a serious historical narrative.

Considered in the light of the dearth of sufficient historical evidence, it is, indeed, a matter of great pity that the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of Chitor should have disappeared along with the buildings on which they were set up, thus depriving us of a very important source of history. The condition of the inscriptions of 'Alā'u’d-Dīn's reign, which are studied below, is sufficient to indicate that there must have been originally quite a few Muslim epigraphs at Chitor which are lost to us through the combined agencies of human beings and nature.

With the exception of one, the five inscriptions that are being described in this short article were found by me in the course of my visit to Chitorgarh in July 1955. Unfortunately, all the records are fragmentary and incomplete. Two of these bear dates, while of the remaining three, two are undoubtedly remnants of historical records, and the third comprises only a Quranic verse.

The earliest of these records is engraved on a slab of white marble. Measuring in its present state 26’ by 11’, it was found built up into the wall of a ʿedārī, near the steps, in the house of a well-known merchant of Chitorgarh, the late Shri Hukamchandji Pokharna. The way in which the inscription was discovered is interesting and deserves mention here: I had intended the purpose of my visit to Chitorgarh to my learned teacher, Mr. N. S. Sayyid, who happened to be posted there at that time. On inquiries from various quarters, he was informed about this tablet by a Muslim mason who had carried out repairs to Shri Pokharna's house quite sometime back. However, when the members of the Pokharna family were contacted by us, they expressed their

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1 Lal, op. cit., p. 405.
3 Ibid., pl. XVII (b).
4 'Iṣāmī, op. cit., pp. 348-49.
(a) Inscription of 'Alāʿu'd-Dīn Khāliji, dated A.H. 704, on a slab built up in a private house (p. 71)

Scale: 0.22

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 709, from Chāhibī Pir's Dargāh (p. 72)

Scale: 0.13
unawareness about the whereabouts or even the presence of the tablet in the house. But when the exact spot where the tablet was supposed to lie under plaster was pointed out to them, Shri Bhanwarlal, the eldest member of the family, consented through the good offices of Shri Vishvdev, then District Magistrate of Chitorgadh, to have the slab removed. This was done, and the wall properly repaired through the help of the personnel of the Chitorgadh sub-office of the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology. To all these persons, I am deeply indebted.

On examination, the slab was found to bear an incomplete inscription in two lines belonging to the reign of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī. The tablet bearing the first part of the text is unfortunately lost, while the surviving text contains, in addition to the benedictory phrase praying for the eternal rule of the king, the name of the builder and the date, viz. Sartiz Alp Khānī and 8th Šafar, A.H. 704 (10th September, 1304 A.D.) respectively. It is difficult to say anything about the object of the record or about the building on which it was first set up. The calligraphy of the inscription is Naskh, which is in general conformity with the style of writing employed in contemporary records.

The inscription is damaged and reads as under:

**TEXT**

Plate XVIII (a)

(1) ........................ may his kingdom lasts for ever, (by) the weak creature Sartiz

(2) al-Khānī (Alp Khānī ?), on the 8th of the month of Šafar, year (A.H.) four and seven hundred (8th Šafar, A.H. 704 = 10th September, 1304 A.D.).

The writing of the inscription is considerably damaged and hence, the reading of the name of the person who had presumably carried out some construction is not distinct in the impression. To me it appears to be Sartiz. Likewise, his nisba seems to read clearly "al-Khānī" (al-Khānī) in the estampage, but it may have been the engraver's mistake for "al-Khānī" (Alp-Khānī), since unlike a similar nisba 'as-Sultānī', we do not generally come across the nisba 'al-Khānī' in historical works or inscriptions and coins. Provided my reading of the name of the builder is correct, he may be identified with Malik 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sartiz Sultānī, who is mentioned as a senior nobleman in his list of the nobles of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh's reign by Barani. It is very likely that Sartiz was first attached, during 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī's reign, to Alp Khān, the latter's brother-in-law, and governor, first, of Multan and later of Gujarāt. Sartiz, who was awarded the title of 'Imādu'l-Mulk by Muhammad bin Tughluq on his accession, had also acted as governor of Multan in the early years of that monarch's reign, was later made the vazīr (minister) of Deogir in about 1345 A.D., and was ultimately killed in a battle against the then rebel Hasan Šafar Khān, founder of the Bahmani dynasty of Deccan.

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1 The slab has been since removed to the office of the Archaeological sub-overseer in the Fort.
2 Dehā'u'd-Dīn Barānī, Tārīkh-i-Furūs Khāshī (Calcutta, 1883), pp. 454, 501, 515, 520; Ta'kīt, op. cit., pp. 461 479, 512, 516-20, etc.
The next inscription from Chitorgarh is found engraved on a tablet of black granite measuring about 55 by 20, which is fixed into the west wall of the mortuary of the tomb of Ghaihi Pir, situated at a distance of about a mile outside the Delhi gate of the town. In this case also, the record being fragmentary, it is not possible to give its purport; the extant portion of the text, comprising four verses in Persian, merely contains the eulogy of the king and the date, namely, 10th Dhi'il-Hijja, A.H. 709 (11th May, 1310 A.D.). But it would not be unlikely, as discussed in the study of the next inscription, if this record originally formed part of the epigraph referring to the construction of the Jami' mosque of Chitor by 'Ala'u'd-Din.

The style of writing is bold Nasab and the record reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (b)

(1) شهریار جهان محمد شاه  آقانب زمان و ظریف، الله
بو الحظفر سکندر ثانی مسیم پرو جهان
باد همدان و له از هجرا
تا بود کمیه قبلاً عالم باfv مکه، شه بینی آدم

TRANSLATION

(1) ....... king of the world, Muḥammad Shāh, the Sun of the Age and Shadow of God (on earth), Bu'l-Muzaffar, the second Alexandar, to whom has been granted sovereignty.

(2) (It was) the tenth of Dhu'il-Hijja, the day (lit. time) of Sacrifice (Qurbān) (and) the year was seven hundred and nine from the migration (of the Prophet) (i.e., 10th Dhi'il-Hijja, A.H. 709 =11th May, 1310 A.D.). As long as the Ka'ba, continues to remain the altar of the world, may the kingdom of the lord of human beings endure.

The fragmentary black granite tablet bearing the third inscription measures 14" by 18" and contains only a small portion of the original record which appears to have related to the construction of a congregational mosque in Chitor. It is found built up into the prayer-niche of a small one-wall mosque in the graveyard situated opposite to the above-mentioned tomb of Ghaihi Pir. The surviving text barely comprises two hemistichs in Persian, but it is nevertheless important, as it speaks of the erection of a Jami' mosque to which it must have originally belonged. It is also interesting to note, provided of course I am not wrong in my conjectural reading of the second hemistich, that the said Jami' mosque was constructed at the site of a temple which was then lying in ruins. This is particularly important as showing that, not always as is generally supposed, the Hindu buildings were pulled down to provide materials for mosques and other similar monuments. Neither the name of the king nor the date appears in the record, but looking to the calligraphy of the inscription, it appears almost certain that it is contemporary with the previous record. Not only that, but it would not be unlikely if this small fragment and the larger fragment containing

Plate XIX

Chitorgarh Inscriptions—concl.

(a) Fragment of the Jami’ mosque inscription, from near Ghaibi Pir’s Dargah (p. 73)

Scale: 1:12

(b) Loose fragment of ‘Ala’u’d-Din Khalji’s inscription (p. 73)

Scale: 1:14

(c) Inscription on a pillar built up in Sagar Bai (p. 71)

Scale: 1:14
the preceding record, originally formed part of the same inscription, for, apart from the same type of stone used for engraving both the records, it will be observed that the verses in both the texts are composed in the same metre and also, the size of the panels containing a hemistich each is the same in the case of both. If this guess is correct, it would mean that ‘Alā‘ū’d-Din had ordered the construction, in Chitor, of a congregational mosque, which was completed on the day of the ‘Id of Sacrifice, the 10th of Dhi’l-Ḥijja of the year A.H. 709 (11th May, 1310 A.D.). Needless to say, no trace remains of any old mosque in Chitor today.

The inscription has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

مسجد جمعه را پنا کر[د]

[پنا]کده بود خر[اب افتاد]

TRANSLATION

He constructed the congregational mosque.

There was a temple lying in ruins.

The fourth inscription is, likewise, a fragmentary record engraved in relief on a marble slab, measuring in its present condition 18” by 9”. The tablet, whose findspot is not known, is now kept in the Top Khānā building inside the fort. The extant text only contains the name of the emperor and his title. The style of writing is Nasḫ of the same type as is generally met with in the inscriptions of this period. This epigraph reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIX (b)

[سكندر تا[ن] ابو المظفر محمد شاه]

TRANSLATION

The second [Alexander], Abu’l-Muzaffar Muhammad Shah

The last inscription of the present group is engraved on a pillar or beam of grey sandstone, measuring 48” by 12”. The beam is built up into the wall of the water-pulley stand of a step-well, called Sāgar Bāoli, in the heart of the city, at a height of about six and a half feet. It is obvious that the slab is not in situ and that it must have originally belonged to some Islamic monument which now no more exists. The epigraph, in its present state, comprises only a Qur'anic verse and hence, it is difficult to say what building it was originally intended for. The
inscription can be safely ascribed to the period of 'Alāu’d-Dīn on palaeographical ground and has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XIX (c)

[Plate with text]

TRANSLATION

'Say, nothing will befall us save that which Allāh has ordained for us. He is our Master and in Allāh the faithful have trust.'

1 Qur'ān, Ch. 12, verse 61.
Maulavi Muhammad Ashraf Husain, M.A.
Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, 1949-1954

Born: 1st July 1895
at Bahraich,
Bahraich District,
Uttar Pradesh.

Died: 2nd December 1958
at Delhi.
MUHAMMAD ASHRAF HUSSAIN

We regret to announce that Maulavi Muhammad Ashraf Husain M.A., the late Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy (Arabic and Persian inscriptions), passed away at New Delhi on the 2nd December, 1958, at the age of 63 after a long illness. The Persian and Arabic studies in general and epigraphy in particular have suffered a great loss in his death.

The late Mr. Husain was born on the 1st July, 1895, in an eminent family, at Bahraich in the Bahraich District of Uttar Pradesh. He received his early education at Mahoba, District Hamirpur, where his family had settled down permanently. Two years after passing his Entrance examination at the age of 14, he came to Agra, where by sheer hard work and merit, he passed his F.A. and B.A. examinations. He took his first M.A. degree in History with First Class honours from the Aligarh University (old Oriental College) and also received certificates of M.O.L., Maulavi Fazil, Munshi Kamil, etc., with honours. He took his second M.A. in Persian in 1928 from Agra. He was also a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

After serving as a teacher in one or two educational institutions at Agra, the late Mr. Husain entered the Archaeological Survey of India in 1922, as Gallery Assistant in the office of the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Northern Circle, Agra and was Munshi (literary Assistant) to the Superintendent continuously from 1923 until 1946 when he was promoted as Senior Epigraphical Assistant. By his intelligence, sound scholarship and hard work, he soon became, in 1949, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy (Arabic and Persian inscriptions), which post he held until his final retirement from service in 1954.

The late Mr. Husain’s study was extensive as well as intensive. He had a deep knowledge of various subjects connected with Indo-Muslim history and culture and was particularly well-versed in calligraphy, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics and painting. Apart from contributing a number of articles on different subjects, he compiled A Guide to the Agra Fort, A Guide to Fatehpur Sikri and A Guide to the Historical monuments of Delhi. He also edited the Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica for 1949-50.

The following learned article of Mr. Husain was published in the Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement for 1951 & 52:

‘Inscriptions in the Agra Fort.’

The late Mr. Husain is survived by his widow, an elder sister, four sons and two daughters. May Allah’s mercy and peace be on him! Amen!
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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1961

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RAJPUT PERIOD FROM GUJARAT

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

Twentyone inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat found at various places in Saurashtra, now included in the Gujarat State, were studied by me in a previous issue of this Series, where a brief reference was also made to the availability of important epigraphical material in this part of the sub-continent and want of proper efforts to tap the same.¹ In view of the apparent need of a correct and scientific study of these epigraphs, it was then stipulated to publish the available material in two more articles, one of which was to relate to the pre-Sultanate records, while the other was intended to cover post-Sultanate inscriptions of the province.² But since that article was written, a good deal of fresh material has come to light necessitating some modification in this plan.³ Consequently, it has now been found convenient to further classify the pre-Sultanate inscriptions into two groups: one of Muslim records that were set up before the Muslim conquest of Gujarat by ʿAlau’l-Dīn Khalji in 1297-98 A.D.; and the other, of inscriptions belonging to the Delhi Sultans, on whose behalf Gujarat was governed subsequent to the establishment of Muslim rule there.

In the present article, I have dealt with nine Arabic inscriptions of the pre-Muslim period, which have been found at various places in Gujarat including Saurashtra.

These records make an interesting study primarily because they were set up in Gujarat at a time when it had still resisted Muslim authority. That the Muslims inhabited quite a few cities, especially on the coastal line of Gujarat, quite long before its final subjugation by them, is an established fact. The accounts of the Arab travellers like Masʿūdī, Iṣḥākī, Ibn Ḥaḍraḥī and others, who visited Gujarat during the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian era, amply testify to the settlements of Muslims in various towns and cities.⁴ The inscriptions studied below also tend to corroborate the fact that the Muslims had continued to inhabit Gujarat until it became a part of the Muslim empire of Delhi. Moreover, they also furnish rare data for an appraisal of the condition of the Muslims under the non-Muslim rulers of Gujarat. On one hand, they indicate the extent of the permeation of Islamic influence in Gujarat at a time when it was still ruled by its

²Ibid., p. 50.
³For example, quite a few new epigraphs of the Sultans have been found in the past few years; these have been listed in the Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE) for 1954-55, Nos. C, 22, 48, 50, 61, 81, 91, 94; ʿibid., 1955-57, Nos. D, 15, 39, 61, 64, 69, 83, 75, 94; ʿibid., 1959-60, Nos. D, 86, 92, 94, 103, 155, etc., and will be published in due course.
⁴For an excellent article on the subject, see Muhammad Ibrahim Dar, Literary and Cultural Activities in Gujarat under the Khaljis and the Sultans (Bombay, 1960), pp. 15-22.
own Rajput princes and show that the Muslims had long penetrated into different parts of Gujarat where they lived as merchants, traders, sea-men, missionaries, etc.; these settlements were not only on the coastal regions but also in the interior as is indicated by some of these records. On the other hand, these epigraphs form a concrete and ever-living proof of the tolerance and consideration shown vis-a-vis their Muslim subjects by the Hindu kings who were no doubt profited by the trade and commerce carried on by these foreign settlers.

These inscriptions are to be found in different places, viz. Cambay and Patan (N.G.) in Gujarat proper and Veraval, Junagadh and Prabhas Patan in Saurashtra. Three of them refer to the construction of mosques, one registering an endowment as well, while the remaining six constitute obituary notices of persons who belonged to different professions. Almost all the persons mentioned in these records were connected, either by birth or by origin, with Persia and in fact, two of them have parental names which definitely indicate Zoroastrian lineage. These men appear to have been carrying on trade, owning ships or enjoying some administrative authority as will be discussed at the proper place. At least one of them was a man of literary taste, whose two rubā’īs and one ghazal in Persian, inscribed in his epitaph (No. VIII), are not only remarkable for their high metrical quality, but also provide the earliest available example of Persian verse in Gujarati.

Of particular interest in this group are two inscriptions: the one (No. I), from Cambay, recording the construction of a mosque in A.H. 615 (1218 A.D.), is the oldest Muslim inscription so far known, not only of Gujarat, but also of the southern and eastern regions of India. Moreover, it originally belonged to a mosque constructed on the site of an earlier one, which latter was rebuilt, as will be described in details later, through the generous donation of the celebrated Chaulkuya king Siddharaja Jayasimha of Gujarat. The other inscription (No. IV) has proved to be the hitherto unassigned Arabic version of the famous Harasiddha Mata Temple inscription at Veraval.

These nine records are all composed in Arabic; No. VIII may be considered an exception in that it contains, as has been stated above, few Persian verses of the deceased mentioned in that record, but the text of the epitaph proper is Arabic.

Calligraphically too, these inscriptions are bound to prove of sufficient interest and value for the comparative study of the styles of writing or scripts employed in contemporary Arabic and Persian inscriptions of India. Broadly speaking, the calligraphy of Gujarat inscriptions may be divided into three, more or less distinct, categories: one, represented by the epitaphs included in this study; the second, employed in some of the inscriptions of the Tughluqs and the Sultans of Gujarat; and the third, to be seen in some of the later Tughluq and very early Sultanate inscriptions. Of these, the second may be correlated to a certain extent with the ‘Bow-and-Arrow variety’ style of Muslim inscriptions from Bengal, a feature of Indo-Muslim palaeography that deserves close study. The Gujarat style obviously served as a model for the artists of Bengal whose imagination seems to have been stirred to such an extent that, to the exclusion of other

---

1 Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad (Ponma, 1942), p. 22, pl. la, describes what he claims is the earliest inscription of Gujarat, dated A. H. 1445 (1653 A.D.), but the authenticity of that record is not established beyond doubt. Also the other two 13th century inscriptions in ibid., pp. 24-25. Nos. II and III, are in fact later records belonging to the 15th century. Likewise, the text of an epitaph from Ghogha in Saurashtra, said to contain the date, A. H. 591 (1195 A.D.), has been quoted in full in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indo-Sciranerii (CIS) (Bombay, 1889), p. 3. Here also, it is difficult to accept unreservedly the date which cannot be verified for want of an illustration. Unfortunately, the search for this tablet in the course of my visit to Ghogha in 1955 proved fruitless. The only authenticated earliest inscription of Gujarat so far was the epitaph of Shāhīr Arjun (d. A. H. 633 or 1236 A.D.) at Pestal in the Kaira district. It was published in the Epigraphia Indo-Mediævalia (EIM), 1917-18, p. 33, pl. XII.

2 There is a considerable number of epitaphs belonging to the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. which are executed in this fashion.
ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RAJPUT PERIOD FROM GUJARAT

styles, they sought to bring it to perfection even, as is natural, at the risk of monotony. On the other hand, the Gujarati scribes attempted, simultaneously, to employ different flourishes and varieties which bear a stamp of ingenious execution. The third distinct style of Gujarati inscriptions cannot be claimed as strictly original in design and execution, but at the same time, it would be difficult to ignore the attempts of the indigenous scribes to invest it with some graceful flourishes imparting it a flavour of its own. But it is perhaps the first type which is typical of Gujarati. As already stated above, this style of writing is seen exclusively in the inscriptions on tombstones. Mainly found in Gujarat, it seems to have assumed some sort of standardization for epitaphs for about two centuries with little modification. This style, which is basically Nasta'liq or Thuluth with strong element of Riqā' in the main text and Kufi and Thuluth in the headings or Bismillah, can be seen in an epitaph (No. VIII) included in the present study. There are many more such epitaphs, mostly at Cambay, and also at such other places as Rander in Surat district, Veraval in Junagadh district, Ahmadabad, etc. For want of sufficient data, it may not be possible at this stage to determine its source. It is clear that this style had penetrated at one time or the other from Gujarat through its borders, which were wider then than at present, into adjoining territories; some epitaphs from Paithan in Ahmednagar district might be taken to indicate such a trend. But when this infiltration took place, it is difficult to say.

It is a matter of genuine regret that these epigraphs have not so far received the attention they deserve from the scholars. The need for the study of these records was no doubt realised as early as the middle of the second half of the last century when the compilation of the district gazetteers of Bombay was started. At that time, Col. J. W. Watson, who evinced a keen interest in the history of Saurashtra and Gujarat, persuaded the ruling chief of the erstwhile Bhavnagar State to establish a Department for an Archaeological and Antiquarian Survey, the first of its kind in Saurashtra, in 1881 A.D. This Department brought out, among other things, a Corpus containing some fifty-one inscriptions in Arabic and Persian, collected from different places and extending over a period of seven centuries, viz., from 591 A.H. to 1291 A.H. But unfortunately, as has been remarked on a previous occasion, this otherwise laudable collection of epigraphs is marked by lack of extensive as well as intensive study necessary for a work of that nature. The readings given in that work are so hopelessly corrupt that scholars in the field of historical research have been misled and are likely to be further led into error. To quote only one example here, the Arabic version (No. IV) of the famous Harasiddha Matâ Temple Sanskrit inscription was stated to mention 'the conquest and capture of the town with the celebrated shrine of Somnath by Sultan Mahmûd Bigharâ'.

Likewise, some if not all of the inscriptions from Cambay included in this study did not completely escape the notice of the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India. In his progress report for 1918-19, the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, had pointed out that 'a preliminary survey of Muhammadan epigraphs in Cambay is needed as no attention seems to have been paid to them since the days of Dr. Burgess. There is no doubt about the fact that such a survey would throw a good deal of fresh light on the period of the early Muhammadan occupation of Gujarat.' He also added in his report for the following year that 'practically no work has been done in this (i.e. Bombay) Presidency about Muhammadan inscriptions and

1 EIM, 1949-50, plates VI, VII.
2 Please see n. 1 on p. 2 about this inscription.
4 ETAPS, 1953 and 54, p. 50.
5 For other examples, see ibid., pp. 54, 55, 58, 61 (f.n.1), etc.
6 CIB, op. cit., pp. 28-30.
numerous inscriptions are lying scattered all over the circle, the very existence of which is unknown to scholars and students of Indian history. The oldest inscriptions come from Cambay which is one of the earliest strongholds of the Sultans of Delhi in Western India. It was during this year, i.e., during 1919-20, that about forty-five inscriptions were copied from Cambay and briefly described in the said report. It is, however, to be wondered why not a single inscription from the present group was included in Dr. Nazim’s study of inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency to which a complete issue in this Series was devoted.

I. MOSQUE INSCRIPTION, DATED 1218 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

This inscription is engraved on a slab measuring 22" by 12", which is now fixed above the pulpit into the west wall of the prayer-chamber of a mosque in the Saliw Mahalla of Cambay in the Kaira district of Gujarat. The mosque being a modern structure, the inscription, as in the case of majority of inscriptions from that town, is not in situ. The record comprises seven lines and refers to the construction of a Jami’ mosque by Sa’id, son of Abü Sharaq, son of ‘Ali, son of Shâpûr al-Bammi in the month of Muharram A.H. 615 (April 1218 A.D.).

As has been already referred to above, this inscription is interesting in more than one respect: Firstly, it has proved to be the earliest Muslim inscription found not only in Gujarat, but also in the vast expanse of the country excluding Northern India. Secondly, it belongs to the period when Gujarat was an absolutely independent Hindu kingdom. The date of the record, 1218 A.D., falls in the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhimadeva II (1178-1242 A.D.) who, it will be recalled, had come, on more than one occasion, into armed conflict with the Muslims before and after their permanent hold in Northern India; the last of these conflicts in the course of which Anhilapura, the capital of Gujarat, was sacked and Bhimadeva put to flight, occurred towards the close of the twelfth century or hardly two decades before the date of our inscription. But perhaps the most interesting feature of this inscription is that it relates to that Jami’ mosque of Cambay, which

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1 PRWO, 1919-20, p. 6.
2 Ibid., pp. 49-51. These include only two of the five Cambay inscriptions published in this article.
3 The survey of Muslim inscriptions of Cambay has now been almost completed by the Epigraphy Branch (Arabic and Persian Inscriptions) of the Archaeological Survey, Nagpur and the epigraphs have been listed in ARIE, 1954-56, Nos. C, 43-46; ibid., 1956-57, Nos. D, 35-38; ibid., 1959-60, Nos. D, 95-135.
4 EIM, 1933-34 (Supplement). The individual efforts made by Prof. M. S. Commissariat, the author of two exhaustive volumes on the History of Gujarat and Dr. M. A. Chaghtai are also worth mention here. The latter, then working in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, had devoted considerable time and energy to study Muslim inscriptions of Gujarat some of which have been published by him, for example, in his Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad, loc. cit. He had informed me sometime back that he wanted to edit Cambay inscriptions of which he had prepared rubbings earlier. But so far he has not published them.
5 ARIE, 1959-60, No. D, 95.
7 It may be mentioned here that towards the later half of Bhimadeva’s long but weak reign, real political power rested with his powerful chieftains, the most prominent among them being the Vaghelias, a branch of the Chaulukyas. But the latter, though virtual masters, assumed the royal title only after the death of Bhima- deva II. At the time of the setting up of our record, Cambay was under direct control of the Vaghelias chief Lavadapandas of Dholka.
8 For the Muslim invasions of Gujarat at this period, see Commissariat, op. cit., pp. lxxvii-lxxviii; A. K. Majumdar, Chau’ulikya of Gujarai (Bombay, 1950), pp. 141-46.
was constructed, according to Muhammad ‘Awfi, the celebrated author of Jawām‘ul-Hikayāt, by Sa‘id, son of Abū Sharaf Bammī a few years before the former’s visit to Cambay. The interesting anecdote related by ‘Awfi to illustrate the high sense of justice shown by Siddharāja Jayasimha vis-à-vis the Muslim population of Cambay is indirectly corroborated by this inscription and may be reproduced here in brief.

