EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC & PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1962 and 63

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTOR GENERAL
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,
JANPATH, NEW DELHI-110011
1987
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PREFACE

The task of making available to the world of scholars the benefits of study and research on Indian inscriptions would have remained incomplete without the reprinting of volumes of Epigraphia Indica (Arabic & Persian Supplement). This series, under the title Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, published from 1907 to 1940, was revived in 1949 and since 1951 in its present form. This valuable material is being published in 13 volumes. The present one is 9th 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
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ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1962

EDITED BY

DR. Z. A. DESAI

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

1962

KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

I propose to publish in this article, the third containing my study of Gujarat inscriptions, twenty-four epigraphs copied from various places in Gujarat (including Saurashtra) which belong to the time of the governors appointed from Delhi, first under the Khaljīs and later under the Tughluqs. Of these records, three belong to the reigns of 'Alau'd-Dīn Khaljī and his son and successor Qutb'ud-Dīn Muhārak Shāh, while the remaining twenty-one were set up in the names of the Tughluq rulers Firuz Shāh and Nasir Shāh. These records constitute an important source for the history of the pre-Sultanate period—lasting for about a century—of Gujarat. The history of the outlying provinces as a rule never received any detailed treatment from the contemporary historians who were mainly concerned with the central kingdom. Consequently, a detailed history of its pre-Sultanate period has yet to be properly written. It is, therefore, hoped that the present study will be of some use if an attempt is made to fulfill this need. Also, these inscriptions may be found interesting by the students of palaeography. Being remarkable for their execution in diverse and varied flourishes of Naḵš and Thulṯū scripts, they represent some of the fairly good specimens of calligraphic art as practised in the mural records in Gujarat.

I-III. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHALJĪS

Hardly within a couple of years of his coming to power, 'Alau'd-Dīn conquered Gujarat and put it in charge of a governor with his seat at Anhilwād Patan (Nahrwālī of the Muslim writers). Patan, formerly included in the erstwhile Barodā state and now a talukā town in the Mehsana district, had for centuries been the capital of the province which status it continued to enjoy for more than a century (1298-1407) until the overthrow of the Tughluq dynasty. Even the first two sultāns...
of Gujarat administered their new kingdom from this ancient city; it was only in the time of Ahmad Shāh I that the capital was shifted to his newly founded city of Ahmadabad in A. H. 813 (1411 A.D.).

But in spite of its long political association, Patan contains very few records of the pre-Sultanate period; whatever inscriptions have been found are not dated prior to the reign of Firūz Tughluq. It is difficult to explain the non-existence of the buildings or inscriptions of the Khaljis and the early Tughluqs except on the ground that these must have disappeared due to the various obvious reasons including the hand of the vandal, the latter, perhaps, being responsible for the loss of a beautiful inscription of which two fragments were recently found by me in two different parts of the town. The first of these is lying loose in the Kansadā gate mosque and the other is built up into the western wall of the ḫujra in the enclosure of Makhdūm Husānu'd-Dīn.

These two fragments possess more than antiquarian interest. The surviving text contained therein is fragmentary, and hence it is not possible to determine its full purport. Nevertheless, these fragments are valuable as they contain an inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn. Calligraphically, they are remnants of a beautifully carved inscription. Bold in execution, its strike which is a mixture of Thulūt and Naskh, reveals grace and symmetry of the curves and straight lines of letters that please the eye. Far more interesting is the similarity between the style and execution of this inscription and that of a few contemporary inscriptions of Bihar and Bengal. The writing appears to be in Arabic.

There is little doubt that the epigraph belongs to the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn. The two fragments if placed side by side contain a continuous text with the name and title, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn [Abu'l-Mu'assaf] Muḥammad Shāh a's-Sultān' in the first line and the title Alp Khān in the next. Malik Sanjar entitled Alp Khān, a brother-in-law of 'Alāu'd-Dīn and father-in-law of the latter's son, Khādīr Khān, was appointed as the first governor of Gujarat in 1300 A.D. A capable and popular officer who administered Gujarat for about sixteen years, he was recalled to Delhi in 1316 A.D. by the emperor and ordered to be poisoned at the instigation of Malik Kāfūr.

Alp Khān is also credited with the construction of the Jāmi' mosque of white marble at Patan. This great mosque no longer remains but it is reported to have survived until the middle of the eighteenth century and its site can still be seen outside the Kansadā gateway of the town. It was evidently destroyed during the political disorders that followed the Marāthā invasions in the second half of the eighteenth century and served as a quarry for building material. The present buildings where our tablets are now found—the mosque within the Kansadā gate and the enclosure of Makhdūm Husānu'd-Dīn—are situated near the original site of Alp Khān's Jāmi' mosque. Therefore it is very likely that the present epigraph formed part of the inscription that was set up on the said mosque.

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1 However, an epitaph of the pre-Muslim period, dated 1282 A.D. falling in the reign of Shārandadeva Vāghela, has been found in the town (E.I.A.P.S. 1961, p. 16, pl. IIIa).


3 Ibid., No. C. 96.

4 Alp Khān's benevolent rule has been mentioned in contemporary Jain records, e.g. Samara-Kaśa-Mahā-Kavya and an inscription from Cambay, dated V.S. 1366 (Jainavijaya, Prāchīna Jainī Lekhāsmargaka, Bhavnagar, 1921, p. 275, no 447).

5 For the details of Alp Khān's career, see Diyu'd-Dīn Barani, Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shāh (Calcutta, 1802), pp. 242, 293, 323, 368, etc., M. S. Commissariat, History of Gujarat, vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 5, 7, 10-11.
(a) Epitaph, dated A.H. 698, from Cambay (p. 3)

(b) Fragmentary record, on two slabs, of Alau'd-Din Khalji, from Patan (p. 3)
The text of this inscription on the two slabs, which measure about 50 by 34 and 37 by 30 cm. respectively, reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate I(b)*

(a) *On the first slab.*

........... (1) [علاءٞ] و العديان والدنين]

........... (2) فلك؟ المعلا قطب؟ أعلا

(b) *On the second slab.*

............... (1) [الموفر] محمد [شاه] [السلطان ناصر؟

............... (2) المخاطب بخطاب النخان خلد؟

**TRANSLATION**

(a) (1) [ʿAlā]ʿu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Din……………………………………………………

(2) the sky of eminences, pole-star……………………………………………………

(b) (1) [Abu’l-Muḵaffa]r Muḥammad [Shāh], the sultān, Nāṣir-i-Amīr-i-Mu’minin]…………

(2) one who is favoured with the title of Alp Khān…………………………………………

The second inscription, an epitaph, is carved on the headstone of a grave now built up, first from right, into the north wall of the enclosure of the tomb of Pīr Tāju’d-Dīn in Cambay,* District Kaira. The epigraphical tablet is arched-shaped measuring about 57 cm. from apex to bottom and 28 cm. in width. According to the epitaph proper, Shihāb’u’d-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, son of Yahyā expired in 1299 A.D. The deceased is further mentioned in the text as the governor at Kīmbīja (Cambay).

The main excuse for including this inscription in the present study, even though it does not specifically mention the name of the then ruling monarch ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn, is that it designates the deceased as the governor of Cambay. It may be safely presumed that Shihāb’u’d-Dīn Aḥmad was appointed to this office under orders from the provincial governor or the Delhi sultān. The inscription thus furnishes the rare information regarding one of the earliest officials of the recently established Muslim authority in Gujarāt.

The style of writing employed in the record is Naskh of the conventional type.

The text has been read as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate I (a)*

(a) *In the border.*

*ARIE, 1969-60, No. D, 120. Of the five more tombstones to be found in the said enclosure, two have been published in *EIAPS, 1961, p. 8 (pl. 1b), p. 9 (pl. 1a).*

*For the history and account of the buildings of Cambay, see *Bombay Gazetteer* (*BG*), vol. VI (Bombay, 1880), pp. 240-41; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-66; *EIAPS, 1957 and 58, p. 29.*
(b) In the middle.

(1) لا الله إلا ابنا محمد رسول الله
(2) كل نفي ذاقيه الموت
(3) هذا ببر العبد الضعيف المجتهد إلى رحمة الله
(4) تعالى شعبان الدين أحمد بن عبد ابلى
(5) الحاكم بكتبه تتعمل الله بجذره تعالى
(6) يوم الاربعاء الخامس من شهر الله الحرام رجب
(7) مئة نيان و تسعين وتسع

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."

(b) (1) There is no god but Allah; Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.
(2) 'Every soul shall taste of death.'
(3) This is the grave of the weak creature, the dependant on the mercy of Allah.
(4) the Exalted, Shihabu'd-Din Ahmado, son of Muhammad, son of Yahyâ.
(5) the governor (al-hâkim) at Kimdîyâ (Cambay), may Allah cover him with his pardon.

He died on
(6) Wednesday the 5th of the most righteous month of Allah (i.e.) Rajab
(7) (A.H.) eight and ninety and six hundred (5th Rajab A.H. 698 = 8th April 1299 A.D.).