During the rule of Siddharāja Jayasimha, the Hindus at Cambay instigated by Mughāl destroyed the minaret, burnt the mosque and killed eighty Muslims. The reader of Friday sermon of the mosque, Khaṭīb ‘Ali by name, escaped and fled to the capital Anhilwāra, to place his griv-vance before the authorities. None of them, however, paying any heed to his tale of woe, the Khaṭīb managed to place his petition in the hands of the king when the latter was on his way to hunt. The king, leaving Khaṭīb ‘Ali in charge of a trusted servant at the capital, verified the complaint by paying a personal visit in disguise to Cambay and making inquiries in the market-place, returned to his capital and held a court attended by the chiefs before which Khaṭīb ‘Ali was also summoned to present his case. When the latter narrated the whole affair, the courtier tried to contradict and intimidate him. But the king confirmed the complaint and said that is view of the gravity of the matter and also because the difference of religion was involved, he had made personal inquiries and ascertained that the Muslims of Cambay were made victim of tyranny and oppression. He then ordered that two of the leading people from each o. the various classes of Hindus, such as Brahmins, Pārsās, Mahān (or Mahatān) Nawāla (or Boraśa), Seoda and Mughāl should be punished. He gave to the Muslims one lac of Bālotras to get the mosque and the minaret rebuilt. Khaṭīb ‘Ali also received from the king four parasais which were preserved in the mosque until ‘Awfi’s visit to Cambay. ‘Awfi further relates that the mosque and minaret thus rebuilt were standing until a few years before he wrote, when they were again destroyed at the time of the Malwa king’s invasion of Gujarāt. It was then that Sa‘id rebuilt them at his own expense and erected four towers with golden cupolas for them.

It is clear that the Jām‘ mosque referred to in the present inscription was the one built by Sa‘id on the ruins of the mosque that was constructed through the most liberal grant of Siddharāja Jayasimha. The inscription also makes it clear that the correct name of the builder is Sa‘id, son of Abū Sharaf al-Bammī and not Sa‘id Sharaf Tanān given by Elliot. Sa‘id was apparently a rich member of the Muslim community then residing in Cambay. The name of his great-grandfather and also his nisba al-Bammī suggest that Sa‘id was one of the Iranians settled permanently in India. Bamm to which Sa‘id was related either by birth or by origin, is a fortress town situated in the Kirmān province of Iran.

1 The exact comnnotation of this community has been a matter of controversy. The word in the original is Mugh which has been generally accepted to indicate the Zoroastrians or fire-worshippers, but Prof. S. H. Hodiwala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History (Bombay, 1939), pp. 172-73, thinks that it may refer to the Jains.

2 Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own historians, Vol. II (London, 1868), p. 163, gives ‘complaintante’ while in the original Bankipore Manuscript of ‘Awfi’s work consulted by me, the word is ‘muqaddam’ meaning ‘chief’.

3 Some of the names indicating the communities are so written in the Bankipore Manuscript and require proper editing.

4 Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 164 has ‘four articles of dress’. The word denoting the article appears to be Chātir (parasol, etc.) in the original.

5 Elliot’s is the only work to contain English extract of this story which, however, is not free from mistakes. A complete English translation of the same prepared by me from Bankipore Manuscript is given in my article ‘Muslims in the 13th century Gujarāt as known from Arabic Inscriptions’, Journal of Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda, Vol. X, p. 355-57.

6 Elliot, op. cit., p. 164. The Bankipore and other manuscripts consulted by me variously write the nisba as Yammī, Tammī, etc.

The language of the record is Arabic. It is interesting to note in this regard that the text of the inscription appearing on the present Jami’ mosque of Cambay constructed in 1255 (A.D.) during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shâb by Duniatshah al-Bûtahari, seems to have been inspired by the present epigraph.

The epigraph is incised on the stone after the fashion of Sanskrit records, and not engraved in relief as is generally the case with the Muslim inscriptions of India. But this is not a solitary instance, since we find that, with the exception of epitaphs, almost all the early Muslim records of Gujarat (e.g. Nos. I, IV and VII of the present study) are likewise incised. It may be that the early Muslim epigraphs of Gujarat were mostly incised on the stone though the switch-over to their execution in relief was very rapid.

The style of writing in the present epigraph is Naskh. Its text has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(1) إسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وان المساجد لله نلا تدعو مع اللد إحدا توله تعالى إذن الله

(2) ان يقال و يذكر فيها اسم يسبح له فيها باللود الو أساح والى الذي نتأس هل

(3) من بنا الله المسجد ولو مثل محص قطة بنا الله بن بنيا في الجنة هذا ما وقته

(4) الله و إعنه بنا هذا المسجد الجامع و عمائه يسمعه وكله من خالص ماله مما

(5) اثناء الله من نفسها و كرمها خاصاً الله تعالى العبد الراجي إلى رحمة الله عز و جل

(6) سعيد بن إبراهيم بن علي بن بن شابور البري غفر الله له و لوالده و ذنمك

(7) في التاريخ من شهر الله المحرم سنة خمسة عشر و سنتين و عالمه على محمد و الله اصبحان

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. And verily the mosques are for Allah only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allah. • Allâh, exalted be He, has said: ‘In houses which Allâh has permitted

(2) to be exalted and that His name may be remembered in the mornings and evenings (men).’ • Says (the Prophet), peace be upon him

(3) ‘He who builds for Allâh a mosque, even it is but the nest of a sand-grouse, Allâh builds for him a house in Paradise’. • This is (the result) of what Allâh has said

(4) and helped him with, in the construction of the Jami’ mosque and its building, in the and in entirety, from his personal wealth

1 ARJ, 1956; No. D, 42; ELM, 1957 and 58, op. 29; pl. IXa.

2 However, one of the epitaphs, noticed in the present group (No. V), is also incised.

3 The Fettah inscription of Alâd-din Khalî’s and Kivâd-din Tugluq Shâb’s reigns are. For example, inscribed (ELM, 1916-18, pl. XIV b; ibid., 1917-18, pl. XIX).

4 Qur’ân, ch. LXXII, verse 18.

5 Ibid., ch. XXIV, verse 56.
(a) Inscription: I.H. 615 from Cambay (p. 8)

(b) Epitaph, dated A.H. 630, from the same place (p. 8)
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(5) granted to him by Allāh through His benevolence and generosity, purely for the sake of Allāh, the Exalted, (by) the creature, expectant of the mercy of Allāh, may He be exalted and glorified,

(6) Sa‘īd, son of Abū Shahrāf, son of ‘Ali, son of Shāpūr al-Bammi, may Allāh pardon him and his parents. And this (construction) took place

(7) on the date in the month of Allāh, Muḥarram, (of the) year six hundred and fifteen (April 1218 A.D.). And may Allāh’s blessings be upon Muḥammad and all his progeny.

II. EPITAPH, DATED 1232 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

The tombstone bearing this epitaph is attached to a grave built on a small platform in the compound of the tomb of Pir Tāju’d-Dīn at Cambay. The so-called tomb itself is an open four-walled enclosure devoid of any antiquity or architecture. It appears that the three graves contained in the said tomb originally formed part of the main graveyard of the town but were fenced off not very long ago with a small compound. The epitaph on the middle of these three graves marks it to be that of Tāju’d-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Muḥammadma a’z-Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī who had died on Monday, the 9th Jumādā II A.H. 700 (19th February 1301 A.D.). There are four more inscriptions, all epitaphs, found embedded in the walls of this tomb which were only removed, obviously from the graveyard nearby, after about 1920 A.D., since they have not been noticed in the above-mentioned Progress Report which does mention the epitaph of Tāju’d-Dīn. One of these inscriptions has been included in this article (No. III).

Apart from being probably the second earliest Muslim inscription of Gujarat, the present record happens to be the oldest epitaph discovered so far in that region. As such, it is interesting to note that in general design as well as in style of writing, this epitaph has not much in common with the early Gujarat epitaphs, some of which are included for study in this article. Attention in particular may be drawn to its calligraphy. That the script employed is Kūfī is interesting in itself, because very few contemporary or even earlier records inscribed in this script have been found in India, excepting those which contain purely religious texts. But what arrests our immediate attention is that the script of the simple Kūfī variety employed here possesses distinct traces of Nashī.

The inscriptive tablet of white marble, measuring 16" by 20", is divided into nine horizontal panels flanked on each side by one vertical border-panel. The first three horizontal panels contain the Bismi’llāh and parts of Qur’anic verses; the fourth which is double the usual size is again out into the shape of a foiled arch across which, starting from the spandrels and ending within the foils is inscribed a slightly modified verse from the Qur’ān purporting to the absolute authority of God. The epitaph proper is contained in the remaining panels stating that Aminu’d-Din Abū-l-Maḥāsīn, son of Ardāshir al-Alwī died on Wednesday, the 10th of Muḥarram A.H. 630 (27th October 1232 A.D.). The two side borders are inscribed with the famous Qur’anic verses attesting to the unity and prowess of God and to Islam being the true religion; it will be noted that the text here reads from left top to right top, instead of right bottom to left top, a practice generally followed in all epitaphs. This was probably done because the said verses were intended to follow the Bismi’llāh inscribed horizontally at the top.

It follows that Abūl-Maḥāsīn had lived and died in Gujarat during the reign of the Chaulkuya king Bhimadeva II. It was at about this period—about 1232 A.D.—that sovereign authority practically rested with the Vaghela chief Lavanaprasāda who (and his successor Virdhavala), however, did not assume royal title until the death of Bhimadeva in about 1242 A.D.

2 ARIES, 1959-60, No. D, 117; PBC, 1919-20, p. 50, No. 32 of Appendix Q.
3 ARIES, 1959-60, Nos. D, 118-121. Also see p. 9 supra.
The identity of Abu'l-Mahāsīn is difficult to establish. That as one of the many Muslim settlers in Gujarat he carried on trade and commerce with foreign countries is a matter of presumption only, but there can be little doubt about his Iranian origin. Also, his father's name Ardāshīr hints at some Zoroastrian connection; it is not very unlikely that Abu'l-Mahāsīn might have renounced his parental faith and embraced Islam. His visba al-Ahwā means that his original house was at Ahwā, a town, according to Yaqūt, in Ḥajar or Yamāmah, a large tract of Arabia covering Najd, Tiḥāma, Bahrayn and ‘Umān.

The epitaph reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(a) Vertical panels.

(b) Horizontal panels.

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) كُلْ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْت

(3) اَللّٰهُ مَجِيِّعَكُمُ جَيْبَهَا

(4) الملكِ تَمَّ الْبَالِدِينْ الْمُئَالِهِ

(5) هذا نور العبد الضعيف المذنب

(6) الفََّقِرُ اسْتَحْيَاجُ الْرَّحْمَةِ اللهِ

(7) امْنِ الْدِينِ اِبْنِ المَهْدِينِ بِنَ اِرْدَاشِر

(8) الاَّهِيَ تُوْلَى يَوْمَ الْارْزُعَةِ الدِّيْاءِ

(9) ﴿شَهِرُ الْمِحْرَمِ سَابِعَةً﴾ ثَلَثِينَ وَ سِتِّيْهِ

TRANSLATION

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

(b) (1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficient, the Merciful.

(2) ‘Every soul shall taste of death.’

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1 Yaqūt, op. cit., Vol. I, under 'Ahwā'.
2 Qur'ān, ch. III, verse 18.
3 Ibid., verse 18 (part only).
4 Ibid., verse 184 (part only).
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(3) 'To Allah is your return, of all (of you).'

(4) 'The kingdom belongs to Allah, the One, the Subduer (of all).'

(5) This is the grave of the weak and the sinful creature,

(6) the supplicant, the dependant on the mercy of Allah the Exalted,

(7) Aminu'd-Din Abu'l-Mahasin, son of Ardaghir

(8) al-Ahwâ, (who) died on Wednesday, the 10th of

(9) the month of Muharram, year (A.H.) thirty and six hundred (27th October 1232 A.D.).

III. EPITAPH. DATED 1249 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

This inscription is also from the enclosure of the tomb of Pir Tâju'd-Din at Cambay. We have noticed above that in addition to the inscription on the middle grave, the tomb possesses four more inscriptions: one is built up in the east wall, while the north wall contains three tablets, of which the one on the extreme left contains the epitaph under study.

This tablet, which is of white marble, is in the shape of an arch measuring 25" from apex to bottom and 12" in width. A narrow border running all along the tablet except at the bottom contains the Ayatu'l-Kursi, a portion of which has not come out in the rubbing as the tablet in that part is embedded in the wall. Within the foiled arch resembling the one in the preceding epitaph occurs the phrase 'Kingdom belongs to Allah (only)', which is followed, in eight horizontal panels, by Bismillah, part of a Quranic verse, and the epitaph proper, according to which, the grave belonged to Sharafu'd-Din Abû Sharaf, son of Abû Shanu, son of Abû Sharaf al-Bammi, who departed from this world on the night of Monday, the 26th of Diil-Hijja A.H. 646 (11th April 1249 A.D.). In the text, the name of the deceased is preceded by the words 'al-qarîq a'sh-Shahid' which most probably means that Sharafu'd-Din had died on account of drowning; if so, he may have died presumably in the course of one of his frequent voyages for trade or alike purposes. It is also of interest to note that he belonged to the al-Bammi family of which a contemporary member, also residing at Cambay, has been referred to above (No I). Incidentally, a third member of the same family, Kamâlu'd-Din Sulaimân by name, is again mentioned in another epitaph, also from Cambay.

It may be noted here that at the time of the death of Sharafu'd-Din, Vishaldeva, the first among the Vaghelâs to assume kingship (1245-1261 A.D.), was on the throne of Gujarat.

The style of writing of the epigraph resembles that of the Silvâ mosque inscription (No. I). Its text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate II(a)*

(a) Border.

الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذ سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات وما في الأرض
من ذي الذي يشفع عنه لا بد منه يعلم ما بين إيدهم وما خلفهم و لا يحثون بشر من
عمله إلا بما شاء و مع كرمه السموات والأرض و لا يد حظهم وهو عدله العليم

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2 Cf. ibid., ch. XL, verse 16.
3 *ARIE*, 1939-40, No. D, 118.
4 See p. 7.
6 Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 173, 207.
(b) Main portion.

(1) الملك

(2) اسم الله للرحمن الرحيم

(3) كل نفس ذائقة الموت

(4) هذا قبر العبد الضيف الفريق

(5) الشهيد امتحان إلى رحمة الله تعالى

(6) شرف الدين أبو شرف بن إبى شمس بن إبى شرف

(7) البيم غفر الله له و لوالديه و لجميع المسلمين

(8) في التاريخ ليلة الاثنين السادس والعشرين

(9) من ذي الحجة سنة ست و أربعين و ستامية

TRANSLATION

(a) Ayotu'l-Kursi.¹

(b) (1) Kingdom belongs to Allah (only).

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

(3) "Every soul shall taste of death."²

(4) This is the grave of the weak creature, the drowned one,

(5) the martyr, the dependant on the mercy of Allah the Exalted,

(6) Sharafu'd-Din Abi Sharaf, son of Abi Shams, son of Abi Sharaf

(7) al-Bammi, may Allah pardon him, his parents and all the Muslims.

(8) (He died) on the date, (viz.) the night of Monday, the 26th

(9) of Dhul-Hijja, year (A.H.) six hundred and forty-six (11th April 1249 A.D.).

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED 1264 A.D., FROM PRABHAS PATAN

Prabhas Patan, celebrated for the temple of Somnath, is variously called Patan, Somnath Patan, Deopattan, etc., and lies in the Junagadh district of Gujarat.³ A few inscriptions from this place including those that were removed to the Museum of Antiquities, Junagadh, were studied in two previous issues of this Series.⁴

The present inscription is incised on a slab of black granite, measuring 17° by 25°, which is fixed into the right side of the facade of the mosque which is called Qadli's mosque after the name of the mahalla in which it is situated.⁵ Since the central mihrab of this mosque bears another

¹ Qur'ān, ch. II, verse 255.
² Ibid., ch. III, verse 194.
³ A brief historical and descriptive account of Prabhas Patan will be found in Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. VIII, Kathiawar (Bombay, 1884), pp. 607-11; Commissariat, op. cit., pp. ivii-lxi, lxxiii-lxxv, 54-35, etc.; H. Comens, Somnath and other Medieval Temples in Kathiawar (Calcutta, 1931), etc.
⁵ ARIE, 1954-55, No. C, 162, plate IV.
(a) Epitaph, dated A.H. 646, from Cambay (p. 9)

(b) Arabic version of Veraval Hamsidhā Mātā Temple record, dated A.H. 662, from Prabhas Patan (p. 12)
inscription recording the building of a mosque by one Mahmūd, son of Uthmān in the tenth century Hijra. It is obvious that the inscription under study is not in situ and was removed from its original place at some unknown date. Its exact findspot could not be ascertained.

The importance of the record lies not so much in its contents (which are fairly known to historians from a Sanskrit inscription referred to below) as in the fact that firstly, it is one of the very few early Muslim records of Gujarat and secondly, it constitutes the Arabic version of the equally or rather more important Sanskrit inscription, which must have been removed at some later date from Prabhās Patan to the temple of Harasiddha Matā at Veraval, situated nearby, where it may be seen even today. The obscurity in which the Arabic record has remained so far is not because its whereabouts were not known. On the contrary, the inscription has been duly included in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indorum, where, unfortunately, it was wrongly read and, hence, erroneously ascribed to the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Shih I of Gujarat. According to the Corpus, the inscription mentions the conquest and capture of the town with the celebrated shrine of Somnath by Sultan Mahmūd Bīgarha. The year cannot be clearly made out as the first figure, viz., that of hundred (i.e., nine) can only be deciphered. Still it can be said from the years in which Mahmūd Bīgarha led his armies into Suraṭh that it must be A.H. 900 or a year or two later. These misleading remarks of the Corpus, based as they are on the incorrect text and translation given there, are mainly responsible for the obscurity of this inscription.

The Sanskrit version of this record was published with translation and notes by Dr. E. Hultzsch quite some time back. but there are a few points in Dr. Hultzsch’s study which appear to be doubtful. The same has been recently re-edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar. Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

To enable the reader to compare the contents of both the versions, the purport of the Sanskrit version may be summed up here.

Ship-owner Nurīd-Dīn Pirūz son of ship-owner Khwāja Abū Bakrīhm, a native of Hormuz, had come for business to the town of Somnath during the reign of Arjunadeva, the Vaghelā king of Gujarat (c. 1261-1271 A.D.), when Amir Ruknīd-Dīn was the ruling chief of Hormuz. Pirūz purchased a piece of land situated in the Sāktarī Mahāyānapīṭh outside the town of Somnath, in the presence of the leading men like Thakkur Śrī Pulindēva, Rāmāk Śrī Somavardeva, Thākkur Śrī Rāmīriva, Thākkur Śrī Bhumīśīk and others and in the presence of all (Muslim) congregations, from Rājakū Śrī Chhādē, son of Rājakū Śrī Nānāsha; Pirūz, who by his alliance with the great man Rājakū Śrī Chhādē, had become his associate in meritorious work, caused a mosque to be constructed on that piece of land for its maintenance, i.e. for the expenses of oil for lamp, water, preceptor, etc. and prayers and a monthly reader (of the Qur’ān), and also for the payment of expenses of the particular religious festivals according to the custom of the island, as well as for the annual white-washing and repairs.

1 ARIE, No. 163; ETAPS, 1933 and 34, pp. 56-57, pl. XXIII B.
2 CIB, op. cit., pp. 28-30.
3 E. Hultzsch, A Grant of Arjunadeva of Gujarat, dated 1264 A.D. Indian Archæology, Vol. XI (1882), pp. 241-45, from which evidently all the subsequent readings are reproduced; e.g. J. Burgess and H. Cousen, Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency (Bombay, 1907), pp. 51-52; G. V. Acharya, Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat, Vol. III (Bombay, 1935), etc.
4 Epigraphika Indiae (E), Vol. XXXIV, part IV, pp. 141-150.

5 When the kingship of Hormuz devolved upon Sultan Shīhān-d-Dīn, the last ruler of his line, who was modest and humble, Malik Ruknīd-Dīn endowed with great ambition and profound deliberation won over many officials of the king with gifts and presents and not content with this even won over the queen, who at his behest poisoned her husband. Consequently, in A.H. 647 he became undisputed lord of Hormuz to which he added Qabas, Bahrain and Jūfja and passed away in A.H. 665 after a rule of thirty years. (Vajpati’s Asāh quoted in Arin Ahmad Kazi, Hoist Iltim, Ms., State Library, Hyderabad f. 16b.)
of rents and defects in the building, the said Pirüz bequeathed three sources of income: firstly, a *palladačka*¹ (particulars regarding whose location and the owner are given in details); secondly, a *dānapala* belonging to one oil-mill; and thirdly, two shops in front of the mosque, purchased from Kilhanadeva, Lunasiha, Aśādhara and others; Pirüz also laid down that after meeting the expenses as indicated above, the surplus income should be sent to the holy cities of Mecca and Madina; as regards the management, he desired that the various classes of Muslims such as the communities of sailors, ship-owners, the clergy (†), the artisans (†), etc. should look after the source of income and properly maintain the mosque.²

The slab bearing the Arabic version is unfortunately fragmentary and has lost some portion on the top as well as on the left, and the writing too is considerably damaged. Dated the 27th Ramaḍān of the year A.H.662 corresponding to the 23rd July 1264 A.D., the record agrees in main points with the Sanskrit version, though there are some minor differences between the two. For example, the Arabic inscription does not give all the details regarding the sources of income,³ the procedure for its expenditure, management, etc., which are mentioned at some length in the Sanskrit record. Also, the Arabic version mentions only the leader of prayers (*imām*), caller to prayers (*mu'ādhāhin*) and the cities of Mecca and Madina among the beneficiaries. But the omission in regard to various items of expenditure to be incurred for the proper upkeep of the mosque, such as oil for lamp, etc. and matter of management, is understandable in that they were taken for granted. Likewise, no mention is made of the provision for the celebration of religious festivals as stated in the Sanskrit record. Further, in the extant portion of the Arabic record, we do not find mention of the then Vāghelā king of Gujarāt, Arjunadeva, but the other personages mentioned in the Sanskrit version are mostly referred to. On the other hand, the Arabic version gives some more information regarding the status and position of Pirüz (Pirüz) and his father Abū Ibrāhīm. For example, Pirüz is called therein, 'the great and respected chief (ṣadār), prince among sea-men and king of kings and merchants'. He is further eulogised as 'the Sun of Islam and the Muslims, patron of kings and monarchs, shelter of the great and the elite, pride of the age', etc. Likewise, his father, Abū Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad al-ʿIrāqī, is also mentioned with such lofty titles as 'the great chief of fortunate position, protector of Islam and the Muslims, patron of kings and monarchs, prince among great men of the time, master of generosity and magnanimity', etc. Needless to say, all these titles are absent in the Sanskrit version.

Our inscription in its present state comprises twenty-eight lines of writing in Arabic, which are cut into the stone after the fashion of Sanskrit records. This is yet another example showing that early Muslim epigraphs of Gujarāt were executed not in relief but were incised in the stone. The style of writing is *Nākḥa* of a fairly good type and the text has been read as follows:—

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TEXT

Plate II (b)

(1) يعَدُّ الَّذِي تَعَالُ هَذَا لَنَّم بَيْنِي بِيَتِي فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهَ . . . . . (بَيْنِ هَذَا السَّجَدُ؟)

(2) المَبَارِكَ بِتَارِيخِ السَّابِعُ وَ العَشَرِينِ مِنْ شَهْرِ رَمَضَانِ (سِنَةٌ إِنَّي وَ سِنِينَ؟)

(3) وَ سَنَابِهِ مِنْ الْهَجَرَةِ النَّبِيَّةَ فِي زَمَنِ السَّلَطَانِ العَادِلِ الإِلَمِكِ البَاِذِلِ؟...

¹ Hultsch has not explained this term. For Dr. D.C. Sircar's comments regarding these terms, etc., see Sirca, op. cit., pp. 144-146.
² Hultsch, op. cit., pp. 244-45; Sirca, op. cit., pp. 141-46.
³ A short phrase in line 18 of the Arabic record probably referred to the nature of endowment but that part is too damaged to yield any satisfactory reading.
ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RAJPUT PERIOD FROM GUJARAT

(3) ابو انغمر ركز الدنيا و الدين معز الاسلام و المسلمين لله [في المالدين؟]

(5) و؟ المظلر على الامامه الملك الموبد ابي النصر محمد بن احمد خليد الله

(6) و اعلى امره و شانه في مدينة سومانة جعلها الله من بلاد الامام و

(7) الكفر و الإصنام و اوان حاكهنا كونت مهتر دين و مشير بالرذال الصالح المحطة...

(8) و ساعي هذا الخير و واهبه ادا اجلهم بعد حاكمهنا المذكور السمي جادا قوتأت [ث]...

(9) بن راوتش ناسيه مع كبرائهم احدهم بيلكدي و الثاني بهيسه اتاش و [ث]...