The third inscription pertains to the reign of Qurbu'd-Din Mubarak Shâh and is set up above the main entrance to the tomb of Barkat Shahid at Dholka, District Ahmadabad. The inscription may not originally belong to the tomb, since it refers to the construction of a mosque. The text of the record is in Persian except in the portion comprising religious texts and consists of two lines of writing engraved in Nasbi characters in relief on a tablet measuring 1'15 m. by 16 cm. Its object is to record the construction of a mosque by the great and generous noble, Shamsu'd-Din 'Alî, the amir-i-khâl in 1318 A.D. during the reign of Qurbu'd-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar Mubarak Shâh.

The epigraph has been read as under:

TEXT

Plate II (a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و آن المساجد دلا تدعوا مع الله إلا يشاء
(2) ابن مسجد در وان خداان گان سلسلان خليا تری زین قلب الدنیا و الدنیا ابو المظفر مبارك شاه

1 Qur'an, chapter III, verses 17-18.
2 Ibid., chapter XXIX, verse 7 (part only).
Khāliq and Tughluq Inscriptions from Gujarat

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Says Allāh, the Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; therefore invoke not any one else with Allāh.' The construction of this mosque (took place) in the reign of the lord of the monarchs, the Khalifa (vicegerent of Allāh) on the surface of the earth, Qutbudd-Dunyā wa’d-Din Abul’-Mugaffar Mubārak Shāh,

(2) the sultan, son of the sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. The builder of this auspicious edifice is the great and the generous noble, Shamsu’d-Din ‘Ali, the amir-i-kū (i.e. prefect of roads), may his dignity last for ever, on the fifth day of the month of Ṣafar, may Allāh end it with bounty and victory, of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eighteen (5th Ṣafar A.H. 718 = 8th April 1318 A.D.).

Apart from the fact that only six inscriptions of this king have come to light so far, this inscription happens to be his only record in Gujarat. Moreover, it furnishes us with the name of a high dignitary, Malik Shamsu’d-Din ‘Ali, the builder of the mosque, who does not find mention in historical records of the period. Also interesting is the fact that the Malik is designated in the record as amir-i-kū or the Prefect of the roads, whose duty was to maintain peace and order and also look to the safety of the residents of the city.

IV-XXIV. Inscriptions of the Tughluqs

The Tughluq dynasty is represented by twentyone inscriptions found at distant places such as Patan (N.G.), Parantij and Cambay in Gujarat proper and Ghogha, Mangrol and Una in Saurashtra. Eighteen of these records belong to the reign of Firūz Shāh, two mention Nurṣāt Shāh and the remaining one does not specify the name of the king. No new inscription of the two early rulers of the dynasty, viz. Ghiyathudd-Din Tughluq Shāh or his son Muhammad Shāh has been found.

The first record of Firūz Shāh and the fourth of this group comes from Cambay. Built up into the west wall of the Mughal mosque situated opposite the Veterinary hospital of the town, the inscriptive tablet, slightly damaged in its right side, measures 80 by 37 cm. But except for the cracks and the obliteration of two or three words in the last two lines, the writing has escaped damage.

It will be noticed from the plate that the left side of the tablet contains a later inscription, dated A.H. 1145 (1732-33 A.D.), recording the construction of a mosque by Mas‘ūd, son of Mu‘min Khān which indicates that the present building is not very old. The presence of a later inscription by the side of an earlier one on the same face of the slab is not as inexplicable as it is unusual. A reasonable explanation may be that the original tablet was inscribed with the Tughluq inscription in its middle, and its two plain portions on the sides were wedged into the wall so that on its dislocation at a later date, the tablet was subjected to damage resulting in the loss of the portion

1 Qur‘ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
5 This epigraph consisting of two verses written in four lines in Nastaliq characters in relief has been noticed in AIE, 1956-57, No. D, 37.
at the right. When the mosque was reconstructed, the left portion was engraved with the later inscription. In any case, there is no doubt about the genuineness of the Tughluq record.

The text comprises seven lines of writing and states that a mosque was constructed in 1354 A. D. in the reign of Firūz Shāh by the Lūṭwāl of Khambāyat (Cambay), whose name is lost but whose title Qurān-Khwān is clearly legible. It ends with an imprecation against one who seeks to destroy the mosque or misappropriate the endowment. The language of the record except for the religious texts which are in Arabic is Persian and the style of writing Naṣīḥ. The total area occupied by this epigraph on the stone is 52 by 37 cm.