(10) سيدي اعلو و الراذو رامدرو و كلهم اتفقوا جميعا على تأسيس هذا المسجد المعظم على

(11) استنال لدرجات الامام المعظم السيد الشهيد نجم الحق و الذين احمى الامام

(12) و المسلمين ابي الملوك و السلاطين سلطان اكبر العصر برهران افاض الدهر ملكه

ملوك المعبد

(13) و الوجه خافان الجود و السحا ابي ابراهيم بن محمد العراق نور الله مرتين و طيب

مسكنه و مضعده

(15) لا ردي؟ صاحب هذا الخير و هو الصدر المعظم والكرم سلطان النواخذ ملك ملوك

(16) الانتاج نور الدولته و الذين شمس الإسلام و المسلمين ابي الملوك و السلاطين ملحا الابكر

(17) و الامام انتخاج العصر فيروز بن ابي ابراهيم العراق ؟ ادام الله في العز و بناء ؟ و وقت

(18) على هذا المسجد المذكور المشهور في جميع الكونين و استجار مع مشاية ؟ جميعا لوجه

الله الكريم و مربى لرب الجوهرية ......... من ذلك معينا ؟ لعمرة هذا المسجد

(19) المعظم ليكون العماره امانا للطيبات و انتقاداً ؛ لام الفرقتين حيث قالنا لعمر مساعد

(20) الله من آمن و أمانه من الحيران و اقام الصلاة و انا الزكورة و لم يغي الالاح نصي

(21) او ولكان ان يكونوا من المهتمين و افاده لامامه و مذنونه و الفاضل عما عهد به

(22) يرسل الى مكة حرسها الله و مدينة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في صحراء كلها

(23) موانع الصرف فمن رأى ابطال هذا الخير او سمع في اتادة يقول او نعلم من ايماء او اشارة ً يعلم الله تعالى ذلك من جميع فواه و سطع اعتقاده [فيه لفظة ؟]

(24) الله ولعنة اللائدين و الملتك و الناس اجمعين فمن بدلها بعد ما [سمعه]

1 The reading of these words is extremely doubtful.
2 These unintelligible words seem to indicate the endowed objects.
3 Obviously 'وتلکون' is intended.
(26) فانَّما ائِلهَهُ عَلَى الْذِينَ يَبْسُولُونَهُ اِنَّ اللَّهَ سِيَمُ عِلَمٍ وَ تَوَابٍ [رَحْمَ].
(27) عَلَى اِلَّهِ. تَعَلَّى كَمَا قَالَ فِي حَمْمِ كَتَابِهِ الْكَرِيمِ اِنَّ [الله و مَلائِكَتهُ]
(28) يُصِلُونَ عَلَى النَّبيِّ صلى الله عَلَى سَيدٍ نَا مَحَمَّدٍ وَ اللَّهِ الَّذِينَ

**Translation**

(1) Allāh the Exalted may assign this (reward) to one who builds a house in the path of Allāh ..........................[This auspicious mosque was built]

(2) on the twenty-seventh of the month of Ramaḍān, year [sixty-two]

(3) and six hundred from migration of the Prophet (33rd July 1261 A.D.), in the reiga of the just Sulṭān and [the generous king]

(4) Abu'l-Fāhhr (lit., father of pride), Ruknād-Dānya wa'd-Dīn (lit., pillar of State and Religion), Mu'izzul-Islām wa'l-Muṣlimin (lit., source of glory for Islam and the Muslims), shadow of Allāh in [the lands],

(5) one who is victorious against the enemies, (divinely) supported prince, Abīn-Nūṣrāt (lit., father of victory), Māḥmūd, son of Aḥmad, may Allāh perpetuate his . . . . . . . .

(6) and may his affair and prestige be high, in the city of Somnāt (i.e. Somnath), may God make it one of the cities of Islām and [banish ?]

(7) infidelity and idols, and during the time of its ruler Gand Mahattrapadam? and his advisor with correct and beneficial judgment, (namely?) Mehta . . . . . ;

(8) and one who made efforts for this meritorious deed and allowed it, is the greatest of them after the afore-mentioned ruler, (namely) Jādā (i.e. Chhādā) Rāw[at],

(9) son of Rāwat Nānsīh, along with their other prominent persons, one of whom is Bailak Deva (i.e. Palugideva), the second, Bīmsīh Tākur, the third,

(10) Someśar (Someshwar) Dev and the fourth, Rām Dēv, all of whom unanimously agreed to the construction of this magnificent great mosque,

(11) for the merit of the great chief (sad[r), the fortunate. the martyr. Najmāl-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn (lit., star of Truth and Religion), the chief protector of Islām

(12) and the Muslims, father of kings and monarchs. prince among the great men of the age, proof among the accomplished of the time, king of the kings of covenant

(13) and fulfilment, master of generosity and liberality. Abū Ibrāhīm. son of Muḥammad al-'Irāqī, may Allāh illuminate his grave and make his (tānīl testing) place and bed agreeable to him,

(14) in obedience to the order of our Lord? The master of this good deed is the great and the respected chief (sad[r), prince among sea-men. king of the kings of

(15) merchants, Nuṇād-Daulat ṭī'd-Dīn (lit., light of the State and Religion), son of Islām and Muṣlims, father of kings and monarchs, shelter of the great

(16) and the prominent, pride of the age. Fīrūz, son of Abū Ibrāhīm al-'Irāqī, may Allāh perpetuate his glory; he built and endowed

(17) for the above-mentioned mosque which is celebrated throughout the universe.........

.........for the sake of
(18) Allāh, the Generous and by way of seeking the pleasure of the Great Lord... for the building of this great mosque

(19) so that (its) building may serve as a proof of faith in the Manifest Scripture and in utmost accordance with the injunction of the Discrimination between Truth and Falsehood (i.e. the Qur'ān) where, for example, (it is) said, 'Only he shall visit the mosques

(20) of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment), establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allāh; so (as for these)

(21) they would be among the followers of the right course', (and) for the benefit of the Imām (i.e. leader of prayers) and its Mu'ādhdhīn (i.e. caller to prayers); and the balance (of the amount, after the obligations are discharged).

(22) will be sent to Mecca, may Allāh guard it and the city of the Apostle of Allāh (i.e. Madīnah), may Allāh’s salutations be on him, so that (the said amount)be spent there

(23) in proper places. As for those who will seek to nullify this good deed or try to defeat its purpose either by word or deed,

(24) or intention or demonstration, Allāh the Exalted will know it from the sanctity of his heart and the weakness of his belief, and he will be liable to the curse of Allāh,

(25) and (also), the curse of the cursers, of the angels, of the people and, in short, of everybody, will be on him. ‘Then whoever alters it after he has heard of it,

(26) the sin of it then is only upon those who alter it; surely, Allāh is Hearing and Knowing and Relenting and Merciful’.

(27) .... the Exalted Allāh, as He says in His Mighty Invincible Book (i.e. the Qur'ān), Verily, Allāh [and the angels

(28) send their blessings on the Prophet]. And salutations of Allāh be on our chief Muḥammad and on his noble descendants.

V. EPITAPH, DATED 1282 A.D., FROM PATAN (N.G.)

Patan, headquarters of the taluka of the same name in the Mehsana district in north Gujarat, is now shorn alike of its antiquity and former splendour of the capital of the Chāvdā and Chaulukya dynasties of Gujarat. Also variously known in the past as Anahilavādī, Anahillāpurā, Anahila-pāṭaka, Nahrwāla, and now as Paṭan or Pātān, the town lies on the left bank of the Sarasvati river in latitude 23°51' N. and longitude 73°11' E., about 65 miles north by west from Ahmadabad.

Patan continued to be the capital of Muslim governors first, under the Khaljis and Tughluqs and later under the independent sultans of Gujarat, until 1412 A.D., when the capital was shifted to the newly founded city of Ahmadabad. The present town, unfortunately, does not possess any monument of outstanding architectural interest except perhaps Rānī Vāv, a stepwell ascribed to Udayamati, consort of the Chaulukya king Bhīmadeva I, and the excavated remains of the Sahastralinga lake. The Muslim remains also have not completely survived the ravages of time.

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1 Qur'ān, ch. IX, verse 18.
2 Ibid., ch. II, verse 181.
3 Ibid., ch. XXXIII, verse 56 (part only).
4 Nahrwāla was the name by which it was known to Arab travellers and Muslim historians. It is mentioned among others by Maḥdī, Idrīsī and Al-Bīrūnī. For other references to Patan including those of the European travellers and its history, see J. Burgess & H. Cousens, Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, New Imperial Series, Vol. XXXII (London, 1903), pp. 33 ff.; G. H. Dossi and A.B. Clarke, Gazetteer of the Baroda State, Vol. II (Bombay, 1923), pp. 570-89, etc.
The inscription studied below is incised on an arch-shaped tablet measuring about 12" by 17", which is now let into the west wall of a mosque in the Kālī Bāzār of the town. The record being an epitaph, it is evident that it does not originally belong to the mosque. It purports to mention that Fakhru'd-Dīn Ibrāhim, son of 'Abdull-Malik aš-Shahrāzūrī, the merchant, died in the month of Muḥarram A.H. 681 (April-May 1282 A.D.). This means that Ibrāhim had died during the reign of the Vāghelā king Sārāngadeva (c. 1274-1296 A.D.). Within our present state of knowledge, this is the only record at Patan which is dated in the pre-Muslim period of Gujarat furnishing evidence of the settlement, or at least the presence, of Muslims in the very capital of the Rajput rulers. Fakhru'd-Dīn Ibrāhim is mentioned in the record as originally belonging to Shahrāzūr, near Babylon, in modern Iraq.

The text comprising seven lines of writing is executed in Naskh which resembles the script of the previous two records and reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate III (a)*

(1) بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمَٰنِ الرَّحِيمِ
(2) يُبِيرُهمْ رَبُّهم بَرَّةٌ مَّنْهُ وَ رَضْوَانُ
(3) وَ جَنَّاتٍ لَّهُمْ فِيهَا نَعِيمٌ مَّقِيمٌ عَلَى
(4) العِبَادِ التَّقَيْرِ الراَّجِيِ رَحْمَةٌ رَبِّهِ الْكَرِيمِ
(5) فَخَرَّ الْدِّينِ اِلَّا وَرَاهِمِ بِنَ عَبْدِ الدِّينِ الْمَلِكِ بِنَ الصَّدِّيقِ الْقَتَّاجِ
(6) الشَّهِيْدُورِ تَعَالَيْ اَللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِرَحْمَتِهِ
(7) تَوْفَى فِی الْحَجَرِ سَنَةٌ اَحَدِ وَ ثَمَانِيٌّ وَ سَمِئِیٌّ

**TRANSLATION**

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

(2-3) 'Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and (His) good pleasure and gardens, wherein lasting blessings shall be theirs.' This is the grave of

(4) the needy creature, hopeful of the mercy of his Gracious Lord,

(5) Fakhru'd-Dīn Ibrāhim, son of 'Abdull-Malik, son of Siddīq, the merchant,

(6) of Shahrāzūr, may Allāh the Exalted cover him with His Mercy.

(7) He died in (the month of) Muḥarram, year six hundred and eightyone (of the Hijra) (April-May 1282 A.D.).
VI. EPITAPH, DATED 1284 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

This epitaph commemorating the demise of Shārafūd-Dīn Murtadā, son of Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan al-Masawi al-Ḥusaini al-Astārbādī, who died on Thursday in the month of Rabi’ul-Ākhar A.H. 683 (June-July 1284 A.D.), is to be found on a grave without the ḍargāh of Parwāz Shāhid. The inscriptive tablet, which is of white marble, measures 16" by 35".

No information is available regarding the identity or activities of the deceased, Shārafūd-Dīn Murtadā, originally of Astārbād in Persia. The date of his death also falls in the reign of the Vāghelā king Sārangadeva.

The record is executed in Riqā'-mixed Naskh style of writing showing an expert hand. The border around the three sides is inscribed with a Quranic verse, while the main portion comprises seven lines, the first containing the First Creed, the second, another verse from the Qur’ān and the remaining five, the text of the obituary. The full text of the record runs as follows:—

TEXT

Plate III (b)

(a) Along the border.

(1) شهيد الله إنه لا الله إلا هو و الملاكهة و اولوا العلم فقها بالقسط لا الله إلا هو العزيز

الحكم٨ ان الذين عندنا الله السلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتوا الكتاب إلا من بعدما جاءهم العلم بفيا

بينهم و من يكرى بابات الله فان الله سرع الحساب

(b) Main portion.

(2) لا الله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

(3) كل من عليها فان و بقي وجه ربك ذو الحلال و الآخرام

(4) هذا قبر السيد الشهيد الحبيب النسب المنتقل من دار القنا

(5) الى دار البقاء رحمة و ده و غفرانه شرف الذين مرتضى

(6) بن محمد بن الحسن الموسي الحاجب الانصرازي تفمد الله برضوانه يود

(7) مقاعد الصدوق من جانله وقع الانتقال مستقبل يوم الحضي من شهر

(8) ربيع الآخر سنة ثلث و ثمان و سنتين من الهجرة و الصلْوا

(8) و السلام على سيد الأئام محمد و الله المطفلين الامام

TRANSLATION

(a) ‘Allah 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 Allah is Islam, 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 communications of Allah—then, surely Allah is quick in reckoning.”

1 The date of the month is not given in the record.
(5) (1) 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) This is the grave of the fortunate, the martyr, of lofty rank and lineage, the one who departed from the house of transitoriness (i.e. this world)

(4) to the house of permanence (i.e. the next world), hopeful of the mercy of the Lord and His pleasure, Sharaful-Dīn Murtaḍā,

(5) son of Muḥammad, son of al-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Ḥusainī of Astarābād, may Allāh cover him with His pleasure and lodge him in

(6) the parlours of Truth in His paradieses. The departure took place in the early hours of Thursday of the month of

(7-8) Rabī’ul-akhir, year six hundred and eighty-three of the Hijra (June-July 1384 A.D.).

May salutations and peace be on the chief of the mortals, Muḥammad and upon his chosen and excellent descendants.

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED 1286-87 A.D., FROM JUNAGADH

The next inscription recording the construction of a mosque in A.H. 685 (1286-87 A.D.) comes from Junagadh, capital of the erstwhile state of the same name in Saurashtra region of Gujarat. Junagadh, situated in 21°31’ N. and 70°36’ E., is one of the most picturesque towns in India, while in antiquity and historical interest also it yields to none. Until 1472 A.D., when it was conquered by Muḥammad Ṣūr I of Gujarat, who named the city as Muṣṭafābād, Junagadh was a Rajput state ruled by chiefs of the Chudāsāmā tribe. It became a dependency of Delhi under the immediate authority of the Muḥamīl vicerey of Gujarat during the reign of Akbar. About 1735 A.D., Sher Khān Bābā established his own rule.

The present record is carved on the lintel of a thirty-pillared small mosque, about 39 feet long, situated near a large cave known as the stāna of Māi Ghaḍechī near the Dharāgadgh gate of the town. It records that the construction of the mosque was ordered by ‘Alī ibn Ṣūr, son of ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Muṣṭafā in A.H. 685 (1286-87 A.D.). The mosque was thus built during the time of Sārangadeva. About Abūl-Qāsim, the builder, we do not possess any information, but the record invests his name with high titles like ‘the benevolent chief, the great benefactor, prince of chieffains and shipmasters, the prop of the pilgrims to the holy cities of Mecca and Madīnah’, etc. These titles may be taken to suggest that Abūl-Qāsim, possibly an influential merchant conducting business in that part, was associated in some way with liason work between the state and its Muslim population. The record also indicates that there was a considerable number of Muslim population residing at Junagadh, which necessitated the building of a prayer-house and that some of the Saurashtra ports used to clear the traffic of Haj pilgrims from Gujarat and possibly from outside too.

1 Qur’ān, ch. LV, verses 24-27.
2 Name of a city in the Māzandarān province of Iran.
5 For a description of the mosque, see Burgess and Cousens, op. cit., p. 244.
This inscription, as in the case of some of those included in this article (Nos. IV and V) is incised on stone. The style of writing is Naṣīḥa. The text which is inscribed in one line covering a space of 96" by 4" to 2-1/2" reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate V (a)*

امر بناء هذا المسجد المبارک الصدر المفضل المعلم العظيم المولد الكرم ملك الصدور و النورخذ عداد الحاج و الحرمين عفيف الدنيا و الذين اعفاؤهم بن على الأيرجيا راجيا من الله رضوانه تقبل الله منه و غفر له و لوالديه في سنة خمس و ثمانين و ستمية

**TRANSLATION**

This auspicious mosque was ordered to be constructed by the generous, magnificent, benevolent, (divinely) supported and respected chief, prince of chiefs and shipmasters, mainstay of the Ḥāj (pilgrims) and the holy cities (Mecca and Madina), 'Ašūfūd-Dunya wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim, son of 'Ali al-İrajī (of İrajī), in the hope of earning the pleasure of Allāh, may Allāh accept it from him and pardon him and his parents, in the (Hijra) year six hundred and eighty-five (1286-87 A.D.).

Abu'l-Qāsim was thus originally a Persian, İraj being one of the impregnable fort-towns in the Fars province of Iran.

**VIII. EPITAPH, DATED 1287 A.D., FROM CAMBAY**

The arch-shaped marble tablet bearing this epitaph measures in its present state 29" in height and 17-1/2" in breadth and is fixed up, third from left, into the southern wall of the above-mentioned tomb of Parwāz Shahīd at Cambay. The slab is fragmentary, having lost only a small fragment from the top. The language of the epitaph proper is Arabic, but a considerable portion of the inscribed matter is in Persian as will be described shortly. The epitaph refers to the demise, which took place on the 23rd Dhi'l-Hijja of A.H. 685 (9th February 1287 A.D.), of Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī, son of Sālār al-Yazdi.

This epigraph is extremely interesting since, apart from belonging to the pre-Muslim times of Gujarat — its date falls in the reign of Sīrāngadeva as in the case of the previous two records — it contains, instead of the religious texts in the main portion of the slab so usual in similar epitaphs, Persian verses composed by the deceased himself.

The border, of course, contains the famous Quranic verse commonly found in epitaphs. The topmost portion of the extant tablet is cut into two vertical panels, flanking a miniature foiled arch in the middle. These are inscribed with a rubū'ī of which few words are missing, that portion of the slab being broken and lost. Below this are cut nine horizontal compartments, the first seven of which contain a ghazal in Persian. These seven compartments have been further divided alternately into two and three panels: the two panelled compartments contain two verses each, but in the three-panelled ones, only the middle panel contains one verse...the remaining two being decorated with geometrical or floral patterns. The ghazal thus comprises a total number of eleven verses. The text of the epitaph proper is given in the remaining two compartments.

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1 The size of the letters is uneven, being 4" in some portions and about 2-1/2" in the remaining.
2 Yāqūt, op. cit., Vol. I, under 'İraj'.
3 *ARIE*, 1966-57, No. D. 81. This epigraph was thus noted under No. 11 of the *PRWC*, 1919-20 (Bombay, 1921): 'On the tombstone of Zainu'd-Dīn 'Alī ibn Salar, ibn 'Alī al-Bardi, died Sunday 13th Zil-hijja, 785 A.H.'
4 In the case of one: the words missing at the end, constituting the *radīf*, could be easily supplied.
It is a pity that this inscription, which has preserved unto us one of the few earliest specimens of Persian poetry in India and probably the earliest in Gujarat should have remained obscure so far. It is all the more deplorable that nothing is known regarding the deceased, who also composed these verses namely, Zainu’d-Din ‘Ali with the poetical name Sālārī. Anyway, it is at least gratifying that the epitaph has preserved his name.

It is obvious that Zainu’d-Din, who had selected his poetical name Sālārī after the name of his father, was a man of some distinction: he appears to have been a poet of no mean order and also, if the title Sultānu’ll-Muḥaqqiqīn (Prince of the Truthful) prefixed to his name in the text means anything, a mystic of some eminence. The ghazal and the two rubā’īs contained in the record are remarkable for purity of thought and sublimity of mystic exultation, testifying to his high ability as a poet. Their style is marked throughout by chasteness of language, clarity and fluency of expression and above all, by refreshing vigour and surging exuberance of divine love that makes a highly thrilling reading. It is most unfortunate that the remaining poetical output of Sālārī, which must have been considerable, has been lost to us.

The style of writing of the epigraph is partly Naskh with strong Thulth flourishes and partly Thulth. It has been read as under:—

**TEXT**

**Plate IV**

(a) Border.

(b) Vertical panels.

i. Right side

(1) ماست
(2) مکان و لا مكان منزل مامت
(3) مواليد نکک
(4) جملگی حاصل ماست

ii. Left side

(1) ما بهر نظام کايينات آمده ایم
(2) یا ذات قدیم در صفات آمده ایم
(3) نور هم نور سایه سایه ماست
(4) تو سایه میان که ما پاته ایم

---

1 A reading of this inscription, supplied by me, was published in Dr. A. A. Ḥekmat, Naqš-i-Pārēt Bar Ahjār-i-Hind (Tehran, A. H. 1337 Shamsi), pp. 56-57.

2 The greatest mystic poet of Persia, Maulānā Rūmī (d. 1273 A. D.) has also composed one ghazal in the same metre and raddj but with a different qāfīya, which begins thus:

ما بسلیمان خوشن حور و پری کوبیش حسن تو از حد کنست شیوگری کوبیش

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RAJPUT PERIOD FROM GUJARAT

(c) Main portion.

(1) مقصد جان رو نمود جان بیان گومشیان
(2) یی مهد صوت در و گرفت کف بش اسار گیشیب
(3) از صاف لن چو یافت جان گمر شروع
در همه چا از صاف نام و نشان گومشیان
(4) چون لب جان نوش کرد چرخ جام پنا
(5) از سیر و جنتست خوف و امان همه
ما چو ازان فابرخی خون و امان گومشیان
(6) مایا سود و زبان دنیا و عقبا تست
هر دو چو در باختی سود و زبان گومشیان
ابر پتین گومیار کشت گمان گومشیان
(7) چون کے نمود آمدیم در حرم کبیرا
(8) جمله چحرا و کوم نور تجلگ گرفت
ما بجلگ خوشیم خور و جان کومشیان
(9) تئیک در آغوش نامست هر چو چهان کومشیان
(10) زبده هر دو چهان کن (؟) حیات محس
(11) ذل تو سالاریا روح مکانست و کون
(12) این قبر الصدر الكبير المرحوم سلطان المحققین زین العلة و الحق و الديز
(13) عل بن سالار بن عل البدی. توفیق يوم الأحد العشرين ذوالحجة سنة خمسم
و شنیا و شنایه

TRANSLATION

(a) Qur‘ān, ch. III, verses 18-19.

(b) i. (1-2) . . . . our heart . . . . the spot and the space are our abode.
(3-4) the heavenly bodies . . . . . . . . . . . . . all are our gain.

ii. (1-2) We have come for the order of the universe; we have come into Attributes along with Eternal Essence.

(3-4) The Light of all light is the Shadow of our shadow; do not look at the shadow, for we have come with Essence itself.

(c) (1) The object of Soul has manifested itself; let there (now) be no soul in the midst, When the heart has attained the perfect state of esteasy (šāl), let there be no disputation (gāl) by the tongue.

1 For translation of this Quranic verses, see p. in infra.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(2) (Since) mysteries of the Unseen have been revealed without the media of sound and word, it does not matter if the palate and tongue cease to function (and) there is no interpretation and explanation.

(3) Since the soul has acquired the pearl of Love’s secret from the shell of body, it matters little if there is no trace of shell at any place.

(4) When the lips of Soul have drunk a draught from the cup of Immortality, what does it matter if there is no stage of the abode of frailty (i.e. the world) in its way?

(5) The fear and hope (lit., security) of everybody is only on account of hell and heaven. As we are altogether above the two, what do we care if there is no fear and hope?

(6) The sum-total of benefit and loss rests on the world and thereafter for you. When you have staked both, it is immaterial if there be no benefit or loss.

(7) When the Spirit plucked the new fruit of Unity from the garden of Love, who cares if the cloud of certainty does not rain or the sown field of doubt does not exist?

(8) Now that we have alighted in the holy precincts of Divine Majesty, let the wings of the Faithful Spirit (arch-angel Gabriel) not indulge in display.

(9) The whole of the plains and the hills are bathed in the light of Manifestation (of Divine beauty). We are content with this Manifestation; we do not care if there is no Paradise or its maiden damsels.

(10) The cream of both the worlds is the custodian of every life. Since it is confined within our embrace, if there be no both the worlds, it does not matter.

(11) O Sālārī! Your essence is the Spirit of the world and creation; (therefore), it matters little if the revolutions and Time cease revolting and if there is no world and creation (for you).

(12) This is the grave of the great chief (gāder), one who is called unto Allāh’s mercy, Sulṭānu’l-Muḥaqiqin (lit., king of the Truthful, i.e. gūfis), Zainu’l-Millat wa’l-Ḥaqq wa’d-Din (lit., ornament of the religious fraternity, Truth and Religion),

(13) ‘A., son of Sālār, son of ‘Alī al-Yazdi (i.e. of Yazd) who died on Sunday, the 23rd Dhl-Hijja, year (A.H.) six hundred and eighty-five (9th February 1291 A.D.).

IX. EPITAPH, DATED 1291 A.D., FROM CAMBAY

The headstone, bearing this inscription, the last of the group, is also built up, third from right, into the east wall of the tomb of Parwāz Shāhid, at Cambay. Engraved in relief in Nastār characters with strong Thulūh flourishes, it records the demise of Ḥājī Ibēḥīm, son of Muḥammad, son of ‘Alī of Irbīl, popularly called Fatولia, who died on Friday in the middle of the month of Jumādā II A. H. 690 (15th June 1291 A. D.). The date of this record also falls during the rule of Sarangadeva of the Vāghelā dynasty. As regards the deceased, nothing is known from other sources, but from the text of the record it transpires that Ḥājī Ibēḥīm, originally from Irbīl, a town near Mosul in modern Iraq, was one of the wealthy merchants of Cambay in his time since, apart from quite a few other hononrific titles, he is mentioned in the text as the ‘chief of merchants and the prince of shipmasters’. But of particular interest perhaps, from philological point, is the alāṣ or ‘usf by which the Ḥājī is called in the text: Fatolīa, the Ḥājī’s alāṣ appears to me to be the Arābo

1 A famous city in the Kirmān province of Iran.
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 655, from Junagadh (p. 19)

(b) Epitaph, dated A.H. 690, from Cambay (p. 23)
way of writing the vernacular word Faţoļa (फटोला), which seems to be a Gujarati word. It may be pointed out that Fatolia is not the nick-name of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm himself or any other particular individual of his family, but it seems to have been the name by which the whole family was known, since another epitaph at Cambay mentions one more member of the Iribili family, namely, Shamsu’d-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr (d. A. H. 736-1336 A. D.), with the same nick-name. We also know of one more member of this family, Ḥājī Abū Bakr, son of ‘Alī, son of Abū Bakr Iribili (d. A. H. 710-1310 A. D.), who had died at Cambay.

The inscripational tablet in the present case also is arch-shaped, measuring 16" from apex to bottom and 13" in width. It is fragmentary and not whole, with the result that a large portion of the Qura‘ic verse in the order and the first few lines in the main section comprising the religious texts and the usual phrase meaning 'this is the grave of', etc., are lost. The text of the epitaph has been read as follows:—

**TEXT**

**Plate V(b)**

(a) Border.