The inscription has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم إنما يعمر مسجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر
(2) و إقامة الصلاة و آآآ الزكوة و ولم يسع الله إلآ فسعى أولاً كأن يكونوا من
المتقدمين
(3) وقال النبي عليه السلام من بين الله مسجدًا يبنيه بوجه الله بني الله له مثلك في
الجنة بني المسجد المبارك
(4) مما يوفق الله تعالى في عهد السلطان العادل الواثق بآمان الرحمن فيروز شاه السلطان
(5) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الأ dzieضيف التحقيق الراجحي إلى دابة الله تعالى
(6) ...... قرانخوان - کتوال کهنبایت بهم خاص خفر الله له و لجميع المؤمنين علی
التاريخ الغریف من
(7) [شهر رجب دهم] قدر سنه خمس و خمسین و سبعاده من سی فی هده و طع
نی وفقه لعنه الله و الملائكة و الناس اجمعین

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment),

(2) establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allāh; so (as for these) they would be among the followers of the right course.\(^1\)

(3) And the Prophet, may peace be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh aspiring thereby to the Face of Allāh, Allāh builds for him a like thereof in the paradise.' The auspicious mosque was constructed

(4) out of what Allāh the Exalted favoured him (i.e. the builder) with, in the reign of the just king, the confident of the support of the Benign lord, Firūz Shāh the king.

\(^1\) Qur'ān, chapter IX, verse 18.
(a) Epigraph of Mubarak Shāh Khalji, dated A.H. 718, from Dholka (p. 4)

Scale: ~17

(b) Bi-inscriptional tablet containing a record of Firuz Tughluq, dated A.H. 755, from Cambay (p. 5)

Scale: ~22

(c) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 758, from Patan (p. 7)
(5) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by the weak and infirm creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allāh the Exalted.

(6) . . . . . . . . Qur’ān-Khuwās, the kūsād of Khambayt (Cambay) (who is) the (king’s) favourite slave, may Allāh forgive him and all the believers, on the date, the first of

(7) (Rajab), may its dignity increase, of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and fifty-five (1st Rajab A. H. 755-22nd July 1354 A.D.). As to one who endeavours to demolish it or appropriates its endowment, the curse of Allāh, the angels and the people, all of them, will be on him.

It will be observed that the proper name of the builder of the mosque is lost making it difficult to establish his identity. Barānī in his list of Fīrūz’s nobles mentions Malik Qabūl Amir-i-Majlis with the title Qur’ān-Khuwās but does not give any details. Another contemporary historian, Shams Sirāj ‘Abbās, furnishes the only additional information that Malik Qabūl was the muqadd of Samana. But a slightly later author Yahyā supplies a few more details. According to him, Malik Qabūl bore the designation of a sarpaḍādār and was despatched against the Mongols towards the end of A. H. 759 from Samana by Fīrūz Tughluq. He seems to have continued as the muqadd of that place until A. H. 781 for, we are told that when Fīrūz went to Samana in that year, Malik Qabūl Qur’ān-Khuwās Amir-i-Majlis-i-Khass, the muqadd, paid obeisance to the king. In the following year, he was given the iqtā of Badayun. This Malik Qabūl is also reported to have composed a pamphlet on the art of Quranic recitation for the king. The surviving title Qur’ān-Khuwās in our record makes it very likely that the builder of the mosque is identical with this Malik Qabūl sarpaḍādār in which case it would follow that in A. H. 755, the date of the present record he was the fūtād of Cambay.

Also, it is interesting to note the spelling of the name of the town which was a big city in those days: We have seen above (p. 4) that in an earlier Arabic record it is written Khambāya, a term used by Arab writers. Here it is written Khambayat, obviously a local pronunciation which has corrupted into modern Khambābāt. It may also be mentioned here that this is the earliest record known so far in Gujarat of Fīrūz Tughluq.

The fifth inscription of the present study and second of Fīrūz Tughluq is fixed over the doorway of a tomb in the locality called Genj-i-Shahīdin at Patan. No information is available regarding the occupant of the tomb which is not without antiquarian interest. But the epigraph does not appear to belong to this tomb since it records the construction of a mosque in 1357 A. D. by one Hussain. The tablet measuring 1’6 m. by 36 cm. contains, besides Risālīlāh, a poetical fragment of five verses inscribed in conventional Naskh.

TEXT

Plate II(c)

(1) Bism  Allāh ar Rahman ar Rahim  wa  tustun

(2)  Hazar Shahr ku da ra  ke  az Hamoun  fal

(3)  Nanaa  chini masjid  beshat  mali

(4)  Subud Dokta  Furuz  shah  fa  al

(5)  Ke  hest  darke  alich  Qalam  aqbal

1 Barānī, op. cit., p. 527.
Shams Sirāj ‘Abbās, Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shahāt (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 454-55.
Yahyā Sarhindī, Tārīkh-i-Mubārkā Shāhāt (Calcutta, 1921), p. 134.
Ibid., p. 135.
Ibid., p. 135.
Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, February, 1947, p. 44.
(1) In the name of Allâh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And Him do we beseech for help.