(1) مغفور الصدر المعظم الصاحب الأعظم ملك
(2) التجار سلطان النواخذة عزالدنا و الدين ناصر
(3) الإسلام و المسلمين الحاجي [ب]راهيم بن محمد بن علي الأراء
(4) عرف قتليه تفتك الله بالرحمة و الرضوان و إسكنه بسجوة
(5) الجنان توق يوم الجمعه منتصف جمادى الآخرة سنة تسعين و ستانيه

(b) Main section.

1 Fatolo (फटोला) is stated in the Gujarati Jodni Kosh of the Gujarat Vidya Pit, Ahmadabad, to mean 'soft', etc., in relation to betel-nuts.
2 *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 122. The upper portion of the first letter in the word 'Fatolio' is slightly flaked off in the tablet of the inscription under study, but there is no doubt about the reading Fatolio which is clearly inscribed in the epitaph under reference.
4 It is obvious that when a tablet is broken by accident, etc., it does not take the exact arched shape as in the present case. One possible explanation is that the fragment was given this shape at the time of letting it up into the wall. On the other hand, we have instances of the back side of a tablet being used for a fresh inscription. Whether the same is the case with the present tablet or not, it is difficult to say. The exact position can only be ascertained when the tablet is dislodged from its present place, but the perfect arched shape of the tablet points to the possibility of a subsequent epitaph having been engraved on the back side.
5 The missing portion is supplied here within brackets.
6 A considerable portion comprising religious texts, etc. preceding these lines is lost.
TRANSLATION

(a) Qur'ān, ch. III, verses 18-19.¹

(b) (1) the pardoned, the magnificent chief, the great and glorious master, king
(2) of merchants and prince of shipmasters, 'Izzu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Nāṣir-
(3) u'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimin (lit., glory of the State and the Religion, helper of Islām and
the Muslims), al-Ḥāji Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Alī Al-irbīlī,
(4) commonly known as Fatolī, may Allāh cover him with (His) mercy and pleasure and
grant him abode in the centre of
(5) the Paradise. He died on the day of Friday, middle of Jumādā II, year (A.H.) six
hundred and ninety (15th June 1291 A.D.).

¹ For the translation of the Qur'anic verses, see p. 17 infra.
SOME TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

An excellent essay on Bihar during the Turko-Afghan period, based mainly on epigraphs some of which were recently discovered by him in his home province has been written by my friend Prof. S. H. Askari of Patna.¹ The learned professor has surveyed in his article all the Arabic and Persian inscriptions, that have come to light so far, of the pre-Mughal period of Bihar’s history. A few early records of Bihar pertaining to the governors of the Mamluks and to the early Sultans of Bengal, contemporary with the Khaljis of Delhi, have been already published in previous issues of this series and elsewhere.² No inscription of the Khaljis has been found as yet in this province which was then under the authority of the contemporary Bengal rulers.

Under the Tughluqs, Bihar was again annexed to the Delhi kingdom as is evidenced by their inscriptions. It is proposed to publish in this paper readings and translations of these records and illustrate them with their reproductions. As Professor Askari has given a very enlightening account of Bihar’s history under the successive dynasties including the Tughluqs, it is not necessary to preface this article with any historical background, the same having now been incorporated into another recent publication.³

The Tughluq inscriptions studied below number eleven and cover a period ranging from A.H. 747 (1346 A.D.) to A.H. 810 (1407 A.D.). Of these, the earliest and his only inscription is that of Muhammad Shāh bin Tughluq Shāh, originally found in north Bihar. Of the remaining, seven are dated in the reign of Firuz Tughluq and three in the reign of his grandson Mahmūd Shāh; except for one inscription of the latter, which is from Kako in Gaya district, all the remaining records are from Bihar Sharif, capital of the region during the pre-Mughal period.

The first of these inscriptions has been now shifted to the Patna Museum, Patna. The huge inscriptional tablet measuring about two feet square and one foot thick was originally found inside a domed building, long used as a temple, in the Bedhan village of Motihari district in north Bihar. The inscription was got removed by Shri S.V. Sohoni, then Commissioner of the Muzaffarpur Division to Muzaffarpur (where I got their rubbings prepared through the courtesy of Shri Sohoni) and later to Patna to be preserved in the local Museum.

Major-General Cunningham was the first to notice this inscription of which he also gave an illustration. Unfortunately, the stone, long worshipped as the ‘Foot-print of Bhagwan’ by the Hindus, received liberal daily libation of ghee and water thus affecting the writing, originally carved in relief. Consequently, Cunningham could not get the record deciphered correctly and hence, wrongly assigned it to Mahmūd Shāh Shariq of Jaunpur.⁴ It was Professor Askari who, from the estampages of this inscription prepared by Maulavi Fashud-Din Balkhi and Shri Vishnu Shastri,
assigned it correctly to the reign of Muḥammad bin Tugluk Shāh. While the learned Professor’s reading is a great improvement, I differ from him in some points, the most important being that relating to the object of construction. Subsequently, Shri Sohoni published his comments on this inscription from the reading of Professor Askari.

According to my reading, the inscription refers to the construction of a well which was completed during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tugluk Shāh and governorship (naubah-i-in’ām) of ‘Izza’d-Din, Qādi-i-Muhr-i Khāyṣ, under the superintendence of Mahmūd, son of Yūsuf, on the 20th Rabī’ I A.H. 747 (11th July 1346 A.D.). The text, inscribed in seven lines of Persian prose in Naskh of an ordinary type in relief, reads as under:

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

[1] تام شد این چه از فضل الله دار
[2] عهد مبارک شاهنشاه گیلانی‌خان همد
[3] أبن تغلق‌شاه لازالت ملكه نوات
[4] انعام ملكه الامراء عزالدولت و الین
[5] قانی مهرب خاص مكنه الله بکار
[6] فرمایی بنهم عمود يوسف الملقب بلقب...
(7) بیستم ؟ ماه ربع الأول سنة سبع و اربعین و سبععیه

TRANSLATION

(1) This well was completed through God’s grace, during
(2) the auspicious reign of the emperor who is the shelter of the world, Muḥammad
(3) son of Tugluk Shāh, may his kingdom continue for ever, during the governorship
(4) of Malik’Umarah ‘Izza’d-Daulat wa’Din
(5) Qādi-i-Muhr-i-Khāyṣ, may God strengthen his position, under the super-
(6) vision of the humble slave Mahmūd, son of Yūsuf, entitled......
(7) on the 20th of the month of Rabī’ I A.H. 747 (11th July 1346 A.D.).

The second inscription of the group is a record of Firuz Shāh. It was discovered by Professor Askari in the northern wall of the hujra of the Sayjidā Nashīn of the Dargah of Shāh Qumais at Bihar Sharif in the Patna district. The epigraph is fragmentary, but the surviving text, consisting of two couplets inscribed in two lines, contains the information that in A.H. 761 (1359-60 A.D.), during the reign of Firuz Shāh, a domed dargah was constructed. It is not possible to say over whose remains the dargah mentioned in the inscription was built, but as Professor Askari has

1 Askari, op. cit., p. 12, where in foot-note 7, he has given English transliteration of the text as read by him.

The translation of his reading will be found in S.V. Sohoni, ‘Inscription of Muhammed-Bin-Yusuf at Bediban’, Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XLII, part 2, 1955, p.3. According to this, the object of construction is ‘Halqatul-Aqtabul-Akbar’ translated as ‘compound of one of the great saints’.

2 Sohoni, op. cit., pp. 1-5.


4 ARIE, 1953-54, No. C, 96. An inscription of the time of Islam Shāh Sūr, appearing on the modern mosque attached to this Dargah, has been published in BIM, 1923-24, p. 29, pl. XIIIc (vide, ARIE, op. cit., No. C, 97).
(a) Inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq, dated A.H. 747, from Bediban (p. 26)

(b) Fragmentary record of Firuz Tughluq, dated A.H. 761, from Bihar Sharif (p. 27)
Some Tughluq Inscriptions from Bihar

pointed out, it could not have been Shāh Qumais Qādirī to whose memory the present imitation shrine is dedicated, since the saint flourished at a later period, having died in 1594 A.D. during the reign of Akbar.¹

The extant tablet measures about 30° by 15° and contains a record of two couplets in Persian. The style of writing is beautiful Tāqī'-like Thulūd with decorative flourishes, which reached a high watermark in Bihar inscriptions of the eighth century Hijra. Almost all the inscriptions of Firūz Shāh and his successors in Bihar Sharif have been executed in this elegant style. The text has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate VI (b)

(1) باذ درگاهش همیشه ملیها هرخاص و عام

(2) کاننیشین گنبد بویق سعد اختير شد تمام

**TRANSLATION**

(1) May his.....be victorious, like (his) standard, over the enemies! May his court be always a shelter for the high and the low!

(2) The date from the (Prophet's) Migration was sixtyone over seven hundred (A.H. 761=1359-60 A.D.), when such a tomb was completed at an auspicious time (lit., at the time of auspicious stars).

The second inscription of Firūz Tughluq, also dated in A.H. 761 (1359-60 A.D.), is engraved on the reverse of the bi-inscriptional slab containing the inscription of Shamsu'd-Din Firūz Shāh of Bengal, dated A.H. 709 (1309 A.D.),³ and not the one of the same monarch, dated A.H. 715 (1315 A.D.), as stated by H. Blochmann.⁴ This confusion arose out of the fact that there were two inscriptions tablets, one containing an inscription of Firūz Shāh of Bengal and the other containing the inscriptions of the same monarch on one side and of his Delhi name-sake⁵ on the other; Blochmann mixed up one inscription of the Bengal king with the other. Thus according to him, the inscriptive tablet then attached to the group of buildings called Ḥātim Khān's palace contained the inscription of the Bengal king dated A.H. 709 and the inscription of the same monarch contained on the tablet in the Chhoṭī Dārgāh was the one dated A.H. 715. But the fact is otherwise. Either Blochmann had got his notes mixed up or he was misinformed.⁶ Consequently, his statement about the inscription, dated A.H.709, being from the Ḥātim Khān's palace is not authentic. Professor Askari was aware of this confusion but he too was caught unaware and accepted the position that the tablet bearing the A.H. 709 epigraph, now found in the Chhoṭī Dārgāh, must have been originally shifted from Ḥātim Khān's palace.⁷ The fact is that the tablet which was attached to Ḥātim Khān's palace when Blochmann wrote is evidently the one shifted to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, while the other, bi-inscriptional, tablet is still in the Chhoṭī Dārgāh where it was lying in the time of Blochmann.

² Ibid., p. 14, f.n. 5, supplies these words: Aftab-i-Adl-i-(u Hamchū).
³ JASB, Vol. XLII (1873), p. 249, no. 5; pl. VIII in ibid., Vol. XL (1871). It was edited in EIM, 1917, 18, p. 22, pl. VIb.
⁴ JASB, Vol. XLII (1873), p. 250, no. 6. It was edited in EIM, op. cit., p. 35, pl. XIIb.
⁵ JASB, Vol. XLII (1873), pp. 302-03.
⁶ It is perhaps incorrect to say that Blochmann personally saw these inscriptions at Bihar Sharif as stated in EIM, 1917-18, pp. 22, 34 and Askari, op. cit., p. 9.
⁷ Askari, op. cit.
The Tughluq record under study runs into six couplets of Persian inscribed in three lines in elegant Thulūd of the Bihar variety. It purports to mention the renovation of an auspicious building which took place in A.H. 761 (1359-60 A.D.) during the reign of Firuz Tughluq through the efforts of the Royal Reporter of the province. The verse intended to give the name of the Reporter is not very intelligible, but before it is discussed, the reading of the text may be quoted first. The tablet containing the record measures 63" by 21" by 3".

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(1) مجده گشت این میمون عمارت یک‌برو
شهمشگ این آتش شا فیروز شا آنک
(2) برس و انتسه نده خاص
برید همه اثردور داور
(3) فرمی تومار در هفت کشتو
کشتند عفت آز تاریخ هجرت
فرو رود یک بر شست دیکر
همیشه ناد شه برتخت دولت
چو نام خوش فیروز و مظهر

TRANSLATION

(1) This auspicious building was renovated in the reign of justice-entertaining monarch, the emperor of the world, Firuz Shah, one through whom niches and pulpits (i.e. mosques) flourished,

(2) through the efforts and at the instance of the favourite servant, (who is) the Reporter of the province in the period of the just king,

angel-natured Malik of perfect competency, Fahim, (who is) illustrious in the seven climes (i.e. the whole world).

(3) Seven hundred from the date of the (Prophet's) Migration had passed and besides, one added to sixty (A.H. 761–1359–60 A.D.).

May the king remain on the throne of good fortune for ever, as victorious and successful as his name.

Blochmann does not attempt to give the name of the renovator at all; he takes the word 'Fahim' (lit., endowed with wisdom) as an adjective; Professor Askari, on the other hand, considers the renovator and the Reporter of the province to be two different persons and states that the inscription records the renovation of the building at the instance of a Barid or Reporter of the district by Malik Kaft.1 This is not warranted by the text, according to which, the building was renovated by the Reporter himself, whose name was either Kaft or Fahim. I have interpreted the above two verses in line no. 2 to indicate that the renovator's name was Malik Fahim.

The third inscription of Firuz Tughluq and fourth of the group, was also discovered by Professor Askari on a slab of black basalt fixed below the chiraghādān in Amber at Bihar Sharif.2 The importance of this record has already been pointed out elsewhere by me in my study of another inscription from the same town.3 The record assigns the construction of a mosque in A.H. 765

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1 Askari, op. cit., p. 14.
2 ARIB, 1953–54, No. C, 92; Askari, op. cit., p. 15, where in fn. 7, its reading is given in roman characters.
(a) Inscription of Firuz Tughluq, dated A.H. 761, from Bihar Sharif (p. 28)
SOME TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

(1363 A.D.) to Khwaja Bengali Khan, a typical name in itself. But the most important aspect of this record is its mention of the governor of Bihar at this time: he is the great Khan, Asadu’l-Haq wa’Din Da’ud Khan’. This Da’ud Khan was, as stated elsewhere, most probably a son of Malik Ibrahim Bayyuh, Firuz Tugluq’s governor of Bihar, who had died, according to the inscriptions on his tomb at Pir Pahadi at Bihar Sharif, in A.H. 753 (1353 A.D.). If it be so, Da’ud Khan, son of Bayyuh, who is mentioned among the grandees of Firuz’s kingdom in the Sirtat-i-Firuz Shahi, must have succeeded his father in the governorship of Bihar which he held at least until the date of the present inscription. Da’ud Khan appears to have died prior to 30th Muhaarram A.H. 767 (17th October 1365 A.D.), since an inscription from the same town bearing this date mentions Khansada Sulaiman, son of Ulugh Da’ud Khan (probably identical with Da’ud Khan of our record) as the governor.1 As regards Bengali Khan, however, no information is available.

The present record is engraved in three lines of Persian prose on the slab which measures about 38” by 19”. The style of writing is elegant decorative Thulth. The text of the epigraph has been read as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate VII (b)*

(1) بَيْنَ كَرَدِ عَمَارَةٍ اِنَ مسجد مبارک بنیاد و محراب بر مثال كعبه بنیاد در عهده خدایگان جهان و پادشاه سلیمان نشان الوائق بالتئابد الرحمن (sic)

(2) آبى المظفر فیوز شاء السلطان خلد الله ملكه و در ایالت خان كبير إسماحلق و الالغ اعظم داود خان اعز الله انصاره

(3) بنى امیدوار حضرت رباني خواجه بنگال خانى احسن الله اجره فی الغرة من ربع الاول سنة خمس و ستين و سبعاپا

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The building of this mosque of blessed foundation and arch built like Kaba was constructed in the reign of the lord of the earth and king of Solomon’s insignia, one who is confident of the support of the Merciful (Allah),

(2) Abu’l-Muzaffar Firuz Sháh, the Sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom, and during the governorship of the great Khan, Asadu’l-Haq wa’Din Ulugh A’zam Dá’ud Khan, may Allah honour his helpers,

(3) by the creature (who is) hopeful of the (favour of the) Mighty Lord (Allah), namely, Khwaja Bengali Khan, may Allah recompense him with a fine reward, on the 1st of Rabi’u’l-Awwal, year five and sixty and seven hundred (1st Rabi’ 1 A.H. 758=8th December 1363 A.D.).

The credit of discovering the fifth inscription of this study, also belonging to Firuz Sháh’s reign, goes again to Professor Askari.2 The inscriptive tablet is fixed over the door of a chamber in a private house, situated opposite the Shughrí Waqf Estate at Bihar Sharif.3 Unfortunately, the tablet is fragmentary, a considerable portion having been lost; in its present condition, it

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1 For details regarding the identity of these personages and inscriptions mentioning them, please see ELAPS, op. cit., pp. 6-9.
2 Askari, op. cit., p. 16, fn. 8.
measures about 20" by 10". From the surviving text of two lines, which only contains the name of the king and the date, it is not possible to say anything about the purport of the epigraph; moreover, its exact findspot is also not known.

The style of writing, as in the case of the previous three records, is elegant Thuluth. The text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate VIII (a)*

(1) ان الوائق بتأمل الرحمن ابومعتوفر فروز شاه السلطان
(2) الخامس عشر من شهر شوال سنة اربع ومائتين ومسمائه

**TRANSLATION**

(1) ...... confident of the support of the Merciful (Allāh), Abu’l-Mu’affar Firūz Shāh, the Sultān
(2) ...... fifteenth of the month of Shawwāl, year four and seventy and seven hundred (15th Shawwāl A.H. 774=9th April 1373 A.D.).

The sixth and seventh inscriptions of the group also belong to the time of Firūz Shāh. Their texts are carved on the two sides of a huge fragmentary slab of black basalt (30" by 21"), which is originally said to have been recovered from the tank excavated at Bihar Sharif by Ḥālib Khān Sūr during the reign of Shāh Jahān and is now lying in the Sughrā Waqf Estate. ¹

These two inscriptions are very interesting, but unfortunately, the slab being fragmentary and damaged and writing quite intricate, it has not been possible to decipher completely the text, especially in the second line of the obverse; the undecipherable portion seems to contain the names of a couple of places. The texts are composed in Persian prose, the one on the obverse mentioning the construction of a gateway and an arch and the commander-in-chief of the forts of Jalāwāl ² and other places; the reverse contains the name of Firūz Shāh and also, immediately preceding the date of which the year is lost, the statement to the effect that (the builder ?) was the chamberlain for the Hindus of the kingdom. ³

The style of writing of both the records is bold Thuluth of the Bihar variety, resembling in particular to that of the Šakūnāt inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, also from Bihar Sharif. ⁴

The text on the obverse has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate IX(a)*

(1) بُود فتَجَٰذِه عِمَارَةٌ اٰین دِروَآْرُه نخُستُهُ فِن وَ آن نَطَاق مِیمون اَن در اَبِاء خَلَافَه و
(2) اعتَوار [سلطانۜ] ....
(3) حصار جِلَاؤِلَا ؟ ۖ ..
(4) سلطانه و ملکه ؟ ....
(5) و ... دوازده برج سماوی بازو ؟ ....

¹ *ARIE*, 1953-54, Nos. C, 89-90; Askari, op. cit., p. 12, f.n.5 and p. 16, f.n. 6.
³ The reading of this and the following words is tentative.
(a) Fragmentary record of Firuz Tughluq, dated A.H. 774, from Bihar Sharif (p. 30)

(b) Another fragmentary record of the same king, from the same place (p. 32)
(a) Fragmentary inscription on loose slab, from Bihar Sharif (p. 30)

(b) On the reverse of the above slab: record of Firūz Tughluq (p. 31)
TRANSLATION

(1) The renovation of the buildings of this gateway of auspicious dignity and arch of blessed sign took place in the days of the caliphate and years of the sultanate of

(2) ........................................................ fort of Jalāwlā?

The text on the reverse reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate IX(b)

...................................................... (1) [سلطان عالمینا، الوافی به تائب الرحمن فیروزشاه السلطان]

...................................................... (2) حاجب هندوان مالاک بود فی الساع من ربع الآخر سنة

TRANSLATION

(1) .. Sultan who is the shelter of the world, one who is confident of the support of the Merciful (Allah), Firdūs Shāh a’s-Sultan . . . . .

(2) .. was the chamberlain for the Hindus of the kingdom. On the 7th Rabī‘u’l-Ākhar, year . . .

There are one or two points regarding these two records which are worthy of our attention. The style of writing in both these records is strikingly similar, which makes it not unlikely that both might be parts of one inscription only. Some confirmation for this view is lent by the fact that each of the two lines on the reverse seems to be in immediate continuation of the corresponding line on the obverse as may be judged from the following text arranged in that order:—

(1) بود تجدد عمارہ این درواز مرحلہ فر و آئین طبق میمون اثر در ایام خلافت و اعوام [سلطان] ................. [سلطان عالمینا الوافی به تائب الرحمن فیروزشاه السلطان]

(2) .. سلطان و ملکه .. حصار جلاول اور دوازد برج سماوی بارو .. حاجب هندوان مالاک بود فی الساع من ربع الآخر سنة

If so, it would mean that the writing on both the sides constitutes one inscription only. But in that case, it would be difficult to visualise the position in which the slab was originally set up especially when we remember that it was meant for a gateway and an arch. It is also worth noting that the spacing of letters in the writing on the reverse slightly differs from that in the obverse.

The eighth inscription of our study is yet another fragmentary inscription of Firdūs Shāh also discovered by Prof. Askari. The surviving tablet bearing this record measures 15” by 14” and is built up in the north wall of the shrine of Shāh Faḍlū’llāh Gosā’in, an open four-walled tomb, in the Bārādārī Mahalla of Bihār Sharīf. The present record is apparently a small part of a larger inscription.

1 ARIE, 1955-56, No. D, 76; Askari, op. cit., p. 15 and f.n. 3. It is to be noted that in the tomb of Shāh Faḍlū’llāh Gosā’in, who died in A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.), are found three more inscriptions which were obviously fixed there to save them from destruction (ARIE, 1955-56, Nos. D, 77-79).
As the extant text only comprises one hemistich of Persian verse containing the name of the monarch, it is difficult to state the exact purport of the record. The style of writing is elegant *Thulth* of the Bihar variety. The reading of the epigraph is as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate VIII(b)*

(1) شد بهد دولت شام جهان فیروزشاه

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

**TRANSLATION**

(1) . . . . . took place during the reign of king of the world Firūz Shāh.

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

The last three inscriptions of the present group pertain to the rule of Mahmūd Shāh Tughluq, a grandson of Firūz Shāh. The first of these is now lying loose in the courtyard of the house of Sayyid Zaka Husain at Bihar Sharif, where it was removed from the Chhotā Takia containing the tomb of Shāh Diwān 'Abdul-Wahhāb. The inscription must have belonged to a *Khāngāh*, since it is recorded therein that this *Khāngāh*, which may be a shelter for the weak, was constructed by the governor of the province, Diwān-l-Ḥaq, and completed in the year A.H. 799 (1396-97 A.D.), during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh.

As Blochmann has rightly remarked, the inscription forms an important document to show that Bihar did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Nūṣrat Shāh, the rival of Mahmūd Shāh for the Delhi throne.

The record consists of two verses in Persian, executed in elegant *Thulth* of the Bihar variety on a slab measuring 45" by 9" by 4" and reads as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate X(a)*

(1) كرد اندز عملد سلطان جهان محمود شاه حاكم خلطة ضياء الحق بن این خاتم

(2) هنصن ان نا نود از سال هجرت رفته نود شد تمام این خاتم اندا ضعیفان اینم

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The governor of the province, Diwān-l-Ḥaq constructed this *Khāngāh* during the reign of the king of the world Mahmūd Shāh.

(2) Seven hundred and ninety-nine had passed from the year of (the Prophet's) Migration (A.H. 799—1396-97 A.D.), when this *Khāngāh* was completed; may it be a shelter for the weak!

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2 *JASB*, op. cit.

3 The slab in this portion, as will be seen from the plate, shows three large cavities caused by the constant rubbing of the same by people who believe that it is endowed with some medical properties. Same is the case with some other inscriptive tablets of black basalt from Bihar.
(a) Inscription of Mahmūd Tughrulq, dated A.H. 799, from Bihar Sharif (p. 32)

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 810, from the same place (p. 34)

(c) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 799, from Kako (p. 33)
Another inscription from Bihar Sharif, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, mentions the construction of a mosque in A.H. 792 (1399-90 A.D.), during the reign of Mîmûd Shâh Tughluq by Khwâja Dîyâ, son of 'Ulî.¹ Blochmann thinks that this Khwâja Dîyâ and Dîyâ-ul-Haqq of the present inscription are identical.²

The second inscription of Mîmûd Shâh is from Kako, in Gaya district. The tablet bearing this record is now built up in the eastern wall near the entrance of the tomb of Bibi Kamâlo. Cunningham who had noticed this epigraph and given a lithographed plate in one of his reports, believed it to belong to Jalâlu’d-Din Muhammad Shâh of Bengal and consequently assigned to the tomb a date in that monarch’s reign.³ It was again Professor Askari who deciphered the inscription correctly and assigned it to the rule of Mîmûd Shâh Tughluq.⁴

The inscriptive tablet, which measures 26” by 13”, is unfortunately badly damaged with the result that the writing, especially in the portion containing the name of the builder, is difficult to decipher. The epigraph records the building of a mosque by ‘Izzatu’d-Dîn, during the governorship of Khân-i-Mu’azzam A’zâm Khân who is described in the record as ‘a saint clad in tunic and cap’ (official dress). The mosque with its dome of lofty door was completed on the 10th of the month of Allâh (Ramadân ?) in the year A.H. 799 (1397 A.D.).

The text of the inscription is read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate X(c)

(1) قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجد الله بني الله له بنا مله في الجنة
    شاه محمد بن محمد شاه
    وقت خان معظم اعظم خان
    كرد امدواد عقوم كان
    يارب از فضل خود ينصره
    بنده تو بتو كرته بناء
    در زوده ز فرق جرح كلام
    سال در هنجد و نود و نه بود

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may peace be on him has said, ‘Our work builds a mosque for Allâh. Allâh will build for him a house like it in Paradise’. ¹

(2) In the reign of (the king, who is) the sâlîr of the sky, shâbî of Allâh, Shâh Mîmûd, son of Mûhûmmed Shâh
    (and) during the governorship of the magnificent Khân, A’zâm Khân (who is) a saint (lit., friend) of Allâh in tunic and cap.

(3) ‘Izzatu’d-Dîn, (who is) expectant of the pardon of (his) sins, built this mosque,
    O Lord! Forgive him through your bounty! Thy creature has sought shelter with Thee! ²

¹ JASB, op. cit., p. 303; EIAFS, 1955 and 56, p. 10, pl. IIc.
² JASB, op. cit.
³ Cunningham and Garrick, op. cit., pp. 36-39, pl. X (top), where also an account of the town of Kako, the tomb of the Bih, etc. will be found.
⁴ Askari, op. cit., p. 17, fn. 4, where a reading of the text is given in roman characters.
(4) Its vault, dome and lofty door have snatched away the cap from the forehead of heaven (i.e. excelled it in height).

The year was seven hundred and ninety-nine when it was completed on the tenth of the month of Allāh (10th Ramaḍān 799 = 7th June 1397 A.D.).

About the two personages mentioned in this valuable inscription, viz. Khān-i-Mu'azzam A'żam Khān, the governor and ' Izzatu'd-Dīn ?, the builder, we do not possess any information.

More important than the preceding two inscriptions is another record of Maḥmūd Shāh, the last of the group, also engraved in elegant Thulūṭ of the same type, as in the previous epigraphs. Now fixed over the central mihrāb of a mosque in the Chāndpūra Mahalla of Bihar Sharif, the inscriptive tablet of black basalt measuring 32" by 10" is fragmentary, but the portion of the text lost does not appear to be much. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque on the site of an old one by Hájī Bū Bakr, son of Maḥmūd, in A.H. 810 (1407 A.D.) during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq.

The record is very important as it shows that at a time when the Tughluq authority was wrought with dangers of dissensions and had practically collapsed, this far away eastern province of the Delhi empire was still recognising the sovereignty of Maḥmūd Shāh provided, of course, that the inscription under study is in situ. It will be remembered that at this period the Jaunpur kingdom under its ruler Ibrāhīm Shārqi was asserting its authority and the proof that Bihar or at least some parts thereof were under Shārqi authority is afforded by inscriptions ranging from A.H. 805 (1402-03 A.D.) from Darbhanga in north Bihar to A.H. 892 (1486-87 A.D.) from Bihar Sharif itself. There is also another inscription of Ibrāhīm Shāh Shārqi at Bihar Sharif which is dated A.H. 807 (1404-05 A.D.). This would mean that sovereignty of two independent kings, Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq of Delhi and Ibrāhīm Shārqi of Jaunpur, was acknowledged practically during the same period and in the same place, which is difficult to explain unless, as is more probable in view of its findspot, the Shārqi inscription is not in situ and was brought from elsewhere.

The present record, which consists of two verses executed in the beautiful Thulūṭ style of the Bihar pattern, has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

**Plate X(h)**

\( (1) \)  \( \text{کرد این مسجد بناد در عهد شه عمود شاه} \)

\( \text{حاجی بوعیری بن عمود} \) \( \text{شاد تمام از سر عمارت هیصدودم} \)

\( (2) \)  \( \text{بد جامدی اولد اندر بیست و پنجم تاریخ ماه} \)

**TRANSLATION**

1. Hājī Bū Bakr, son of Maḥmūd .................. erected this mosque during the reign of the king Maḥmūd Shāh.

2. It was on the 25th day of the month of Jumādā I of the year eight hundred and ten ....... when it was completed afresh (25th Jumādā I A.H. 810 = 28th October 1407 A.D.).

Nothing is known about the builder. The mosque seems to have been constructed by him on the site of an old one.

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1. *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 80. The credit of spotting this inscription also goes to Professor Askari (op. cit., p. 17, f.n. 6).
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SULTANS OF BENGAL FROM BIHAR

BY A. A. KADIRI

In the medieval period, the province of Bihar had no independent status: it only served as a bone of contention between the kingdoms of Delhi and Bengal, in their struggle for supremacy over it. Consequently, the history of Bihar under the Muslims has to be mainly pieced together from mural records only. After its conquest by Bakhtyār Khalji in 1199 A.D., Bihar, along with Bengal, seems to have quietly passed on to the Sultans of Delhi who exercised their authority over the region through their governors, some of whom came into clash with the central authority for asserting independence. The collapse of the Mamlūk rule at Delhi witnessed the establishment of independent kingdom of Bengal, which also then included Bihar, but under Ghiyāth’-Din Tughluq and his successors, Delhi could again assert its authority over Bihar for about a century.¹

After the Tughluqs, the Sharqī kings of Jaunpur ruled over Bihar up to 1486 A.D. The political situation of the eastern provinces during this period was complicated and Bengal was once again eclipsing Bihar, different parts of which acknowledged the rule, at one time or the other, of the Sharqīs, the Sultans of Bengal and the Lodīs, until its final subjugation by the Mughals. The following study of eleven inscriptions belonging to the Sultans of Bengal, which have been found at various parts of Bihar, is of particular interest as it helps us to determine the political position of the province at different times.

Of these eleven records, one is an additional record, recently discovered in north Bihar, of Ruknu’-Din Kaikā’ūs (1291-1301 A.D.), a grandson of Balban. It is, incidentally, the earliest epigraphical record of that king found so far. The second inscription is dated in the reign of Nāṣiru’d-Din Mahmūd I (1442-1459 A.D.) of the later Ulyā Shāhī dynasty, and was found at Bhagalpur. From the same place comes the third record which was inscribed in the reign of Shaṃsu’-Din Muṣafar Shāh (1491-95 A.D.), the Abyssinian ruler of Bengal. The next seven inscriptions, from Patna and Saran districts, belong to the time of ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn Husain Shāh (1493-1519 A.D.), the minister of Muṣafar Shāh, who replaced his master. The last epigraph of the group is an undated record of Husain Shāh’s son and successor, Nāṣiru’d-Dīn Nugrat Shāh (1519-32 A.D.), from Begusarai in north Bihar. Some of these inscriptions have been noticed or published elsewhere, as will be mentioned in their proper place, but not always they have been illustrated.² Since due illustration of an inscription constitutes an important aspect of epigraphical studies, the same are also included for study.

The earliest inscription of this group is dated A.H. 692 (1293 A.D.) in the reign of Ruknu’-Din Kaikā’ūs, grandson of Ghiyāthu’d-Dīn Balban, who ruled as an independent king of Bengal; it is also the earliest inscriptions record of this king. Kaikā’ūs’ place in history is only determined by his coins bearing the dates between A.H. 691 and 702 and his three inscriptive records discovered in the last century, dated A.H. 697 and 698.¹ The present record, which was set up on the last day of the month of Muharram A.H. 692, thus confirms the numismatic evidence.

¹ The inscriptions of the Tughluqs from Bihar have been studied at pp. 25-34, infra.
² Professor S.H. Askari, ‘A Review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period’, Current Studies (Magazine of the Patna College, Patna), 1954, pp. 1-20, where almost all the known Bihar records of Bengal monarchs have been surveyed. The same has been included in R. R. Diwakar, ed. Bihar Through the Ages (Calcutta, 1959), pp. 383 ff.
The huge inscriptive tablet, which at the time of copying the inscription was lying in the sub-
divisional office at Begusarai in the Monghyr District, was recovered from the banks of the Burhi
Gandak at Thānā Maheshwārā in the same sub-division and measures 6'3" by 1'4".1 The text
consists of two lines of Arabic prose, executed in beautiful Ṭhulth-u-Naskh characters in relief and
records the construction of a strong fort by Ikhtiyārīd-Din Abūl-Mu'āsilī Firuz Aitigin Sultanī,
etitled Khān-i-Khānān. Firūz Aitigin is also mentioned in the Lakhisarai record of Kaikā'ūs,
which shows him to be the governor of the western part of the Bengal kingdom. He was evidently
one of the two noblemen left behind by Ghivāthīd-Din Balban to assist his son Nasīrūd-Din
Bughrā Khān in the government of Bengal.2 The surmise that Firūz Aitigin of these inscriptions
later assumed the kingship of Bengal under the name Shamsūd-Din Firūz Shāh is almost a fact.3

The text of the inscription has been read as follows:

Plate XI(a)

1) امر بناء هذا الحصن الحسين في عهد السلطان السلاطين ركن الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر
کیکوس شاه السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان علی خلفة الله ناصر امبرالمؤمنین
2) الخصائص الكبير العالم العادل اختيار الحق و الدين المخلص بخان خانان ابرالمالی
فیروز ایتکین السلاطین ضاعف الله قدره فی 6 والخم من الحرم سابه و تمنع و ستامه

TRANSLATION

(1) This strong fort was ordered to be built in the reign of the king of kings, Ruknu'd-Dunyā
wa'd-Din Abūl-Mu'āsilī Kaikā'ūs Shāh, the Sultan, son of the Sultan, son of the Sultan, the
right arm of the viceroy of God, the helper of the prince of the Faithful,

(2) by the great Khān, the learned, the just, Ikhtiyārīl-Ḥaq wa'd-Din, entitled Khān-i-
Khānān, Abūl-Mu'āsilī, Firūz Aitigin Sultanī, may God multiply his dignity, on the last day of
Muharram in the year (A.H.) 692 (10th January 1293 A.D.).

The next inscription of this group is engraved on a loose slab, measuring 19" by 14", which was
found lying uncared for in Kohin's Bāgh at Bhagalpur, headquarters of the district of the same
name. It is a hitherto unnoticed record of Nasīrūd-Din Maḥmūd Shāh of Bengal and records the
construction of a bridge in the reign of that monarch on the 5th Šafar A.H. 854 (20th March 1450
A.D.).4 This epigraph clearly indicates that Bhagalpur was included within Bengal territories at
this period.

Since the inscriptive tablet remained exposed to elements of weather, one does not know for
how long, it is not surprising that the writing, which seems to have been originally carved in low
relief, has been pretty badly worn out. However, the record is easily decipherable save in the

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1 Prof. R. K. Chaudhary, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XXXVI (1955), p. 166, edited this inscription with a facsimile, but as Dr. Dani has rightly observed, it is badly published (Dr. A. H. Dani, Bibliography of the Muslim inscriptions of Bengal, Dacca, 1957, p. 4). It has been also included in Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit.
4 Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 12, has 'سلطان
5 Ibid., p. 12, has 'التاریخ'.
6 AEB, op. cit., No. D, 55 and p. 11. Another inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh from Bhagalpur, recording the
construction of a mosque by Khurshīd Khān in A.H. 880, has been published in Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 290.
decade portion of the date given in words. The word is either "خمسين" (fifty) or "ستين" (sixty). I have preferred the former, which would make the date A.H. 854.1

The record consists of four lines of Arabic prose inscribed in Nasta'liq characters resembling the style of Bārbak Shāh's inscription from Tribeni in the Hooghly district of Bengal.2 It has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate XII(a)

(1) بنا هذالقنطرة في زمن الملك العادل الموهيد
(2) تانيت الرحمان خليفة الله بالجهة و البرهان
(3) ناصر الدنيا و الدین ابو المفضل عمود شاه السلطان
(4) في الخامس من شهر الصفر ختم الله بالخير و التفضل هو اربع و خمسين و ثمانية

TRANSLATION

(1) This bridge was constructed in the reign of the just king, one who is strengthened
(2) by the support of the Merciful, the vicegerent of Allāh by all arguments and demonstrations,
(3) Nāgiru’l-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Abū’l-Muẓaffar Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sultān,
(4) on the 5th of the month of Sa’far, may Allāh end it with bounty and victory, of the year
(A.H.) 854 (20th March 1450 A.D.).2

The next inscription in chronological order of this collection is a recently found new record of Shamsu’l-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh, the last of the Abyssinian kings of Bengal.3 The other extant records of this king number only four bearing the dates between A.H. 896 and A.H. 898.4

The loose tablet bearing this inscription measuring 29" by 10" is now preserved in the Jāmi’-Masjīd at Champānagar, a suburb of Bhagālpūr. The writing on the tablet is somewhat damaged. The record consists of two lines of Arabic prose purporting that a mosque was constructed by Muṭtabar Khān, an official of the king, in the reign of Shamsu’l-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn Abū’n-Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh, on the 10th of Muḥarram A.H. 897 (13th November 1491 A.D.). The style of writing employed is Naṭa’liq. The text of the record reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

(1) يسِّم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدنا في الدار الدنيا يبني الله

3 If it is "ستين", the date would be A.H. 864, which would make this inscription carry forward the
date of Mahmud’s rule to 6th Safer, A.H. 864. It may be remembered that the established date of his son Bārbak Shāh’s earliest inscription is 1st Jumāda, A.H. 884 (Dani, op. cit., p. 22).

2 Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1953 and 64, p. 20, pl. VIIa.

3 ABBE, op. cit., No. D, 59. The credit of discovering this inscription goes to Prof. Askari (op. cit., p. 19, fn.6).

4 Three have been published in BIM, 1929-30, pp. 11, 13 and JASB, Vol. XLII (1973), p. 290. The fourth is
the Kabul record assigned to Mahmud II, which has been proved to belong to Muẓaffar Shāh (EIAPS, 1953 and 66,

5 Shamsu’l-Dīn Ahmad, op. cit., p. 144, reads here ‘الموهيد’.
TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. The Prophet, may peace of Allāh be upon him, says, 'He who builds a mosque in this world, God builds for him seventy palaces in the next world.' [The mosque was built in the............ dominion of one who is confident of the support of the Merciful (Allāh),

(2) Shamsu’d-Dunyā wa’Din Abu’n-Nast Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. The builder of this charitable building (i.e.) Khān-i-A’zam Mu’tabar Khān, the Kāfarmān (Agent) of Bāzārāti Hat, on the 10th of Muharram in the year 897 (A.H. = 13th November 1491 A.D.).

The reading of the name of the place which was in charge of Mu’tabar Khān, the builder, is not quite certain, but Bāzurāti Hat seems to be the only reading supported by the rubbing. Also, the records at our disposal do not contain any information about Mu’tabar Khān, who seems to have been a noble of first rank.

Of the seven inscriptions, which incidentally form the largest number of the group, belonging to the reign of ’Alā’u’d-Din Husain Shāh of Bengal, the earliest, dated A.H. 903—the fourth year of his reign, is fixed into the left side of the facade of Shāh Nāfā’s tomb, situated inside the fort area at Monghyr, headquarters of the district of that name. This inscription has been already noticed but it has not been illustrated.

The inscription tablet measures 30” by 10” and contains a record of two lines of Arabic prose, executed in ordinary Nastālīk script, mentioning the construction of the tomb in the reign of ’Alā’u’d-Din Husain Shāh, by prince Dānyal in A.H. 903 (1497-98 A.D.). Dānyal was the eldest son of Husain Shāh who had entered into a treaty with Sikandar Lodi at Barh in Patna district, on behalf of his father.

The epigraph reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

(1)īت بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نصر من الله فتح قريب و بشر المومنين بناء هذا الكتاب

ی عهد سلطان العادل سید السادات

(2) مجتمع السعادات علاوادنیا و الدير ابوالملک حسین شاه سلطان خلیفah سلطان خلیفah ملکه و

سلطانه پانی خیر دانبال شاپرکاه سلمه اتمالی فی الدارین سنیه ثلاث و تسعین

1 Shamsu’d-Din Ahmad, op. cit., reads ‘بازوران’ and translates: valiant.
3 *JASB*, Vol. XLII (1872), p. 335, where a traditional account of Shāh Nāfā is also given Askari, op. cit., p. 19; Shamsu’d-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 153.
4 Sarkar, op. cit., p. 145.
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 854, of Mahmūd Shāh I. from Bhagalpur (p. 37)

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 903, of Alā'ud-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh. from Monghyr (p. 35)
Plate XIII
(a) Fragmentary record of 'Alā'ud-Dīn Husain Shāh, dated A.H. 906, from Salimpur (p. 39)

(b) Inscription of the same ruler, dated A.H. 907, from Bhagalpur (p. 109)
TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 'Help is from Allāh and victory near; and deliver good news to the faithful.' This tomb was erected in the reign of the just Sultan, the Sayyid among the Sayyids.

(2) receptacle of auspiciousness, 'Alāu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abu’l-Mu’azzam Husayn Shāh, Sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. The builder of this religious edifice is prince Dānūl, may the exalted Allāh keep him safe in both the worlds, in the year (A.H.) 903 (1497-98 A.D.).

The second inscription of Husayn Shāh, dated A.H. 906 (1501 A.D.), comes from Salimpur in Saran district. The slab bearing the inscription is unfortunately fragmentary and the extant tablet measuring 26" by 14" which apparently represents only half of the original is now fixed on the facade of the local mosque. It does not appear to be in situ.

An unillustrated reading of this inscription stated to be from Ismailpur in the same district, was published by Blochmann from a rubbing sent to him by Mr. J. R. Reid from Azamgarh. Blochmann's reading is for the most part correct and our reading differs from him only in one or two places.

The surviving text comprises two lines of writing in Arabic executed in Thulūḥ characters, with a Tughra flourish, of a fairly good type. Since it merely contains the titles of the king and of the builder along with the date, it is difficult to determine the object of construction. The epigraph reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIII(a)

(1) ....... و هو السلطان الأعظم المعظم و الامام الغلايب المكرم المجاهد على
اعداء الله المظهر لكلمة الله النسوب الى حضرت رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم
(2) ....... ينبي ورفعت مجلس المجاهد الملاحب سبحانه ؟ لازالت مخاوة وقائد
يوم الدين وثاني الى ان يفتفت الدم في شهر الثمين السبعان سنة ست و ثمانية

TRANSLATION

(1) . . . . . and he is the great and illustrious Sultan, the victorious and generous Imam, the fighter against the enemies of Allāh, the upholder of the word (religion) of Allāh, who is descended from the Prophet of Allāh, may Allāh’s blessings and salutations be upon him!

(2) . . . . . the Majlis’l-Majālis, entitled Saiḥān-Dil !, may his generosity continue for ever, lasting till the day of Judgment and enduring till the Certainty (i.e. death) comes to him, in the month of the Prophet, Sha’bān, year 906 (February-March 1501 A.D.).

1 Qur’ān, ch. LXI, verse 13.
3 JABE, Vol. XLIII (1874), p. 304, foot-note. The inscription is now found at Salimpur, which is not far from Ismailpur.
4 Blochmann, op. cit., omits these words.
5 Ibid., reads the title of the Majlis as “سحابدل” (Sahāb-Dil).
The reading of the name or rather the title of the Majis-ul-Majalis mentioned in the record as builder cannot be correctly established owing to the absence of diacritical marks. Blochmann read it as Sahāb-Dil, Sahāb meaning a ‘cloud’ and Dil, ‘heart’ and translated it as “Shower-heart”. A glance at the plate will show that this reading is not supported by the rubbing; there is one more notch after the ‘س’ which means that there is one more letter between the ‘س’ and the ‘ح’. I think the title intended is ‘Saiḥān-Dil’ (that is, one as large-hearted as the river Saiḥān), which, though quite unusual and intriguing, appears to be the only plausible reading.

The next inscription of Ḥusain Shāh is from Bhagalpur. The inscriptive slab measuring 57” by 12” is fixed over the main gate of the tomb of Ḥaḍrat Shāhībāz. The credit of discovering this inscription goes to Professor Askari who also published its reading in roman characters. The text, written in one line in bold Nashī characters in relief, records the construction of a mosque in the reign of Sultān ‘Alā‘ud-Dunyā wa‘d-Dīn Abūl-Muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh, by Sarlashkār, Majlis Maḥmūd, son of Yūsuf, on the 12th of Rajab A.H. 907 (21st January 1502 A.D.).

The language of the record is Arabic and it reads as follows: —

**TEXT**

**Plate XIII(b)**

بناء سرلشکر مجلس عمود بن يوسف في [١]نازیخلا تکی عشر منه رجب سنة سع و تسمایه

**TRANSLATION**

This mosque was built in the reign of the Sultān, ‘Alā‘ud-Dunyā wa‘d-Dīn Abūl-Muẓaffar Ḥusain Shāh, Sultān, and it was constructed by sarlashkār, Majlis Maḥmūd, son of Yūsuf, on the date 12th of Rajab, year (A.H.) 907 (21st January 1502 A.D.).

The next inscription of Ḥusain Shāh was found at Cherand in Saran district. It has also been published by Blochmann without plate from a rubbing sent to him by Mr. J. R. Reid. The inscriptive slab measures 25” by 17” and is fixed on the upper portion of the facade of the Jāmi‘ mosque at Cherand. The text comprises three lines of writing in Arabic executed in beautiful Thulūḥ characters and mentions the construction of the mosque by ‘Alā‘ud-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh in the year A.H. 909 (1503-04 A.D.). It has been read as under: —

**TEXT**

**Plate XIV(c)**

(١) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدنا نبي الله لي بنا مثله في الجنة يز

This inscription states to be a river in Syria, another in Basrah (Stengass, Persian-English Dictionary, London, 1957, p. 710).

* Askari, op. cit., p. 19, where the date is inadvertently read as 9th Rajab, A.H. 912.
(a) Inscription of 'Abū`d-Dīn Husain Shīb, dated A.H. 909, from Na`ihan (p. 41)

Scale: 15

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 910, from Ruma (p. 46)

Scale: 125

(c) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 909, from Cherand (p. 49)

Scale: 10
INScriptions of the sultans of bengal from bihar

(2) Sultan Muhammad Alauddin and the qadi Abul Nafia have built this
the Sultan.

(3) Abul Nafia, the sultan's viceroy, says: 'The sultan and his

Translation:
(1) The Prophet, may the blessings and salutations of Allah be upon him, has said, 'He who
builds a mosque for Allah, Allah builds for him a similar house in Paradise.' This Jami' mosque
was built.

(2) by the illustrious and respected Sultan, 'Alau'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar Husain
Shah, the Sultan.

(3) son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Husaini, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,
in the year (A.H.) 909 (1503-04 A.D.).

Yet one more inscription of Husain Shah, from Saran district, also dated in the same year,
may be seen in the local mosque at Narhan. The inscriptive tablet is unfortunately fragmentary,
the portion at the left bottom containing the date having been lost and measures 24' by 20'. The
record consists of three lines of Arabic prose and the style of writing is Thulth of a fairly high order.
It mentions the construction of a Jami' mosque by the king in A.H. 909 (1503-04 A.D.).

The epigraph which is hitherto unpublished, has been read as under:

Text:

Plate XIV(a)

(1) tall al-nabi salihi'llah wa salam min bni mii sahada thu biyati nabi. hu biya mii hayat na jannah
(2) Sultan Muhammad Alauddin and the qadi Abul Nafia have built this
(3) the Sultan, Abul Nafia, says: 'The sultan and his

Translation:
(1) The Prophet, may the blessings and salutations of Allah be upon him, has said, 'He who
builds a mosque for Allah, Allah builds for him a similar house in Paradise.' This Jami' mosque
was constructed.

1 ARIS, 1960-61, No. D, 35.

A bit of the stone containing the words 'in year... and Sultanah' is now lost, but it was still
there in about 1906, when its rubbing was first taken. This rubbing is on record in the office of the Superintendent,
Persian and Arabic Inscriptions. Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, but could not be illustrated as, being
old, it is somewhat worn out. The date of the inscription is supplied from the said rubbing.

It will be observed that the text of this inscription is identical with that of the previous record.
(2) by the illustrious and respected Sultan, 'Alâ'ud-Dunya wa'd-Din Abu'l-Mu'azmar Husain Shâh.

(3) The Sultan, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Husaini, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) 909 (1503-04 A.D.).

Another unnoticed record of Hussein Shâh comes from Barh in the Patna District. The inscriptive slab measuring 38" by 17", is set up in the exterior of the western wall of the compound of the mausoleum of Shâh Shams Ba'dh Haqqâni in Muhammadpur Nawada near Barh. The otherwise well-preserved tablet has been rubbed off on the left side by credulous people seeking cure to their maladies and consequently, the writing in that part has been obliterated. Fortunately, however, the text can be read in full. Comprising two lines of Arabic prose inscribed in Thulth characters of an elegant type, the record commemorates the construction of a Jami' mosque by the king in the year A.H. 916 (1510-11 A.D.). Its full text is given below.

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

(1) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً الله بنى الله بنى مسجد. هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم الحكم.

(2) علاؤالدباوي والدين أبو الحظير حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسني خلدة ملكه وسلطانه بي سنة ست عشر و [تسع]يم

TRANSLATION

(1) The Prophet, may the blessings and salutations of Allah be on him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allah, Allah builds a similar edifice for him in Paradise'. This Jami' mosque was constructed by the illustrious and respected Sultan.

(2) 'Alâ'ud-Dunya wa'd-Din Abu'l-Mu'azmar Husain Shâh, the Sultan, son of Sayyid Ashraf al-Husaini, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) 916 (1510-11 A.D.).

It will be observed that the text of the inscription is the same as that of the previous two records except in the date.

Another inscription of Husain Shâh, also dated in the year A.H. 916 (1510-11 A.D.), is to be found in Patna itself. The inscriptive slab measures 32" by 16" and is set up in the facade, above the roof of the front-court, of the Begù Hajjâm's mosque in Machhi Hata quarter of the city. This inscription has been published but not illustrated in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Running into two lines of Arabic prose written in excellent Thulth style, the epigraph records the construction of a mosque in the reign of Husain Shâh by one Khân-i-Mujâsam Nasîr Khân. I have failed to trace any reference to Nasîr Khân in contemporary records.