(2) Thousand thanks are due to God that through auspicious omen, the construction of such a heaven-like mosque has taken place in the period of the rule of Firûz Shâh, the shadow of God, whose lofty court is the altar of good fortune.

(3) By the grace of the Bait-i-Mugaddas (at Jerusalem) and the reverence of Ka'ba (at Mecca), may God be its preserver in all contingencies.

The hopeful of the bounty of God, the creature Husain, made efforts through the guidance of the Most High (and) Omnipotent Lord.

(4) It was completed in the month of Fasting (i.e. Ramadân) and the reckoning of the date was the year (A.H.) seven hundred and fifty-eight (Ramadân A. H. 758-August-September 1357 A.D.).

It is difficult to satisfactorily establish the identity of Husain, the builder of the mosque. The inscription of the Jâmi' mosque in the same town (which is being studied hereafter) dated in the following year mentions the celebrated minister of Firûz Shâh and his governor of Gujrat Malik Nizâmû'l-Mulk, whose original name was also Husain. There is yet another record at Patan, dated A. H. 784 (1382 A.D.),¹ which mentions Husain, son of Ismâ'il, as the builder of a mosque. Whether Husain of the present record is identical either with Nizâmû'l-Mulk or with Husain, son of Ismâ'il, it is difficult to ascertain.

The third record of Firûz Shâh and sixth of the group also comes from Patan. Inscribed on a tablet measuring about 68 by 45 cm. which is fixed over the main gate of the Jâmi' mosque, it runs into three lines and records the construction of the mosque by Husain, son of Amir-i-Mirân Balkhi in the year A. H. 759 (1357-58 A.D.).² The language of the record, except in the first line containing a Quranic verse, is Persian. The script employed is bold Nâshkh with strong Thulth flourishes reminiscent of the style of writing in contemporary inscriptions of Bihar.

Its text is quoted below:

**TEXT**

*Plate III(a)*

(1) وَ الْمَسْجِدُ لَ نَدْعُواً مَعَ اللَّهِ أَحْدَاثٌ

(2) تمام شد عمارة ابن مسجد در عهد خداوند عالم فيروز شاه السلطان

¹ *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 80. The date of this inscription falls in the reign of Firûz Shâh, but it does not mention that monarch.

KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT

(3) خلد الله ملكه بمست بنم اميدوار برجمت پروردگار حسن امیر میران بنغه دو
شمار ست عو و خسین و سمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allah (only); hence invoke not anyone else with Allah."

(2) The building of this mosque was completed in the reign of the master of the world, Firuz Shâh the king,

(3) may Allah perpetuate his kingdom, at the hands of the creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Husain, son of Amir-i-Mirân Bakhsh in the months of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and fifty-nine (A.H. 759=1357-58 A.D.).

The builder of the mosque is identical with Malik Shârîf Malik Nizâmu'll-Mulk Husain, son of Amir-i-Mirân Bakhsh, the celebrated minister of Firuz Shâh. He was among the nobles who declared their loyalty to Firuz when Khwaja Jahân set up a rival to the throne of Delhi on the death of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shâh and was made in A. H. 753 the musta'ufi-i-mamâlik. He was also appointed governor of Gujarat from which post he was removed by the king during the latter's stay in the province in about A. H. 767 after the failure of his first expedition to Thatta for the reason that Nizâmu'll-Mulk had failed to send supplies to the king. After a short time he was appointed the deputy vaizir of the kingdom which post he held until his death. He was also married to the sister of the king and enjoyed on this account the privilege of taking a seat along side the vaizir in the audience-hall. The date of death of Nizâmu'll-Mulk is not known. From the rambling account of Shams, it appears that he died sometime between A. H. 783, the date of appointment of Shamsu'd-Din Abu Rajâ as musta'ufi-i-mamâlik and A. H. 785, the date of the latter's dismissal.

The next three records of Firuz Shâh pertain to the same building, viz. the Tanka-Masjid or the old Jami' mosque at Dholka. There is a fourth inscription in the mosque, over the prayer-niche of the women's gallery, but it only contains the famous Quranic verse pertaining to mosques (Surât, chapter LXXII, verse 18).