1 ARIE, 1955-56, No. D, 73; Also see Shamsud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., p. 186. The information about this epigraph was given by Prof. Ashari.


* This record seems to have given rise to some speculation regarding the exact nature of Bengal's authority over this part of Bihar. The question has been discussed in ARIE, 1955-56, p. 11.
(a) Inscription of Alau'd-Din Husain Shih, dated A.H. 916, from Barh (p. 42)

(b) Undated inscription of Nusrat Shih from Begusarai (p. 43)
The inscription reads as under:—

**TEXT**

Plate XIV(b)

(1) قال أَلِينِي سَلَّمَها وَصَلَّمَ مَن بِنِي مَسْجَدَهُ بِنِيِّ اِلَّهَ فَأَمَّهُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ بْنَي

هذَا الْمَسْجَدُ الْجَامِعُ فِي عَهْدِ الْسُّلْطَانِ عَلَاءُ الدِّينِ

(2) وَالْدِينِ اَلْأَمَامُ حَسَنِ Шاءُ السُّلْطَانُ خَاتَمَهُ مَلَكَهُ وَسُلَطَانَهُ وَبَانِيهُ خَانَ مَعْظَم

ناَفَرْ خَانُ دَامَ عَلُوَّهُ فِي سَهَه سَتِّ عَشَرَ وَتَسْعَمَايْهُ

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The Prophet, may the blessings and salutations of Allah be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allah, Allah builds a similar edifice for him in Paradise'. This Jami' mosque was built in the reign of the Sultan, 'Alau'd-Dunya

(2) wa'd-Din, Abu'l-Mu'azzar Husain Shâh, the Sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and its builder is Khân-i-Mu'azzam Nâşir Khân, may his glory last for ever; (it was built) in the year (A.H.) 916 (1510-11 A.D.).

The last inscription of this group is an undated record of Nâşir Shâh, son of Husain Shâh. The inscriptive tablet measures 26" by 13" and is now preserved in the Patna Museum where it is reported to have been brought from Begusarai.¹

This inscription is remarkable both for its script and its contents. The text comprising three lines of Arabic prose has been inscribed in indifferent hand in crude Naškh characters. It represents perhaps a rare example of the inscription of a Bengal king executed in such poor fashion. But the inscription is far more remarkable for its use of the title of the king Nusrat Shâh, whose name is given here as Nâşir Shâh. Instead of the usual title Nâsiru'd-Din, commonly found on the coins and inscriptions of that monarch, his name Nâşir Shâh, also somewhat unusual in his epigraphs, is preceded by the title Qutb-u'd-Din.² Also worth noting is the fact that the inscription does not contain the year. The composition of the record is also quite hopeless.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate XV(b)

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ نَصَرَ مَنْ أَفْقَحَ فِي رَبِّهِ

(2) This mosque the Sultan the great template of the future and the prince the eldest son.

(sic.)

(3) Nâsir Shâh Shâh Nâsir Shâh Nâsir Sultan Khâlid Mâkî in the year


² This fact seems to have escaped Professor Askari's notice (op. cit.).
(1) In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. ‘Help is from Allāh and victory near!’

(2) This magnificent Jāmi’ mosque [was constructed by] Quṭbu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abu’l-Mu’affar

(3) Nāṣir Shāh, son of Husain Shāh, Sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, in the year.

1 Qur’ān, ch. LXI, verse 13.
TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL SULTANS FROM UTTAR PRADESH

BY W. H. SIDDIQI

Kharid, situated on the right bank of the Ghaghra at about 26 miles north of Ballia town, though now a small village in the Ballia district of Uttar Pradesh, was formerly an important place. Tradition makes it a site of a former large city, named Ghazanfarabad, which as is evident from the mounds found on both sides of the river, apparently representing former inhabited sites, may have been destroyed by the river. However, available records contain no information regarding the old city, which, if one can judge from the existing mounds and ruins, may have extended for a considerable distance between Sikandarpur and Turtipar.

Likewise, little is known about the early history of Kharid. The place is, however, reported to have come into Muslim contact as early as in the 12th century A.D. It is believed that Qutbuddin Aibek passed through this tract in 1194 A.D., after the capture of Banaras on his way to Bihar and built a fort on the spot now known as Qutbganj on the bank of the Ghaghra in the vicinity of Kharid and Sikandarpur. Since then, it presumably lay within the kingdom of early sultans of Delhi. It must have been included in the Jaunpur territories first under the later Tughluqs and subsequently under the independent Sharqi rulers. At any rate, the latter appear to have exercised their authority on Kharid, until A.H. 900 (1494 A.D.), when the last Sharqi king, Husain Shâh, was finally overthrown by Sikandar Lodi and Kharid was brought again under Delhi authority. It was during this period that Sikandar founded Sikandarpur, situated at a distance of about four miles from Kharid, after his own name. However, the Lodi authority over the town appears to have been short-lived. Presumably, the confusion in the eastern provinces of Delhi kingdom soon offered an opportunity to Husain Shâh, the ambitious king of Bengal, who turned his attention westwards. The Bengal king entered into a non-aggression agreement with Sikandar Lodi through his son Dânyâl in A.H. 901 (1495 A.D.), which was followed by delimitation of the frontiers. At what lines the two frontiers met is nowhere mentioned, but the Bengal occupation of the whole of north Bihar including the trans-Gandak area up to Kharid is proved by Husain Shâh’s inscriptions at various places in north Bihar and at Kharid. This may have taken place soon after, either in accordance with the terms of the treaty or as a result of military operations started immediately on Sikandar’s withdrawal from the above regions.

In A.H. 935 (1528 A.D.), Bâbur also tried to occupy Kharid during the rule of Nasrat Shâh, son of Husain Shâh, king of Bengal, but having realised the superior strength of the Bengal king, he was obliged to enter into an agreement with Nasrat Shâh. According to this settlement, Kharid remained under Bengal authority. It was finally annexed to the Mughal empire during

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3 Kharid finds mention in historical records during the Afghân rule and the Mughal period. For example, see Bâbur, *Memoirs of Bâbur*, ed. A. Beveridge, Vol. II (Oxford, 1921), pp. 283, 393-94.
4 Nevill, op. cit., p. 141.
5 *JASE*, Vol. XLII (1873), part I, p. 221. No monument of the Sharqi period has survived at Kharid.
6 Nevill, op. cit., p. 141.
8 Bâbur, op. cit.

(45)
the early years of Akbar’s reign by ‘Ali Quli Khān Zamān, governor of Jaunpur, 1 and formed a mahāl in the sarkār of Jaunpur in the sūba of Allahabad. 2 According to Abu’l-Faḍl, Khārid had a brick fort 3 on the bank of the river, but at present no trace of this fort is to be found.

In November 1801 A.D., Khārid became a British possession when the districts of Banaras, Ghazipur and Azamgarh were ceded to the British. 4

There are two inscriptions at Khārid which belong to the Sultans of Bengal, 5 and hence, are extremely important. The earlier of the two is an unnoticed record of ‘Alā‘u’d-Dīn Husain Shāh but unfortunately, it is fragmentary, approximately one fourth of the tablet having broken and disappeared. The surviving portion is also broken into two pieces which, measuring jointly 16” by 12”, are now kept in the Jāmī’ mosque in the Shaikhpur mahalla of the town. It is reported to have originally belonged to an old mosque which once stood at the site of the said Jāmī’ mosque. The extant text refers to the construction of a mosque during the reign of ‘Alā‘u’d-Dīn Husain Shāh. The mosque was built, in all probability, by one Mansūr.

The inscription is an important record insomuch as it indicates the extension of Bengal authority up to Khārid in the west during Husain Shāh’s reign itself and not during the time of his son and successor Nuṣrat Shāh, as is generally believed on the basis of the latter’s inscription from the same place, also included in the present study. In the absence of the portion bearing the date of construction, it is not possible to say anything definite about the time of this penetration.

The language of the record is Arabic and the style of writing Nashīḥ in relief.

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XVI(a)*

(1) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بيتي مسجد[ ] لي الدنيا لي الله له سبعين قصرا في الجنة
(2) بني هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان علاء الدين و الدين [ أي بالنظر حسين شاه بن سيد
إشرف خليد الله سلالة و سلطانه

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

(3) باني خيرابين مسجد منصور؟

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The Prophet, upon him be the blessings and peace of Allāh, has said, ‘Whoever builds a mosque in this world, Allāh will build for him seventy palaces in paradise’.

(2) This mosque has been constructed in the time of the Sultān ‘Alā‘u’d-Dīn wa’d-Dīn] Abu’l-Muzaffar Husain Shāh, son of Sayyid Ashraf, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and kingship.

(3) The benevolent founder of this mosque is Mansūr...

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(a) Fragmentary record of 'Alā'ū'd-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, from Kharid (p. 46)

Scale: 3

(b) Record of Nuṣrat Shāh, dated A.H. 933, from the same place (p. 47)

Scale: 1
The next inscription belongs to the reign of Husain Shâh's successor, Mtâsh Shâh. The inscriptive tablet is fixed on a small wall near the tomb of Ruknu'd-Din Shâh at Kharid. The epigraph is not in situ since it is said to have been found loose on the bank of the Ghaghra about ninety years ago.

The record is engraved on a slab of black basalt measuring 29" by 17" which is in a fairly good state of preservation. Consisting of two lines of writing in Arabic, it mentions, as builder of a mosque, Khân-i-A'zam Mukhtyâr Khân, commander of the valley of Kharid on the 27th of Rajab A.H. 933 (29th April 1527 A.D.) during the reign of Nâsiru'd-Din Nusrat Shâh.

This inscription is also important both from historical as well as from palaeographical points of view. According to Blochmann, who had published its text, 'the inscription confirms the histories, according to which Nusrat Shâh extended his authority over the whole of Bihar, and as Kharid lies on the right bank of the Ghaghra, Nusrat Shâh must have temporarily held sway in the Azamgarh district.'1 But in view of the evidence of the inscription of Husain Shâh studied above, it is apparent that Nusrat Shâh's authority over Kharid was not temporary but was in all probability established from sometime during the reign of his father, as stated in the preceding lines. In any case, Kharid's association with Bengal dates prior to the reign of Nusrat Shâh.

Palaeographically too, the inscription which is executed in Thulût characters with Tughrâ flourish is interesting. The style conforms to the Bengal variety and contains distinctive features of artistic calligraphy.

Below is quoted the text of the epigraph:

**TEXT**

*Plate XVI(b)*

(1) لا الله إلا الله محمد رسول الله قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجد في الدنيا

بلى أي اعتال له سبئين نصر في الجنة

(2) المناسس لجد المسجد في عهد الملك العادل ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابن السلطان جعل الله أثر المجيد في أعز إعوانه وهو خاناعظم مختار خان

سرلكر دره خريد في ۲۷ نهير الرجب سنة ۳۹۲ و ثلثين و ثلثين و تسمايه

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1 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, Vol. XLII (1873), pt. 1, pp. 296-97. It may be pointed out that when Blochmann wrote, Kharid was included in the Azamgarh district.

2 Nevill, op. cit., p. 212, records a local tradition to the effect that Khân-i-A'zam Mukhtyâr Khân fulfilled a difficult condition of a saffron merchant who would only sell the entire lot of his commodity if paid in coins minted in a single year and that when the news of this transaction reached Husain Shâh of Bengal, the latter, being pleased with his officer, changed the name of the place to *Kharid* which literally means 'purchased'. If this story be true, Mukhtyâr Khân must have continued to be in charge of Kharid from the time of Husain Shâh down to the reign of Nusrat Shâh. But it is not unlikely that this story found currency on the basis of the present inscription of Nusrat Shâh.

3 Blochmann, *JASB*, op. cit., p. 296, reads 'زمرّة عبادة البر المjid' 'may God place him among) the number of his servants'; taking 'الرشيد ' (the great) Ulugh [Ulugh]. This reading is followed in Shamsud-Din Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV (Rajshahi. 1960), p. 221.
TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh. The Prophet, may blessing and peace of Allāh be on him, says, 'He who builds a mosque in this world, Allāh will build for him seventy palaces in paradise'.

(2) The builder of this mosque, in the reign of the just ruler Nāṣiru’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abu’l-Muzaffar Nuṣrat Shāh, son of Ḥusain Shāh, the Sultān, may Allāh the Glorified Lord make him (i.e., the builder) one of his most favourite grandees, is Khān-i-A’zam Mukhtyār Khān, the commander of the valley of Kharid on the 27th of Rajab A.H. 933 (29th April 1527 A.D.).

It may be noted that the first part of the name of the builder of the mosque is clearly inscribed on the stone as Mukhtyār, though the correct Arabic form is Mukhṭyār. It appears that the form Mukhtyār became current among the masses, through ignorance or otherwise, for in certain parts of the country including Uttar Pradesh, we do come across even today with this name in this form.

It has not been possible to trace Khān-i-A’zam Mukhtyār Khān in available historical works. That he was an officer of first rank and in charge of the valley of Kharid is known from the present record. It has been seen above that a local tradition associates him with the naming of the town as Kharid by Ḥusain Shāh.

Recently, Dr. A. H. Dani, while commenting on the text of this record as published by Höchmann, has made following remarks: 'It is strange that Nuṣrat Shāh does not bear any title of Sultān at all. He is simply called Malik. The phrase جعل الله في زمرة عباده 'God make him among the number of his servants', used in place of the usual خدّاد إله ملكه و سلطانه, throws further doubt on the real position of Nuṣrat Shāh.'

Needless to say, there is not much substance in Dr. Dani’s contention, for there is no question about the real position of Nuṣrat Shāh; he is definitely intended as the king. That the use of the title ‘Malik’ is meant for the king, especially in Bengal inscriptions, has already been shown elsewhere. Also, in view of the statement of emperor Bābur confirming the jurisdiction of the Bengal monarch over Kharid, there should be no doubt at all about Nuṣrat Shāh’s position there. The rather inadvertent than otherwise omission of the beneficatory phrase خدّاد إله ملكه و سلطانه alone should not be taken as implying any doubt about the royal position of Nuṣrat Shāh.

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1 A. H. Dani, Bibliography of the Muslim Inscriptions of Bengal (Dacca, 1957), p. 70.
3 Bābur, op. cit., p. 363.
PLATE XVII

(a) Record of 'Ādil Khān II, dated A.H. 877, from Burhanpur (p. 49)

Scale: -22

(b) Inscription of 'Ādil Shāh IV, dated A.H. 990, from the same place (p. 52)

Scale: -26
INScriptions of the Faruqui Kings from Burhanpur

By S. A. Rahim

Burhanpur, which was once capital of the Faruqui kings of Khandesh for nearly two hundred years, is now reduced to a small city in the West Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh. It is originally said to have been founded in 1399 A.D. by Malik Nasir Faruqui at the behest of the famous saint, Shaikh Zainu'd-Din, and named after another divine, Shaikh Burhanu'd-Din who lies buried at Daulatabad. Prior to the foundation of Burhanpur, the capital of the Faruqui rulers was at Thalner.

The Faruqui dynasty (1382-1609 A.D.) produced in all seventeen rulers of whom the most prominent are Nasir Khan (1399-1437 A.D.) and 'Adil Khan II (1457-1501 A.D.). Constantly engaged with the more powerful Malwa sultans on one side and the Ahmadnagar kings on the other, they managed to maintain their rule mostly through the help of the Gujarati kings with whom some of them were related by birth. Khandesh was ultimately annexed to the Mughal territories in A.H. 1009 (1600-1601 A.D.) by Akbar.

Comparatively speaking, there are very few monuments of the Faruqui kings to be found in Khandesh. Among these are the royal tombs at Thalner and the Jami' mosque, the Bibi's mosque and the royal tombs at Burhanpur. Likewise, very few inscriptions of these kings have come to light. It is, therefore, hoped that the following study of five inscriptions from Burhanpur belonging to this dynasty will not be found without some interest.

The earliest two inscriptions of the Faruqui kings, dated in the same year, A.H. 877 (1472-1473 A.D.), come from the enclosure of the Dargah of Shah Bahau'd-Din Bajin, a celebrated saint of Burhanpur, who is said to have died on the 14th Dhul-Qa'da A.H. 913 (28th March 1507 A.D.). The buildings within the enclosure of the Dargah include the tomb of the saint and a mosque. There are in all two inscriptions on the buildings, one of which is fixed on the main gate of the enclosure, while the other is let into a niche made within the massive pier of one of the arches of the mosque.

Both these inscriptions pertain to the mosque. According to the inscription over the gate, Taj, son of Kila, constructed the mosque in A.H. 877 (1472-73 A.D.) during the reign of 'Adil Khan II (1457-1501 A.D.). This epigraph comprises two lines of Arabic prose executed in Thuluth characters of a fairly high order on a slab measuring about 23' by 13'. Its text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XVII(a)

(1) بنى هذا المسجد في زمن خان الأعظم و خاتان المعظم عادل خان زاد الله علوا تاج

این کیلا حسبہ

1 For details, see Firoughta, Tariq-i-Firoughta (Kanpur, 1884), p. 279.
2 Firoughta, op. cit., pp. 276-291, has devoted a whole chapter to the history of the Faruqui rulers, but his account, though detailed, is not free from mis-statements. Haji Dabir, Safarul-Walik bi Mazaffar wa Aliq (London, 1898), pp. 51-57, has given a brief but far more correct account which he has borrowed from Husain Khan, author of the now extinct Turiq-i-Bahudd Shahi. The history of the Faruqui kings, based on different sources, particularly Haji Dabir's account, will be found in Lt. Col. T. W. Haig, 'The Faruqui Dynasty of Khandesh', Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVII (1918), pp. 113-124, 141-149 and 178-189. A history of Burhanpur written by Khailur-Rahman was published in A.H. 1316 at Burhanpur under the title Turiq-i-Burhanpur.
3 These and other inscriptions from Burhanpur have been listed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE) for 1955-56, Vol. I, 123-137.
4 For an account of the saint, see Khalilur-Rahman, op. cit., pp. 131-33.
(2) This mosque was constructed during the reign of the great Khān and the illustrious Khāqān, 'Adil Khān, may Allāh increase his eminence, by Tāj, son of Khān, for the sake of Allāh and hoping for His (favour), (for the Prophet), may peace be on him, has said, 'One who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a palace in paradise, in the months of the year eight hundred and seventy-seven (A.H. 877–1472–73 A.D.).

The second of the above-mentioned two inscriptions, built up into the niche of the mosque, purports to be an order of endowment for the mosque issued by the same king. It comprises seven lines of text in Persian prose in cursive form of Nāshī, with definite traces of Shīkasta writing. There is one more line at the top inscribed in Taqīnī style. The intricate way in which the text of the inscription is written is also the effect of wear and tear have rendered the decipherment of the record difficult. However, after several efforts, the text has been read satisfactorily except in a couple of places. According to this reading, an order was issued in A.H. 877 (1472–73 A.D.) by Agam Humāyūn (who is obviously 'Adil Khān II) granting the endowment of a few shops which originally belonged to Malik 'Alī鲨q Malik Tāj Khān for the sake of the people responsible for the maintenance of the mosque constructed by the said Malik 'Alī鲨q. The text of the order exhorts the tenants of the shops and the officers of the revenue department to see that the order is strictly carried out and not to tolerate any hindrance in the execution of the same.

The inscriptive tablet measures 15" by 30" and the text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XVIII*

1) این مثال واجب النفع من انگلی حضرت اعظم همايون اطلاع تا اسحاب مستاجر

2) داران وزارت دامد تالیف دانید برای دوستان ازان ملك شرق ملك

3) تنپکشلا بجی ارباب مسجد که پیام دیده ملك شرق مذکورست اطلاعات فرمود

4) سپید عیده داران دیوان وزارت و اصحاب مستاجر آنک امر ارز دیوان برای دوستان

5) مذکور تکردن و یا شوشه و مراحت ندهند هره حلال بزادر مذکور

6) باشند در هر سال در موجه جایز

7) داده دارند؟ به این تکریک محتاج تکردن حکم بروانه اعظم و مثال مکرم توجه

8) سال سیو سبعم و ثامناءه

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3 This appears to be a monogram, probably containing the name and titles of the king.
Royal order, dated A.H. 877, of 'Adil Khan II, from Burhanpur (p. 50)
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FARUQI KINGS FROM BURHANPUR

TRANSLATION

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

(2) This order, worthy of obedience, (is issued) by His Majesty A’gam Humâyûn, the illustrious, so that the tenants and the officials

(3) of the revenue department, may their support last for ever through God’s grace, may know (that) a few shops belonging to Maliku’sh-Sharq Malik

(4) Tâj, (son of) Kilâ have been kindly granted for the persons (responsible for the maintenance?) of the mosque which is a recent construction of the said Maliku’sh-Sharq.

(5) It is the duty of the officials of the revenue department and the tenants that from today onwards they should not interfere with the said bâzâr

(6) or should not, without any reason, cause hardship or hindrance ; and whatever income accrues from the said bâzâr should every year be spent in the proper way (?).

(7) Without needing any further exhortation, they should abide by (this) great pareśana and illustrious order, so that the same may be appreciated of them.

(8) Year (A.H.) eight hundred and seventyseven (A.H. 877=1472-73 A.D.).

Thus, this order seems to have been issued immediately after the construction of the above-mentioned mosque by Malik Tâj. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Malik Tâj who is mentioned in the inscription as Maliku’sh-Sharq, a title reserved for nobles of distinction. Also, it is difficult to establish the correct pronunciation of the name of Malik Tâj’s father, the same having been inscribed in the text without vowel marks. It can be read both as Kilâ or Kailâ. I have preferred the former form, since Kilâ is even current today in Gujrat.1 Likewise, it is worth noting that the title A’gam Humâyûn is used for the ruling Fâruqî king ‘Ainâ ‘Ádil Khân II, by whom the order was issued. Historical works do not record this title for ‘Ádil Khân II – we are told that it was ‘Alam Khân ‘Ádil Shâh III (A.H. 914-926) who received this title from his mother’s father, Maḥmûd I of Gujrat, when the latter secured for him the kingdom of Khandesh.2 But the present inscription decidedly calls ‘Ádil Khân II as A’gam Humâyûn, which has to be accepted as a fact at least until evidence is found to the contrary.

The next inscription of the Fâruqî kings is to be found in the mosque of Shâh Mansûr situated in the Khairâti Bâzâr Mahalla of the city. Inscribed on a slab fixed into the niche in the east wall, it states that the mosque of Shâh Mansûr was ordered to be constructed by ‘Ádil Shâh IV, son of Mubârak Shâh Farûqî in A.H. 990 (1582-83 A.D.). The person who strove for its construction was a noble of prominence, Malik Wâli Ruknu’d-Dîn by name.

Shâh Mansûr, for whom the mosque was constructed, was a famous saintly person of his time. He was a disciple of another celebrated saint of Burhanpur, Ḥaḍrat Shâh Nizâmû’d-Dîn popularly called Shâh Bikhârî. The former is reported to have been the son of Malik Jalâl, a minister of ‘Ádil Shâh II. He used to compose verses in Persian.3 He appears to have been a saint of great

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1 Cf. Kilâ Chand.
2 Ḥâjji Dabhî, op. cit., p. 57.
repute in his days and a story is related how Muhammad Shāh, king of Khandesh (1520-35 A.D.), went in A.H. 934 (1527-28 A.D.) to him on the eve of an expedition soliciting an omen.¹ Shāh Mansur is said to have died in A.H. 958 (1551 A.D.).²

The present inscription comprises four lines of writing in Arabic engraved in Nashāḥ characters on a slab measuring about 18" by 13". The text of the record is cited below:

TEXT

Plate XVII(b)

(1) قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدآ، و لو كان نصق فقاة بني الله

لِه بيتًا في الجنة تعمير يافت

(2) مسجد مقرب دركاه حضرت غفور شاه منصور قسم سره حسب الأمر بإنشاء واجب الاتباع

عادلشاه بن مباركشاه فاروقي أديب آیام سلطانه و ساکر رکن الولایت العلي

(3) ملك و لی رکن اللفیتن کتبه العبد مصطفی بن نور محمدی شهر محرم الحرام فاض

برکاته على الأيام سنة تسعين و غمامة

TRANSLATION

(1) The Apostle of Allah, may Allah's blessings and salutations be upon him, has said, 'One who builds a mosque for Allah even if it be (as small) as the nest of a Qaṭā bird, Allah will build for him a house in paradise'. Constructed was

(2) the mosque of the favourite of the court of the Holy Pardoning Lord, Shāh Manṣūr, may his secret be sanctified, at the orders of the king commanding obedience (lit., one whose obedience is obligatory).

(3) ʿĀdil Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī, may the days of his rule last for ever. And one who strove (for its construction) is the pillar of the lofty kingdom,

(4) Malik Wali, Ruknu’-d-Din. (This) was written by the humble creature, Mustafā, son of Nūr Muhammad in the holy month of Muharram, may its blessings be spread over the times (in the) year (A.H.) nine hundred and ninety (Mujarrad A.H. 990=January-February 1582 A.D.).

Historical works are silent regarding Malik Wali Ruknu’-d-Din who is mentioned as one of the leading nobles of the empire. The scribe of the present record, Mustafā, son of Nūr Muḥammad, also designed the Arabic inscriptions on the Jāmi’ mosques at Burhanpur and Asirgarh, as we shall mention later.³

¹ Ḥājjī Dabīr, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 150-51. Ghulam Sarwar, op. cit., relates a similar story of Mughal emperor Humāyūn’s meeting with the said saint and seeking an omen for his Gujrat expedition. Ḥājjī Dabīr’s account is apparently far more trustworthy.


³ See p. 64 supra.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FARUQI KINGS FROM BURHANPUR

The next two inscriptions are from the Jami’ mosque of Burhanpur, which possesses sufficient architectural interest. Built in the usual mosque plan of open courtyard surrounded on four sides by cloisters and prayer-hall with the latter on the west, it is of large dimensions. Its prayer-hall, five bays deep, has fifteen pointed arches in the facade with a tall minaret at each corner. There is nothing very particular nor anything original about its design and construction, but the whole building is remarkable for the perfect proportion and symmetrical arrangement of its various constituent parts including the arcaded cloisters around the courtyard.

About the exact date of construction of the mosque, no definite information is available. That its construction was started in A.H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.) is proved beyond doubt by the two inscriptions on the mosque studied below, while as regards its completion, according to the Nimar District Gazetteer, ‘it is recorded (in the inscriptions) that the building was completed in exactly one year’;\(^1\) this, however, is not the case, as the inscriptions do not contain any such information.

There are in all three inscriptions on the mosque, two of which were originally set up at the time of the construction, while the third was engraved on the foot of the southern minaret by the well-known Mir Muḥammad Ma’sūm Nāmī of Bhakkar during Akbar’s time.\(^2\) The two Fārūqī inscriptions are almost similar in their contents with this difference that one of them gives the full genealogy of the king who had built the mosque.

All the three Jami’ mosque inscriptions have been previously noticed elsewhere, but nowhere they have been properly studied. A. Cunningham was probably the first to draw attention to the inscriptions of which he had sent rubbings to H. Blochmann, who, however, could not publish them.\(^3\) Subsequently, R. B. Hiralal published, with translation and notes, the Sanskrit inscription carved below the Arabic record on the northern-most niche in the west wall.\(^4\) He had also referred to the central miḥrāb inscription in his List published a few years later.\(^5\) Similarly, the texts and translation of the central miḥrāb as well as the minaret inscription of Akbar were published by M. A. Suboor in one of the Bulletin of the Central Museum, Nagpur.\(^6\) All these notices, apart from being scattered, are not complete in themselves and hence it was considered advisable to include the two Fārūqī inscriptions of the Jami’ mosque in this article.

The first of these two records is engraved on an arch-shaped tablet which is fixed over the central miḥrāb of the mosque and comprises nine lines of Arabic text executed in Thulūd characters in relief. The style of writing is similar to the one employed in the Jami’ mosque inscription of Asīrghar set up in A.H. 992 (1584 A.D.) by the same king, ‘Adil Shāh IV (1576-96 A.D.).\(^7\) These sets of two inscriptions from the Burhanpur and Asīrghar Jami’ mosques are not only similar in style of writing—which is not to be wondered at, since the scribe of these records is one and the same person, viz. Muṣṭafā, son of Nūr Muḥammad—but are also similar in text to a considerable extent.

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\(^2\) For this inscription, see AR, 1956-57, No. D, 125.

\(^3\) A. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. IX (Calcutta, 1879), p. 117

\(^4\) Hiralal, EI, op. cit., pp. 306 ff.

\(^5\) Hiralal, DLIC, op. cit., p. 71.


\(^7\) Epigraphia Indo-Moellenica (EIM), 1925-26, pp. 1-3, plate 1.
The present epigraph begins with a Quranic verse and states that the mosque was constructed by 'Abd al-Shah, son of Mubarak Shah Faruq. It also specifies that the building commenced in A.H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.). The text and translation of this inscription have been given by Mr. Suboor whose reading is not free from errors.

Below is given the text of this record:

TEXT

Plate XIX(a)

(1) اللهم ارضي الرحمن الرحيم

(2) و ان المساجد نلا تدعوا مع الله احدا الحمد لله الموتى الموقعت المعين

(3) بفضله على العبادات و الصلوة و السلام على اشرف الخلق محمد الذي حرض العباد

على العبادة و على آل و اصحابه الذين قاموا

(4) و باوجها و زيادة و بعد فان اولى ما ينقض فيه شرائع الأحوال المؤتبثة التي يعود

نعمها في المال و من اجل ذلك الصدقة الاجزاء فان ابوبها مدى الأرمان سابقة و قد وردت السنة

بان يصرف البنى

(5) الاذاعة من ولاية ان بناء المساجد من شعار الدين و فقع الستردين لما يترتب من

بناءها مزيد الثواب و ان بناها ملهوم للصواب و حيث ورد عنه صلى الله عليه و سلم انه قال من

بني الله مسجدا و لو كفف عن فتاة في الله له بنى في الجنة فلذلك

(6) امر دولان السلطان الأعظم الخاقان المكرم الفائق فبضعا على سلاطين العرب و الاعظم

عائدلاه ابن مبارك كونه الفاروق خلف ملكه هذا المسجد الذي هو بالوصف جدير لأنه فان يوجد

له نظر خاصا لوجهه

(7) الكريم و طالبا لمرضااته الجسم تقبل الله ذلك منه بفضله و مزيد كرمه و طوله و

كان ابتداؤه سنة سبع و تسعين و تسعينا و يفديه و سنة اتمامه و خدم بكنيه اقل عبيد الداعية لدولته


1 The text of this inscription may be compared with that of its Asigarh counterpart quoted in R.I.M., op. cit., pp. 2-3.
2 Suboor, op. cit., pp. 7-8, has illustrated his reading with a photographic reproduction which is not very clear.
(a) Inscription of 'Ādil Shāh IV, dated A.H. 997, from Burhanpur (p. 54)  

(b) Another inscription of the same king, dated in the same year, from the same place (p. 56)
INScriPtIONS OF THE FARUQI KINGS FROM BURHANPUR 55

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficient, the Compassionate.

(2) "And verily the mosques are for Allah; (hence), invoke not anyone else along with Allah." All praises are for Allah who assists (us) in prayers (and) helps (us) in worship.

(3) through His favour. And may peace and salutation be upon Muhammad, the noblest of the creatures, who induced (Allah's) creatures to worship and (also) upon his descendants and companions who performed

(4) the obligatory as well as optional prayers. And now, verily, the best for which a man of good circumstances spends money are the holy offerings (to Allah) whose benefit accrues in the end. And in this category falls a permanent good deed, for its doors remain open (to public benefit) throughout the times, and it has been stated in the tradition (of the Prophet) that

(5) the attention of the kingdom should be given to such deeds (of public utility). Verily, the building of mosques is one of the signs of Religion and eradication of the unbelievers, so that by their construction, great merit is achieved and verily, its builder is inspired with propriety, just as it is related of the Prophet, may peace and salutation be upon him, who has said that one who builds a mosque for Allah, even if it is as small as the nest of a Qatāt bird, Allah builds for him a house in paradise. In accordance with (these dictates),

(6) our lord, the great Sultan, honourable king, superior in accomplishment among the kings of Arabia and Persia, 'AdilShah, son of Mubarak Shah al-Faruqi, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom, ordered for the construction of this mosque which is worthy of praise since its like is rare, purely for the sake of His most Generous Face.

(7) and by way of seeking His boundless favours, may Allah accept it of him with His bounty and further generosity and munificence. And the beginning of its (construction) took place in the year nine hundred and ninetyseven (A.H. 997-1588-89 A.D.) and the year of its completion is ... And the service of its writing was rendered by his (king's) most humble slave, a good-wisher of his kingdom, Mu'tafl, son of Nur Muhammad Khattāt (calligraphist), may Allah forgive him.

From the above text, it is clear that while the inscription gives the date of the commencement of the construction, it does not contain the year of its completion. The portion of the record above the word "عابد" as may be seen from the plate, is somewhat smudgy in the original, but it is almost certain that the figure for the year was not engraved on the slab when it was set up. For, in the other inscription of the mosque studied below, the date of completion is likewise not inscribed. Also, same is the case with the Asirghar Jami' mosque inscription where the portion indicating the date of completion has been left blank in one inscription. It is, therefore, clear that the inscription was only set up at the time of commencement and the date of completion was intended to be engraved later, but could not be done for some reason or the other. In any case, the text of the inscription cannot be interpreted to mean that the mosque

1 Qur'ān, ch. LXXII, verse 18.
2 ElM, op. cit. However, in the other Asirghar inscription, the date of completion is also given, but in the second Burhanpur epigraph, noticed in the following lines, it is not given.
3 It has been suggested that the construction of the Burhanpur mosque could not be completed due to Akbar's invasion of Khandsesh (Cunningham, op. cit., p. 117).
was completed exactly within one year.\(^1\) A chronogram quoted in a modern Urdu work on the history of Burhanpur, works out the date of construction to be A.H. 1002 (1593-94 A.D.). But since the author of that work has not quoted his source, its evidence cannot be accepted without reservation.\(^2\)

The other Fārūqī record, fixed above the extreme right miḥrāb in the west wall of the Jāmi’ mosque, is a bilingual inscription in Arabic and Sanskrit. Of the total nine lines, the first three are in Arabic and the rest in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit version has already been edited by R. B. Hiralal.\(^3\)

The Arabic record contains no fresh information regarding the date of the completion of the mosque, but it provides a very important document on the genealogy of the Fārūqī kings, to which we shall refer later. It is written in Naṣīḥah with Ṭughra scribes. It may be pointed out that in some places, a single letter has been used to serve the purpose of two. The text of the Arabic record reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIX(b)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به تقبل

(2) قال اﷲ تعالى و ان المساجد فاما تدعو من الله ويعال من يتنعم على السلام من بني الله مسجدا و لو كف بعض قد قاتب بني الله فا يتهم في الجنة امر بنياء هذا المسجد المبارك الذي هو من حسنات الزمان و كالشام على وجه الحرام سيدنا و مؤذنه السلطان

(3) عادل الشيخ بن مبارك بن عادل شاء بن حسن خان بن قيصر خان بن غزلي خان بن راجا ملكن الفاروقي العدوى خادم الله ملكه و سلطانه و إفساح على العالمين بر و إحسانه خالصاً مخلصاً لوجه الله الكريم و طلباً لرضاه اﷲ الجسم تقبل الله صاحب الأعمال بمحمد و صحبه و الآل

(4) كان ابتدأ في ايام السلطنة سنة سبع و تسعم و تسعما

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Compassionate. In Him is my trust.

(2) Allāh the Exalted, says, \(^4\) And verily, the mosques are for Allāh (only); hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh. And the Prophet, may peace be upon him, says, \(^5\) One who builds

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\(^1\) Russell, op. cit.; Hiralal, op. cit.
\(^2\) Khalilur-Rahman, op. cit., p. 22.
\(^3\) Hiralal, *El*, op. cit.
a mosque for Allāh, even if it be as small as the nest of Qaṭāṭ bird, Allāh builds for him a house in paradise'. This auspicious mosque, which is one of the bounties of the time and like a mole on a beautiful face, was built by the order of our lord and our master, the Sultan.

(3) 'Ādil Shāh, son of Mubārak Shāh, son of 'Ādil Shāh, son of Hasan Khān, son of Qaṣar Khān, son of Ghazni Khān, son of Rāj Malik al-Fāruqi al-'Adawī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and kingship, and spread all over the world his goodness and bounty, purely and sincerely for the sake of Allāh, the Bountiful and for having His boundless favours, in the hope that it is accepted of him as a pious deed, through the grace of Muhammad, His companions and descendants. The beginning (of its construction) took place in the year nine hundred and ninetyseven (A.H. 997-1588-89 A.D.), during his reign.

It is to be pointed out that as in the case of the previous epigraph, the text of this inscription also is practically same as the one in the inscription over the northernmost mihrāb of the Jāmi'-Masjid at Asirgarh; the only notable difference is that in the Asirgarh inscription, the genealogy of the king is not traced in full as is the case here. The portion for the year of construction has been, likewise, left blank in the inscription under reference, though the other inscription of the Asirgarh Jāmi'-mosque gives the date of completion also.

As has been stated above, the present inscription along with its Sanskrit version furnishes an important document for the genealogy of the Fāruqi rulers. Firīghta and other Persian chroniclers of India have presented a very confused pedigree of the Fāruqīs. It was R. B. Hislab who first tried to formulate a correct genealogy on the basis of the Sanskrit inscription. But the table of genealogy prepared by him is also not without mistakes, since he had to reconcile the information contained in the said record with that given in Firīghta and others. Unfortunately, when Hislab wrote, Ḥājjī Dābir's famous Arabic History of Gujarat had not come to light. It was Lt. Col. T. W. Haig who utilised the account of Ḥājjī Dābir in his history of the Fāruqi kings and prepared, chiefly on its basis, a table of genealogy of the Fāruqi rulers. It is, however, surprising that Lt. Col. Haig should have omitted to make any reference to the bilingual inscription under study. Needless to say, Ḥājjī Dābir's account of Fāruqi chiefs, based as it is on the now lost Tārikh-i-Bahādur Shāhī of Husain Khān is by far the most correct, as far as the historical works are concerned. But the genealogy recorded in both the Arabic and Sanskrit inscriptions differs from the one given by Ḥājjī Dābir in one step. According to the epigraph, Ghazni Khān was the son of Malik Rājā, while Ḥājjī Dābir makes Hasan Khān a son of the latter and Ghazni Khān, a son of Hasan Khān. Hira Lal tried to reconcile the epigraphical evidence with the information contained in Firīghta and others by identifying Ghazni Khān with Naṣir Khān, the elder son, according to other authorities, of Malik Rājā Fāruqi. This seems to be incorrect since, Ḥājjī Dābir has explicitly stated that Malik Rājā had another son born to him after Naṣir Khān, the former having finally settled in Gujarat where he and his progeny married into the royal family. Thus Ḥājjī Dābir's genealogy, which is also given in full in his account of Bahādur Khān, the last of the Fāruqīs, is definitely preferable to Hira Lal's. At the same time, the evidence of the inscription under study highlights the discrepancy referred to above in Ḥājjī Dābir's genealogy which is difficult to explain. For, on one hand Ḥājjī Dābir's information is

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1. *ELM*, 1925-26, p. 1, where the inscription is not illustrated.
5. Ḥājjī Dābir, op. cit., p. 51.
copied from an earlier source and hence has a claim to authenticity. But on the other hand, the evidence of the inscription is far more weighty. Therefore, either Häjjı Dābir has been led into some error on this one point or there is some inadvertent mistake in the inscription, which seems less likely. In any case, the problem merits further examination and scrutiny.
THREE INSCHRIFTS OF THE AUHADIS

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

Major-General Arthur Cunningham had, in the archaeological report of his tour in Eastern Rajputana, reconstructed the history of the Auhad family, who ruled at Bayana and later, simultaneously, at Hindaud for nearly a century. He derived his information from the inscriptions in the Bayana fort and from the historical works, namely, *Tārikh-i-Mubānak Shāhī* and *Tārikh-i-Firūdīn* with the help of which he also formulated a genealogy of the Auhadis. But since two of the three inscriptions studied below (Nos. II and III) were not known to him, and the remaining (No. I) was wrongly read for him particularly in the date, Cunningham’s account can be supplemented and corrected to some extent. Incidentally, Cunningham was the first and the last person to engage his attention to the history of this minor line of rulers who have escaped attention of our historians. Therefore also, the following study will not be found without some interest.

The first two inscriptions come from Bayana, situated in 26°55’ N. latitude and 77°18’ E. longitude, close to the left bank of the Gomibhir river. Bayana was the headquarters of the tehsil of the same name in the erstwhile Bharatpur State and is now the chief town of a subdivision in the Bharatpur district of Rajasthan. It had come under Muslim authority almost with its establishment and ever since remained an important town which accounts for a number of Arabic and Persian inscriptions there. It is a pity that most of these inscriptions along with the buildings on which they were set up were destroyed in recent times, but fortunately the inscriptions of the Khaljī Sultans of Delhi from this place were studied in a previous issue of this Series. The other extant Muslim records from Bayana have been also copied and listed.

I. INSCHRIFT FROM THE TALETI MOSQUE

The Taleti mosque is situated within the great hill fort of Bayana, called Vijayamandirgarh. It is a plain building of two aisles with seven openings in the front and measures about 55 feet in length by about 22 feet in breadth inside. The tablet bearing the inscription is now lying loose inside the mosque. Measuring about 41" by 19", it contains an inscription in Persian verse, comprising four lines, which is executed in *Nastḥ* characters in relief. The record mentions the construction of a mosque and a well during the time of the great Khan Auhad Khan by the illustrious noble Muhtaf (?) Khānī in the month of Ramadān A.H. 823 (September-October 1420 A.D.). Cunningham, who published the text and translation of this inscription along with its facsimile, gives the date as A.H. 820 and the name of the builder as Timūr Khān. Also, he

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2 Ibid., p. 65.
4 *Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica (ElM)*, 1917-18, pp. 19 (pl. Va), 39 (pl. XIIIa and XIIIb), 41 (pl. XIIIe), etc.
5 Cunningham, op. cit., also noticed quite a few inscriptions.
7 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 83, pl. XVII, No. 1. The text given by him is correct except in the reading of the date, but quite a few mistakes of print have crept in; his translation also is neither complete nor perfectly correct.
was of the opinion that the inscription refers to the construction of the Dargāh and of a well\(^1\) and could not belong to the mosque, which in view of a short Hindu inscription of Samvat 1578 or 1528 A.D. found engraved on one of its pillars, belongs to a much later period.\(^1\) Now even according to the reading given by Cunningham, the epigraph refers to the construction of a mosque; in the text, the building is called 'such a place of worship of God' which cannot be interpreted for anything but a mosque and Cunningham himself has translated the phrase as 'this house of prayer'.\(^2\) Moreover, there is no mention at all of any Dargāh\(^1\) in the inscription. There is no doubt that the inscription refers to the construction of a mosque and a well. Though it cannot be definitely asserted as to whether the mosque intended is the Tuleti mosque or not, it must be stressed that the mere presence of the Hindu inscription does not absolutely mean that the construction of the mosque was carried out at a later date; it is very likely that the said inscription was carved later.

The text of the record reads as follows:——

**TEXT**

*Plate XX(a)*

١ بِعَمَدٍ دوْلَتَ خَانٍ كَبِيرٍ وَحَدٍ خَانٍ بَنَا جَهَلٌ جَهَلَانٌ سُورٌ زَمْنٌ وَ زَمْنٌ
٢ مِلْكِ مَعْلُومٍ مَهْنَتٍ فِي اسْلَآمٍ وَ فِي غَرْدِقٍ خَالِقٌ قَبْولٌ بَادٌ بِذِرْكَ خَالِقٌ حَانٌ
٣ بَنَدَ وَ أَوْذٗ زَمَزَمٍ صَفْتُ زَمَزَمٍ مَالٍ دُكَرُ مَهْ سَالٌ بِهِ مَعْلُومٍ رَضَانٌ

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the time of the rule of the great Khān, Auḥad Khān (who is) the shelter of the whole world and lord of the earth and the age,

(2) the illustrious lord Muhtaf (\(?)\) Khānī built, out of truthful intention, such a place for the worship of the Merciful (Allāh)

(3) (and) near it a Zamzam-like\(^{10}\) well out of his personal property. May it be accepted (of him) in the court of the Bountiful Creator!

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\(^{1}\) Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 82, 83.

\(^{2}\) Ibid., p. 83.

\(^{3}\) Ibid.

\(^{4}\) Cunningham was perhaps misled by the word dargāh occurring in the phrase "dargah-i-ḥalīy-i-bannān", (court of the Benevolent creator) in the second hemistich of the third couplet.

\(^{5}\) Ibid. reads "يَبْنُوْرَ خَانٍ "

\(^{6}\) Ibid. has "يَبْنُ، خَانٍ " evidently a misprint.

\(^{7}\) Ibid. has "يَمْرَ " a misprint.

\(^{8}\) Ibid. has "يَبْبٍ "

\(^{9}\) Ibid. reads "سِوْرٍ "

\(^{10}\) Hagar's well at Mecca.
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 823, of Aḥad Ḵān, from Bayana (p. 60)

(b) Epitaph of Aḥad Ḵān, dated A.H. 824, from the same place (p. 61)

(c) Record of Yūsuf Aḥadi, A.H. 842, from Hindaun (p. 63)
THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE AUHADIS

(4) From the Hijra (lit., Flight) of the Prophet, the year was eight hundred and twenty with three more, in the illustrious month of Ramadān (Ramadān A.H. 823-September-October 1420 A.D.).

The above inscription thus provides a date later by three years than the last date A.H. 820 assigned to Auḥad Khań by Cunningham in his genealogy of the Auḥadī family owing to the wrong reading of the date of the inscription.1 Auḥad Khań who inherited the throne of Bayana from his brother Shams Khań in about A.H. 803, when the latter was assassinated by Mālī Iqbal Khań, ruled until his death on the 15th Ramadān A.H. 824 (13th September 1421 A.D.), that is to say, within almost a year of the construction of the mosque. The above-mentioned date of death of Auḥad Khań is fortunately provided by the inscription which is studied next. The name of the builder could not be deciphered satisfactorily. It reads like Muḥtaf Khań, which may be a corruption of Maḥtaf Khań. In any case, nothing is known about him.

II. EPITAPH OF AUHAD KHAN FROM BAYANA

This epigraph is found carved in Naṣhāh characters in relief on two slabs at the footside of a grave in the Abū Qandāshār gravestonew situated to the west of the town.2 The slabs jointly measure about 34” by 9”. The penmanship of the record is far from satisfactory and moreover, the letters have been adversely affected by the inclemencies of weather and wear and tear of time.

The epigraph consists of two verses purporting to the effect that on Sunday, 15th of Ramadān A.H. 824 (13th September 1421 A.D.), Auḥad Khań, whom powerful chiefs used to obey, received the call of Death. Evidently, Auḥad Khań is none other than the Bayana chief mentioned above. Thus the present inscription is a very important record, since it has preserved for us an important date in the history of the Auḥadīs of Bayana, especially when it is remembered that the dates of this family are sparsely given in historical works. The record also helps us to fix the period during which Mubārak Khań, a brother of Auḥad Khań, enjoyed authority. It may be pointed out that Cunningham in his table has assigned no dates to Mubārak Khań who was assassinated by his nephew, Amīr Khań, a son of Auḥad Khań, in about A.H. 825 (1421-22 A.D.), within a short time of the former’s accession.3 Mubārak Khań must have, thus, ruled hardly for about one year.

The epitaph is composed in Persian verse which appears to have been an ill-feigned attempt at versification by some one lacking in elementary knowledge of prosody as will be seen from the following text:—

TEXT

Plate XX(b)

(1) چباره د طلی ح ز بانزه از مه صباه
کز امرورس سر کشان کردناد اطعت دواهم

(2) شد اسر خاک کت بربت اوحده خمahan

1 Cunningham op. cit., p. 65.
2 Ibid., p. 65.
4 Yalāyā Sarhūnī, Turāfā-i-Mubārak Shāhī (Calcutta, 1931), p. 262, while narrating the events of Jamālādī I and II, A.H. 828, says that a son of Auḥad Khań, who had assassinated his uncle Mubārak Shāh, rebelled against Mubārak Shāh Suyyid of Delhi. The assassination must have, therefore, taken place in A.H. 825 or in the early part of A.H. 829. It may be pointed out that the name Amīr Khań is given by Firdowsī only, vide Turāfā-i-Firdowsī (Kanpur, 1884), p. 155, where Amīr Khań is stated to be a son of Dāwūd Khań, son of Shams Khań.
(1) Fourteen hours had passed from Saturday, the 15th of the month of Fasting (i.e. Ramadān) in the year eight hundred and twenty-four (15th Ramadān A. H. 824=13th September 1421 A.D.), when the call of Death came;

(2) in the dust of the grave became captive Auḥad, the Khān of the world, whose orders champions always used to obey.

III.—INSCRIPTION OF YUSUF KHĀN FROM HINDAUN

Hindaun, situated in latitude 26°14′ N. and longitude 77°3′ E., on the Delhi-Ratlām section of the Western Railway, was formerly the headquarters of the aizamat and taktil of the same name in the erstwhile Jaipur State. Now included within the Sawai Madhopur district of Rajasthan, Hindaun was once an extensive city which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had visited in the course of his travels. It was an important place under the Turk and the Muḥājir kings but suffered from the devastations of the Marathas.1 Hindaun has several buildings of the Muḥājir period, of which Bāra Khambā is the most prominent. There are quite a few Arabic and Persian inscriptions at Hindaun including one of the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh.2

The inscription under study is another new record of the Auḥadīs. It is fixed over the central miḥrāb of the Rangezon-ki-Masjid, a small plain building without any architectural merit, situated on the western bank of the tank. It states that the mosque, constructed by Malik Khairu’d-Dīn during the rule of Majlis-i-ʿAlī Yūsuf Khān, son of Mubārak Khān, was completed on the 10th of Ramadān A. H. 842 (24th February 1439 A.D.).3

This epigraph is also an important historical document which throws fresh light on certain aspects of the history of the Auḥadī family. First of all, it provides valuable information about the parentage of Yūsuf Khān Auḥadī. Historical works do not ignore Yūsuf Khān completely but they do not contain any information regarding the name of Yūsuf Khān’s father. Cunningham had in his genealogy shown him to be a son of Auḥad Khān himself.4 Our record for the first time proves that Yūsuf Khān was the son of Mubārak Khān, a brother of Auḥad Khān. Secondly, this new piece of information contained in the present inscription helps to explain away satisfactorily a fact which has been passed over by historians without any comment. We are now in a position to say that when, as stated above, Mubārak Khān was killed and succeeded to the Bayana chieftship by his nephew Amir Khān, son of Auḥad Khān towards the end of A.H. 825 (1422 A.D.) or in the beginning of A.H. 826 (1423 A.D.), one of the sons of Mubārak Khān, probably Yūsuf Khān himself, had occupied Hindaun and set up a rival government there. The first mention of Yūsuf Khān occurs in historical works in connection with his march from Hindaun to fight Rānū who was despatched to take possession of the district of Bayana by his master Sudhipal. Rānū was ultimately defeated and killed.5 Yūsuf Khān is further mentioned as one of the nobles who paid homage in person to Muḥammad

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4 Cunningham, op. cit., p. 65.
The inscription under study comprises three lines in Persian verse whose composition is not only mediocre but faulty. The style of writing is Naşḵa of an ordinary type. The inscriptive slab measuring about 36" by 16" is slightly built up in the wall on the right and consequently, a couple of letters in the beginning of each line have not come out in the rubbing.