The inscription over the central mihrâb forming the seventh record of this study is in Arabic. Engraved on a slab measuring about 1.6 m. by 45 cm., it runs into three lines of writing and records the construction of the said Jami' mosque in 1361 A. D. during the reign of Firuz Shâh by the great Malik Ikhtiyâru'd-Daulat wa'd-Din Mufarrâh Sulţâni, the royal dawidâr. The style

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1 Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 Yahyâ, op. cit., p. 120, has 'Hasan' instead of 'Husain', a misprint.
3 Ibd., p. 124. Barani, op. cit., p. 582, has Iftikhâru'l-Mulk.
4 I prefer this date to the generally accepted A. H. 782. See Hodiwâl, op. cit., p. 322.
7 Ibd., pp. 461, 464, 465, 481, 486, 497, 498. According to Hajji Dabir, op. cit., p. 901 and Firigha, Târikh-i-Firigha (Lucknow, 1885), p. 150, Amir Husain, a son-in-law of Firuz, was put to death in A. H. 790 on account of his partisanship of Prince Muhammad Shâh. It is difficult to say if these two are one and the same person.
8 For a brief description of the mosque and texts and translations, which are faulty, of these inscriptions, see J. Burgess, The Muhammadan Architecture of Broach, Cambay, Dholka, etc. (London, 1896), p. 33; H. Cousens, Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency (Bombay, 1897), pp. 325-26; Commissariat, op. cit., pp. 69-71, where there seems to be some confusion about the actual provenance of the inscriptions; etc.
writing is Nasīḥa of the conventional type and though far from being crude, does not come up to the high standard of calligraphy characteristic of some of the epigraphs studied in this article.

The text of this record reads as under:

**TEXT**

**Plate III**

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. ‘Allāh bears witness that there is no god but He, and (so do) the angels and those possessed of knowledge, being maintainer of justice; there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Surely, the true religion with Allāh is Islām." The deity is Allāh, the Mustafā (lit. chosen one) is the apostle of Allāh, the Qur'ān is the word of Allāh, and the Paradise is the pleasure of Allāh.

(2) This noble ẖāniqah mosque was built in the reign of the great king and the respected champion the shadow of Allān on earth, the reviver of the voluntary and obligatory commands, the reliant on the support of the Beneficent Lord, Früz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and make his fortune last for ever.

(3) From (his own) personal money to seek (His) reward by the illustrious Malik, the lord of sword and pen, the possessor of the standard and knowledge, Ṭaḥkharu'l-Khawāṣṣ Ikhtiyārū'd Daulat wa'd-Din Mufarrāh a's-Sultānī the royal dawādār, may Allāh strengthen his position. And this was on the tenth of Rabī'ul-Åkhar year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo (10th Rabī' II A.H. 762-17th February 1361 A.D.).

The second inscription in the Tanka mosque, the eighth of the present group, is fixed over the southern entrance and consists of three Persian fragments containing three, four and five verses respectively. Corresponding in purport to the epigraph given above, it contains a few interesting details: It mentions the name of the town as Dholqa and supplies a valuable piece of information, namely, that the builder, Malik Mufarrah, held the post of the māib-i-iqāl of the city of Cambay.

This epigraphical tablet measures 1·1 m. by 38 cm. The style of writing is Nasīḥa representing a somewhat better specimen than the one employed in the previous record.

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1 Qur'an, chapter III, verse 17 and part of verse 18.
(a) Inscription of Firuz Tughluq, dated A.H. 759, from Patan (p. 8)

(b) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 762, from Dholka (p. 10)

(c) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 762, same place (p. 11)
The complete text of the epigraph is quoted below:

**TEXT**

_Plate III(c)_

(1) بنا کردن ست این مسجد ز فضل هر حاکم

به‌هم دویست شاه جهان فیروز سلطان

ز مال خالص خود مفخر الخواص و الامرا

مفرح بندنده فیروز شاه اسکندر ثانی

دهم رفته دویست آخر این جامع مرتب شد

بمال هفصبد و ست و دو از تائید رحمائی

(2) بنا کردن زمان شهر یار جهانگیر فیروز شه نامدار

یک مکرمی خاسته نیکه نام مفرح ملکه شاه را دویستار

نباکرده در دهولته مسجد ان قادر کردار

ز هجارت به هفصبد شست و دو کرده این خیر شد در جهان پایدار

(3) جز این م تمام مقدس چنین عمارت خوب

ندهن دیده گنبد و چرخ سرگردان

بدور دولت فیروز شاه روی زمین

که هست درگه او سگندگه جمله شهران

(4) بوقت ناب اقتاع شهر کهنایت

دگر اخص دولتار بندن سلطان

ملکه مفرح اعظم بجود حامی طی

ابزمن دستم ثانی بعد نوشیروان

تام کشت ز فضل الام از هجارت

بست هفصد و شست و دو سال از دوران

**TRANSLATION**

(1) This mosque has been built through the bounty of Divine grace in the period of the reiga of the king of the world Firūz Sulṭāni,

from his personal property by the pride of the elite and the nobles, Mufarrab, (who is) the servant of Firūz Shāh the second Alexander.
Ten days had passed from Rabi’ II (when) this Jamī’ (mosque) was constructed in the year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo, through the support of the Merciful.