The text of the record reads as follows:--

**Text**

*Plate XX (c)*

1) [باني] مسجد ملك هست خيرالدين

2) [يو] عصر رمضان شهد اتمام اين

3) [درب] سنين بوستين اثني اربعين

**Translation**

(1) The builder of this mosque is Malik Khairu’d-Dīn; this is the time of the government of Majlis ‘Āli, may he remain for ever!

(2) who is Yūsuf Khān, son of Mūbārak Khān. Its completion took place on the 10th of Ramadān,

(3) and the year has been fortytwo and eight hundred itself (10th Ramadān A.H. 842-24th February 1439 A.D.).

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1 Yahyā Sarhindī, op. cit., p. 243; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 64-65.
INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE KHUSRAW BAGH, ALLAHABAD

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

Khusrav Bāgh, a well-known garden in the city of Allahabad in the province of Uttar Pradesh, is situated in the mahalla Khuldābād at a distance of about a mile from the Railway Station and about two miles, on the west, from Akbar's famous fort. The garden is a quadrangle of about forty acres, surrounded by embattled walls with a road running around. An underground path is said to have been constructed between the garden and the fort for intercommunication, but this is not borne out by any authority.

This extensive, pleasant and magnificent garden was used as a pleasure resort in the past, as is done even today. Many princes, nobles, governors and other distinguished personages have in the past visited and used it as a place for recreation. Akbar used it as a garden, whereas Prince Dānyāl stayed there during the period of his governorship. Jahāngīr mostly lived here during the period he was in rebellion against his father, and it was only here that he received his mother Sulṭān Begam when she had come to attempt reconciliation between the father and the son. Jahāngīr had also received in this very garden the head of Abu'l-Faḍl from Rāja Narsing Deo. Shāh ʿĀlam II had also used it for recreation during his stay at Allahabad up to 1771 A.D. A great Darbār was held here in honour of Prince of Wales in 1873 A.D.

Nothing is traceable in contemporary Persian records as to why it is called Khusrav Bāgh; whether it was so named after the ill-fated Sulṭān Khusrav whose tomb it contains or because of his confinement there after expulsion from Agra, it is difficult to say. According to one account, during Jahāngīr's governorship of Allahabad, Shāh Jahān and Khusrav were born there in 1588 A.D. and the garden was so named after the last mentioned. But this does not appear to be correct, since Mūllā ʿAbdu'l-Hamīd Lāhorī, the court historian of emperor Shāh Jahān, explicitly states that both Shāh Jahān as well as his elder brother, Sulṭān Khusrav, were born in Lahore. Likewise, contemporary records are silent about the founder's name and the actual date of its foundation but it is commonly believed that the garden was founded as long back as Akbar's fort. If so, the date of its foundation would be the 21st regnal year of Akbar, corresponding to A.H. 984 or 1576 A.D.

The garden is also important from historical and epigraphical points of view. In its enclosure are a few tombs containing the remains of royal personages like Khusrav, his mother Shāh Begam, his sister Sulṭānu'nisā, Tambulān Begam and others. Some of these tombs

4 Khwāfī Khan, op. cit., p. 323.
7 Ibid.
9 Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 28, 29, but he does not name his source.
11 H. R. Nevill, op. cit., p. 166.
beard dated inscriptions which furnish to some extent short but authentic information regarding the occupants of the tombs. The texts of some of these inscriptions have been published previously, but the published readings are not absolutely correct and moreover, their facsimiles are not given. Hence, it is intended to make a proper study of these inscriptions in this short article.3

Apart from the historical importance of the inscriptions, their calligraphical aspect also merits special mention. The inscriptions which are designed by the court calligraphist of Jahāngīr, namely, Mīr ‘Abdu’llāh Mushkīn Qalam and also by Sultan Sarhīndī are remarkable for their elegant, refined and exquisite designs and as such, they can easily rank among beautiful specimens of Nasta’liq writing on stone.

INSCRIPTION NOS. 1-2

These two inscriptions are from the tomb of Shāh Begam who was the daughter of the celebrated Rāja Bhagwān Dās of Akbar’s Court. Shāh Begam was married to Prince Salīm, later emperor Jahāngīr, in the 29th year of Akbar’s reign (A.H. 993 or 1585 A.D.). It is surprising that her original name has not come down to us; Jahāngīr is reported to have given her the name Shāh Begam when she gave birth to Prince Khusrāw. She is also said to have been addressed by her husband as Ārām-i-Jān (comfort of the soul). Shāh Begam ended her life by taking opium, according to Jahāngīr, on the 6th May 1605 A.D., on account of the bad behaviour of Khusrāw as also of one of her own brothers.

The tomb is a three-storeyed building, the ground storey containing the original mortuary which comprises a square chamber enclosed on four sides by verandah, two aisles deep. The central chamber, originally constructed on arches, has undergone extensive repairs replacing the stone arches by masonry buttresses. The imitation grave, worked exquisitely in marble, is situated on the topmost of the three terraces that go to make up the uppermost storey. The roof of the cenotaph is supported on multifaced pillars, three on each side, in the beam and bracket style, with profusely but elegantly carved bases and capitals.

There are in all two inscriptions on the tomb. The northern and two side facets of the sarcophagus of marble are inscribed against a background of floral patterns with Yā Fātāh and one quatrains in Persian respectively. The quatrains refers to the death of Shāh Begam who is praised in glowing terms. There is another inscription also, which is engraved in relief on the arch-shaped marble slab fixed at the head of the grave. Beginning with the phrase Allāhu Akbar, it contains another quatrains which forms the chronogram for the death of the Begam. A similar marble slab richly carved with exquisite floral designs is, for reasons of symmetry, set up at the footside, but it does not contain any inscription.

Both these inscriptions are beautifully engraved in chaste and elegant Nasta’liq letters in relief. At least, the text of the headstone is stated therein to have been composed and

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2 I am thankful to Shri I. A. Omeri, who worked for sometime in my office, for tracing out some of these references.
4 Sayyid Ahmad Khan, op. cit., p. 29.
5 Nisazmi Badayuni, Qanunil-Maṣūḥīr, Vol. II (Badayuni, 1926), p. 3.
6 Sayyid Ahmad Khan, op. cit.
engraved by Mr ‘Abdul-lâh Mughîkîn Qalam, the celebrated calligrapher of Jahângîr's time. The style of writing of the other inscription is identical and it seems almost certain that it was also composed and designed by the same calligrapher.

The inscriptions on the sarcophagus, occupying a writing space of (a) 21" by 7", (b) 66" by 7" and (c) 66" by 7", have been read as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXI (a)*

(a) On the head side of the cenotaph proper.

يا فتاح

(b) On the left side of the cenotaph proper.

بيگم که ز عفت رحمت آرایست اقیم عدم ز نور عزت آرایست

(c) On the right side of the cenotaph proper.

سبحان الله زمی کمال عفت کر هن عمل جهی جن آرایست

**TRANSLATION**

(a) O Opener

(b) The Begam who adorned the cheek of mercy through her chastity bedecked the realm of non-existence through the light of glory.

(c) Glory be to God! What perfect chastity (she possessed) that by good conduct, she (even) decorated the face of Paradise!

The inscription on the slab fixed at the head of the grave, measuring 73" from apex to bottom and 22" in width, reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXI (b)*

1. (الله أكبر)

2. جون چرخ فک نک ز گردش خود آشفت

3. در زیر زنین آغیزه مه یقه قفل گرفت

4. تاریخ وفات شاه بیگم جسم

5. آز غیب ملک بخهد شد بیگم کفت

6. لکنبدی عبدالлатیه مشکین فام جهانگیر شاه

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*Mr ‘Abdu'llâh Tirmîdî was a celebrated calligrapher of the reign of Jahângîr who had bestowed upon him the title of Mughîkîn Qalam. He was also endowed with fine poetical talent and composed poetry under the nom-de-plume Wâsîfî. Among the inscriptions engraved by him is the famous inscription at Ajmer appearing on the lofty archway of a building at Chashma-i-Nur (*EIAP*, 1957 and 58, p. 56, pl. XIV). He died in A.H. 1035 (1626 A.D.) and lies buried at Agra where his tomb and mosque still exist. There are two inscriptions on his tomb giving chronograms of his death and one more on the mosque. All the three epigraphs were composed by Mr ‘Abdu'llâh’s son, Muhammad Šâhib, himself a poet with the nom-de-plume Kasdi. For the text of these inscriptions, see *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, pp. 162-63.*
(a) Inscriptions on the grave of Shāh Begam in Khusraw Bāgh, Allahabad (p. 66)

(i)

(ii)

(c) Inscription from the tomb of Sultan Nīthār Begam in the same place (p. 68)

Scale : 0.9

Scale : 0.18

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 1012, on the headstone of the same grave (p. 66)

Scale : 0.09
(1) God is great!
(2) When the wheel of the sky got fed up with its revolutions.
(3) it concealed the mirror of the moon under the earth.¹
(4) (When) I sought the date of Shāh Begam's death,
(5) an angel from the Invisible world replied, 'The Begam went to Heaven'.
(6) Composed by its writer, namely, 'Abdu'llah Mushkin Qalam Jahangir Shāhī.

The chronogram contained in the words 'The Begam went to Heaven' yields A.H. 1012 (1603-04 A.D.) as the date of demise of Shāh Begam.

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

The tomb of Sultan Nithār Begam² which does not contain any grave lies between the tombs of her brother Sultan Khurān and their mother Shāh Begam, at a distance of nearly thirty steps from each. It is a double-storied building situated in the very heart of the garden just opposite to the main gate. Its mortuary chamber which is surrounded with a veranda is profusely ornamented with paintings and inscriptions. the latter being didactic in nature.³ The raised platform in the centre does not now contain any grave, nor is there any cenotaph on the upper storey. This has given rise to some speculation as to whether any burial took place here at all, but there seems to be little doubt about it in view of the inscription under study. The princess was the first issue of Jahangir and Shāh Begam and elder sister of Khurān. She was born in A.H. 991, but the date of her death is not definitely known. It is a pity that the inscription also does not throw any light on the date of her death.

Around the frame of the door of the tomb, on the slabs with which the facade wall is faced, is carved an epigraph in Persian verse which is executed in bold and beautiful Naṣīḥī style in relief. The record consists of three couplets, written into three arch-shaped panels, each containing two hemistiches. It occupies a total writing space of 140° by 11°. The first line of the record has been too mutilated and effaced to admit of complete decipherment. The remaining two couplets which are quite clear and readable refer to the construction of the tomb of a lady whose name is not clear in the epigraph, but it is probably implied by the word 'Nithār' occurring in the second line of the inscription.⁴ Beveridge is evidently wrong in stating that 'according to the chronogram, she died in A.H. 1034 (1624-25 A.D.)',¹ since the chronogram contained in the inscription is meant for the date of construction of the tomb and not of the death of Sultan Nithār Begam as will be seen from the text quoted below. Moreover, according to some, the Princess had died on the 4th Shab'ān A.H. 1056 (5th September 1646 A.D.).⁵ The chronogram occurring in the last line in the

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¹ Beveridge, op. cit., p. 603, reads '٧٨٢ مَيْر' and doubtfully translates the hemistich thus: 'The sun's mirror hid itself under the ground'. He has further tried to explain this rendering which was not necessary at all. The subject of the verb '٢٩٥ بُصُبَت' which is transcribed here is '٢٩٥ محَرَت' of the first hemistich.
² About her name, etc., see Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 157-93; Beveridge, op. cit., p. 608, fn. 1.
³ These do not contain any historical information. Their text is quoted in Beveridge, op. cit., p. 607 and Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 192-193.
⁴ See also Beveridge, op. cit., p. 608, fn. 1.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Maqbul Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 191-193, etc.
words *Ra'wa-i Pāk* (‘the holy tomb’) yields the date of the construction of the tomb. The inscription has been designed by Sultan Sarhindi and reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XXII (a)*

1 (1) خجسته روضه چو از صدق ........................
2 (2) بر ملاک کرست همیشه نور ندار
3 (3) خر دز سال نانای بصفه فکرت نوشت با قلم اختراع روضه پاک
   کفنه قیصر سلطان سرہندی

**TRANSLATION**

1 (1) The suspicious tomb, when through truthful intention............................. in height with the dome of heaven.
2 (2) On it (i.e. on the tomb), the angels of Mercy always shed light. How excellent is the model of the highest heaven in the centre of the earth!
3 (3) For the year of its construction, Wisdom, on the page of thought, wrote with the pen of invention (the words): *the holy tomb*. Written by the humble (one, namely) Sultan of Sarhindi.

**INSCRIPTION NO. 4**

Beneath the above inscription occurs another epigraph comprising one quatrains. It is engraved immediately below the above inscription on four stone panels, two of which are in the left and right sides of the projection from the facade forming the porch, and two, one each on right and left, in line with the architrave of the door. The total writing space occupied by the text of this epigraph is about 55" by 11".

Unfortunately, with the passage of time the writing especially in the right side portion has been worn out completely. The letters originally carved in relief have peeled off with the result that the first couplet of the quatrains is almost illegible, though with concentrated efforts I have been able to read a portion, if not the whole, of it. The inscription purports to eulogise the building and express the excellence and chasteness of the tracery and painting work of the tomb.

The style of writing is *Nasta'liq* of a fairly high order, and the text reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XXI (c)*

1 (1) این روضه اقدس و گنبد میتا رنگ
2 (2) از داشت .......................... بس نیکه آهنگ
3 (3) هر نه که نقاش برد بر سرنگ
4 (4) افکند چا ز دست مانی بیرنگ

**TRANSLATION**

1 (1) This pious tomb and azure-coloured dome
2 (2) through knowledge................................................................. of extremely perfect harmony.
3 (3) (On account of) every picture, which the (skilled) artist has painted on the stone,
4 (4) Shame threw out the sketch from the hand of Mānī.¹

¹ Mānī was a great painter who is said to have flourished in the reign of Shāpur, the Iranian emperor, in the third century A.D. and earned a matchless mastery and proverbial fame in the art of painting.
(a) Another inscription from the tomb of Sulțan Nithār Begam in Khusraw Bagh, Allahabad (p. 68)

(b) Inscription of Jahāngir, dated A.H. 1031 from Kandahar (p. 70)
THREE MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM KESIARI, WEST BENGAL

By W. H. SIDDIGI

Kesari, situated 16 miles north-west of Khargapur, though now a small village in the Midnapur sub-division of the district of the same name, is a place of great antiquity. Ample traces are even now discernible to prove that once upon a time a flourishing and thickly populated town extended from Gaganeshvara to the outskirts of the present village. On one side of this ancient town was located Gaganeshavara Mahâdeva and on the other, the big temple of the goddess Sarvamangala. According to the genealogical list of Pacchatrayavaidika of Bengal, written on palm leaves about three hundred and fifty years ago, the royal Sena dynasty ruled from a place called Kashipur, situated on the banks of Suvarnarekha. This capital of the Sena kings has been identified with Kesari, which is the corrupt form of Kashipuri. When and how the ancient city was destroyed is not known. Tradition has it that its inhabitants took to excessive opium-eating which consequently brought them ruin.¹

Under the Mughals, Kesari appears to have been a town of importance, having at least retained traces of its former glory when a large number of people resided there.² It formed a mahâl under Akbar.³ It appears to have been an important Mughal taksil forming a pargana in the sarkâr of Jaleswar, near which ran the old Pâshâhî road.

Kesari was also an important centre of the tusser silk industry. As far back as 1676 A.D., it was noted that the waters of "Casharry" gave the most lasting dye to tusser silk.⁴

Of the ruins that are to be seen in the present village, those of the Kurumverâ or temple-enclosure of Gaganeshvara are the most notable. Inside the enclosure and at the eastern extremity of it is a temple of Šiva. Diametrically opposite to this, i.e. at the western extremity, there is to be found a mosque also.⁵ To this mosque is said to have belonged the inscription which is included in the present study. (p. 70). Mosques and stone houses erected by the Mughals are still extant in the Mughalpara quarter of the town. An allegedly stone figure of a Muhammadan king or saint,⁶ with a Persian inscription on it (p. 71), was reported sometime back to be lying on the ground in the middle of the ruins.⁷ The above two inscriptions were noticed in the Archaeological Survey of Magurbanja, where their incomplete translated readings are given with plates.⁸

All the three inscriptions studied below belong to the Mughal period.⁹ The earliest of these epigraphs is a hitherto-unpublished record pertaining to the reign of Mughal emperor Jahângir.

³ The printed text of Abu'l-Fadl, A'm-i-Akbar, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), p. 410, has Siyârî, which is apparently intended for Kesari, the first syllable 'Ka' having been omitted in the print or by the scribe.
⁵ For details, see Vasu, op. cit., p. 124.
⁶ In view of the fact that making of images is strictly prohibited in Islam, it is difficult to believe that the image is of a Muslim saint or king.
⁷ O'Malley, op. cit., pp. 196-97. The image is now reported to be lying near the house of Shaikh Paniawali, a tailor.
⁹ The estampages of these inscriptions were forwarded to the office of the Superintendent, Persian and Arabic inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, by the Government Epigraphist for India and have been listed in Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1953-54, under Nos. C, 85-87.
It is carved on a slab, measuring 16" by 12", which is now kept in the house of Shaikh Panjawali, a tailor, but is reported to have been originally fixed into a stone structure locally known as Hamam.

The record consists of seven lines of which the first two and a half are in Arabic comprising Bismillah and the First Creed of the Shi'as, while the rest are in Persian recording the construction of a mosque by one Haji Jamali Isfahani, during the governorship of Ahmad Baig Khan on the 9th of Ramadhan A.H. 1031 (8th July 1622 A.D.). The style of writing is crude Nastaliq.

The text has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
(3) على ولي الله در زمان، سافنت
(4) نور الدين جهانگیر ابن أكبر پادشاه
(5) در سویداری (sic.) احمد بیک خان
(6) بنده درکه حاجی جمالا اصفهانی
(7) بنان این مسجد نمود تاریخ 9 شهر رمضان منه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
(2) There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the apostle of Allah (and)
(3) ‘Ali is the friend of Allah. In the period of the rule of
(4) Nuru’d-Din Jahangir, son of Akbar, the king (and)
(5) during the governorship of Ahmad Baig Khan,
(6) the servant of the (royal) court, Haji Jamali Isfahani

(7) constructed this mosque, on the date 9th of the month of Ramadhan (in the year A.H.)
1031 (8th July 1622 A.D.)

Ahmad Baig Khan, mentioned in the inscription as the governor, was a son of Muhammad Sharif, and grandson of Nur Jahani’s father Mirzi Ghiyath Baig entitled Tirmidu’d-Daula.1 Jahangir appointed him as governor in Orissa in A.H. 1030 (1620-21 A.D.) with an increase of rank and the high title of Khan.2 As regards Haji Jamali Isfahani, the builder of the mosque,

2 Jahangir, Ta’rikh Jahanji (All, Gurin, 1941), pp. 332-33. Also Shah Nawiz Khan, Ma’tsumi’Umaru, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), p. 307, where it is stated that Ahmad Baig Khan was governor’s deputy at that time.
(a) Inscription of Shāh Jahan, from Kesíari (p. 71)

Scale: 1:23

(b) Inscription of Amangāzab dated A.H. 1102, from the same place (p. 72)

Scale: 1:12
nothing is known from available records. But from the text of the present record, it appears that he was an official, very likely, in charge of the town. That he was a staunch Shi'a is also obvious from the text.

The other inscription is found on the back of a grotesque stone image, mentioned above, which is stated to be now lying near the house of the aforesaid Shaikh Panjawali. The image was originally discovered in the immediate vicinity of Mughalpara on the spot on which stood a dargah (tomb), built in the reign of Shāh Jahān, which was later destroyed by the Marathas. Written over a space measuring 26" by 15", the record consists of a fragment of five verses in Persian registering the construction of a well by one Sharifā, during the reign of emperor Shāh Jahān. The mass of stone appears to have been considerably damaged with the result that the writing is effaced and the text rendered illegible in the second half. The style of writing, judging from the present state of the writing appears to be Nasta'liq of a fairly high order.

The inscription has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

(1) در زمان حسمت شاه جهان
(2) همت هر کس بنانی طرح کرد
(3) [داد] توفیقی شریفا را خدا
(4) آب او شوید زن کرد ملال
(5) می برد موج
(6) دل سپ تاریخ او در فکر شد

TRANSLATION

(1) During the glorious rule of Shāh Jahān, the world received splendour through building activities.

(2) Everybody, in proportion to his aspiration and means, laid foundation of some structure.

(3) Sharifā was blessed with Divine guidance (and consequently), he constructed a well.

(4) Its water washes off the dust of sorrow from the body, while the waves carry...

(5) The heart plunged into contemplation for (finding out) its date. Nature told me, ‘It is...

The phrase containing the chronogram intended to give the date does not admit of clear decipherment.

It is difficult to establish the identity of Sharifā, the builder of the well. But we do get mention of one Sharifā among the officials of Shāh Jahān. When the latter in the course of his

2 An English translation of this inscription has been published without its Persian text, in Vasu, op. cit., p. 127, pl. No. 78A, where the name of the builder of the well has been omitted; also the translation is faulty.
rebellion against his father, emperor Jahāngir, reached Burhanpur in A.H. 1032 (1622-33 A.D.), he sent this Sharīfā with a letter to Mīr Husāmud-Dīn Injū, later Mūrdaqā Khān, then in charge of the fort of Asir on behalf of Jahāngir, and succeeded in intimidating him into submission, whereupon Sharīfā was entrusted with the charge of the fort.1 This Sharīfā is likely to be identical with Sharīfā of the present record. It is just possible that Shāh Jahān, on his accession to the throne, had assigned to him some responsible post in Kesiari or its neighbourhood.

If the above identification be correct, the well was presumably excavated during the early years of Shāh Jahān’s reign.

The third inscription belongs to the reign of emperor Aurangzeb. The inscriptive tablet, measuring 42” by 17”, is now fixed into the eastern wall of the above-mentioned ruined structure called Hammām. But the slab apparently belonged to a mosque, which in all probability is identical with the one, stated by Vasu in his survey of antiquities of Kesiari, to be near the temple of Śiva.2 But when Vasu wrote, the slab was fixed above the entrance of a ruined dargāh.3 Whether the ruined dargāh is identical with the present ruined structure called Hammām, it is difficult to say. But in the event of that not being the case, it may be presumed that at a later date, the slab having been dislodged from the ruined dargāh was brought and fixed into its present place.

The epigraph contains a record of nine lines in Arabic, executed in relief.4 The slab is cut into three panels, of which the uppermost one runs across the whole length and contains the Bienmillāh, while the lower part, cut into two panels by means of a vertical dividing line, contains five lines of writing in each. The whole of the right panel and the first two lines in the left panel contain extracts from the Qurʾān and the First Creed, while the remaining three lines of the latter constitute the main text recording the construction of a mosque by Muḥammad Tāhir al-ʿAlawi in the reign of Aurangzeb. The date of completion of the mosque is given in the chronogram yielding A.H. 1102 (1690-91 A.D.). The date is also given in figure, but the writing being very small in that place, the figure has not come out very distinct on the rubbing.

The style of writing of the record is Nasīḥ of a fairly good type.

The reading of the inscription runs as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XXIII (b)*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(٢) نال الله تعالى و من يطبع الله
(٣) لا الله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
(٤) وروله يدخله جنات
(٥) ينجى من تجربة الأذى
(٦) و تأديم انتهما كان وسيلة إلى الجنة
(٧) محمد طاهر المنوي
(٨) اورنوزيب خليد الله ملكه
(٩) قم ينجب عذابا إلها

سنة ١٠٠٢

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1 Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., Vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 383-34.
2 Vasu, op. cit.
4 This epigraph is also published in *I*, p. 127, pl. 78), where the date of the construction is wrongly given as A.H. 1082. The translated text is also not free from mistakes.
THREE MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM KESIARI, WEST BENGAL

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
(2) Allāh, the Exalted has said, 'Whoever obeys
(3) Allāh and his Messenger, He will make him enter the Paradise,
(4) where streams flow; and
(5) whoever turns away, He will chastise him with severe punishment'.
(6) There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.
(7) The lofty mosque has been constructed in the reign of the king
(8) Aurangzeb, may God perpetuate his kingdom, by Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-ʿAlawi.
(9) And the date of its construction is (contained in the words:) it is a means of approach to Paradise. Year (A.H.) 1102 (1690-91 A.D.).

Nothing is known about Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-ʿAlawi in available records. An inscription from the mosque at Inchala Bazar, in Burdwan district of West Bengal, mentions one Sayyid Ṭāhir, without the first part of his name Muḥammad and the nisba al-ʿAlawi, as having constructed the mosque also in the reign of Aurangzeb, in A.H. 1115 (1703 A.D.), only thirteen years after the date of the inscription under study. As both the epigraphs belong to two places in the same part of the country and almost to the same period, it may strike as likely that the builder of the mosques at Inchala Bazar and at Kesiai was one and the same person, while however, the names Sayyid Ṭāhir in one case and Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-ʿAlawi in the other, point to the fact being otherwise. In the same way, according to an inscription in the fort of Kaulas, in the Nizamabad district of Andhra Pradesh, one Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭāhir constructed a bastion in A.H. 1082 (1671 A.D.). But as the nisba al-ʿAlawi is not mentioned along with his name, it is doubtful to assert his identification with the builder of the mosque at Kesiai.

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1 Qurʾān, ch. XVII, verse 48.
2 EIM, 1935-36, pp. 59-60, pl. XXXVII b.
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