(2) In the reign of the Alexander of the time, the king, the world-conquering illustrious Firūz Shāh, one noble of good name appeared (viz.) Malik Mufarrah, the daudār (royal inkstand-bearer) to the king.

He constructed in Dholqa a mosque through the grace of the Omnipotent Creator.

(3) It was (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo from the Migration (of the Prophet) when this bountiful place was established in the world.

Except this holy place, such a beautiful building has not been seen by the eye of the world and the wandering sphere.

In the time of the rule of Firūz, the king of the surface of the earth whose court is the place where all the kings make prostration.

(4) (and) in the time of the nāhāb (deputy) of the iqṭā’ (district) of the city of Khambāyat (Cambay) (who was) also the chief (lit. the most favoured) daudār (inkstand-bearer) (and) slave of the king,

(viz.) Malik Mufarrah the great, (who is) Hātim-i-Ṭayy in generosity, Rustam in warfare (and) Naushirwān in justice,

(this mosque) was completed through Divine favour (when) from the Migration (of the Prophet) seven hundred and sixtytwo years (A.H. 762–1361 A.D.) had passed from the time.

The third inscription on the mosque, also in Persian verse, forms the ninth record of this study and is built up to the left of northern entrance.1 The tablet measuring 1.16 m. by 61 cm. contains a fragment of six verses with one more verse inscribed in small letters at the bottom of the slab. The contents of this record are same as those in the previous two epigraphs with the difference that it gives a poetic description of the material—brick, clay and mortar (gozā) used in the construction. The poetical fragment of the text was composed by one Ya’qūb as stated in the last line inscribed in minute characters. The style of writing is same as in the last record but here the letters are bigger.

The text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate IV (a)

(1) بعهد دولت فیروز شاه اسکندر ثلث

مفرح فیخر الخواص خاص الی الخاص السلطان

مصا مسجد جامع بنا در دهلوقه كرم:

زمال خالص و خاص به فضل الله یواب

---

(1) In the period of the reign of Firuz Shâh the second Alexander, Mufarraḥ, the pride of the elite, the favourite of the favourites of the king, constructed in Dholqa a refined Jâmi' mosque exclusively out of his personal money through the bounty of Allâh the Nourisher.

(2) (Its) brick (is) treated with ambergris, its clay is of Tartary-musk (and) its mortar (is) of raw camphor. How fortunate is the builder!

It is refreshing like paradise and people are happily busy therein offering devotion to the Glorified Lord five times (a day).

(3) The month was Rabî' II and (it was) tenth (day), (and) seven hundred and sixtytwo from the Migration (of the Prophet) (10th Rabî' II A.H. 762=17th February 1361 A.D.), when it was completed by the bounty of God.

May its construction be auspicious for the builder till the time of Resurrection! May all the difficulties be removed and everything be then easy (for him)!

(4) The creature Ya'qûb has composed (this fragment containing) the praises of the Jâmi' mosque, during the time of the rule of the emperor Firuz Sulţânî.

Malik Mufarraḥ Sulţânî mentioned in the above three records figures prominently in the history of Gujarat. We first hear of him in connection with his appointment to the deputy governorship of Gujarat in A.H. 778, consequent to the death of Shamsu'd-Dîn Dâmgânî.¹ He is reported next to have killed Malik Ya'qûb Sikandar Khan, the newly appointed governor, who came to

¹ Yahyâ, op. cit., p. 133. But Shama, op. cit., p. 497, puts the date of the revolt of Dâmgânî in A.H. 782. Also Commissariat, op. cit., p. 46, Nadvi, op. cit., p. 175 and others have stated that Malik Mufarraḥ was appointed governor of Gujarat which does not seem to be correct. Yahyâ who is the primary source for the event uses the word "تیاب" which does not convey the sense of governorship. It appears that Zafar Khan son of Zafar Khan Fa'al, continued as governor of Gujarat until his death in Rajab A.H. 789. It was only then that Malik Ya'qûb was given the title of Sikandar Khan and sent to Gujarat as governor to succeed Zafar Khan. Häjji Dahir, op. cit., p. 898, while narrating the events of A.H. 778 in connection with Dâmgânî's death clearly states that Zafar Khan was the governor of Gujarat at that time.
Gujarat in A.H. 789. He was subsequently confirmed in the governorship and continued to hold that high office until his death in A.H. 793 in the battle with Zafari Khan, son of Wajihul-Mulk, who was sent to supercede him.1 Yahya also mentions him as Amir of Cambay.2

The three epigraphs quoted above and a few more that will be described later supply important data for the career of Malik Mufarrag. From the above records it is clear that Malik Mufarrag was already a noble of first rank in A.H. 761. His layab which is not mentioned in historical works was Ikhtiyarudd-Daulat wa'ld-Din and he held the office of royal da widadur or da waddar (inkstand-bearer). He was then the deputy muqti of the city of Cambay. According to another inscription he was the muqti of the iqtah of Cambay (p. 19) in A.H. 782; evidently, he was promoted to that office before the date of this record. He is also mentioned therein with the titles ra’is-i-mamalik and dawidad-i-khas. Another inscription dated in the following year mentions him as the ‘prop of the kings and ministers’, ra’is-i-mamalik, dawidad-i-khas (p. 21). A third inscription, also from Cambay, records a few more honorific phrases and titles like Malik-i-Mulki’sh-Sharq, sipah-kosh-khan-i-zamani, Farhat-ul-Mulk, etc.3 Now since these data indicate that Malik Mufarrag was the muqti of the iqtah of Cambay in A.H. 782 how could he have succeeded to the governorship of Gujarat in A.H. 778 as stated by the above-mentioned writers?4 Also Yahya is apparently misinformed when he states that Malik Mufarrag was also awarded the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk in A.H. 778.5 If that were the case, the Cambay record of A.H. 782 mentioning him as the muqt of the iqtah of Cambay would have certainly used that title. From the epigraphical data it appears that the title Farhat-ul-Mulk was conferred on Malik Mufarrag sometime after A.H. 782 if not in A.H. 778, the date of the third Cambay record. Also the fact that Malik Mufarrag enjoyed the exalted position of the dawidad-i-khas right from A.H. 761 is not mentioned in historical records.6

The above-mentioned inscriptions also help us to establish the correct pronunciation of Malik Mufarrag’s name which has been transcribed as Malik Mufrih by Sir Denison Ross.7 Incidentally it may be pointed out that none of these records refer to the title Rasti Khan alleged to have been conferred upon Malik Mufarrag.8 Likewise, the name Nizam-i-Mufarrag used for him in later works is also not corroborated by the epigraphical evidence.9

The tenth inscription of the group is a new record of Firuz Shah found at Patan (N.G.). The marble tablet bearing this epigraph measures 50 by 28 cm. and is built into the west wall of the Kal-Bazir mosque in the town.10 The inscription is evidently not in situ.

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1 For details of his career, see Yahya, op. cit., pp. 138, 142; Hajji Dahir, op. cit., pp. 90-01; Commissariat, op. cit., pp. 44-49.
2 Yahya, op. cit., p. 138.
3 An epitaph on a marble slab at Rajpur in Kolaba district of Maharashtra (A.K.E. 1961-62. No. D. 154) refers to the demise in A.H. 798 (1396 A.D.) of a young son of Malik Mufarrag, A’leaf-ul-Din ‘All. If this tablet belongs to that place it would mean that Malik Mufarrag had, if he did not actually belong to Konkan, some association with that region.
4 Firishta, op. cit., p. 148; Commissariat, op. cit., p. 46. Hajji Dahir, op. cit., p. 894, explicitly says that Malik Mufarrag was given the lease of the revenue of Gujarat but the governor was ‘Arif Khan entitled Zafar Khan. In other words, he was the deputy of the latter.
5 Yahya, op. cit., Firishta, op. cit.
6 According to Hodivala, op. cit., vol. II (Bombay, 1957), p. 150, ‘Mufarrag signifies exalting and is also used for any cordial or stimulant like wine; this man may have been the Sultan’s cup-bearer or alwariddar (Butler). But this seems to be far-fetched.’
7 Hajji Dahir, op. cit., vol. III, p. 1xxvi
8 Ibid., pp. 901, 903; Siskandar, Mir-i-- Starkandi (Baroda, 1961), pp. 14, 15.
Its text consists of four lines of writing in Persian purporting that the mosque was constructed by Malik-i-Mu'azzam Fakhrul-Daulat wa'd-Din, son of Khan-i-A'zam Sher Khan Mahmud Bek in 1364 A.D. This inscription is thus another valuable record furnishing an important link in the chain of major officials of Gujarat. Malik Fakhrul-Din's father Sher Khan Mahmud Bek, a noble of eminence under Firuz Shah, is mentioned in the text as 'deceased', thus indicating that he had died before the close of the year A.H. 765, the date of our record. Also, the use of the titles Malik-i-Mu'azzam and Khan-i-A'zam for the son and father respectively is worth notice.

The epigraph is executed in Nasakh style of writing which resembles the script of the Tanka mosque inscriptions studied above but is not so refined. It reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate IV (b)

(1) عمارت کرد این مسجد را در عهد خداوند عالی‌هدار
(2) ابن المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خالد الله ملکه
(3) ملک معظم فخرالدوله و الدین ابن خان اعظم شیر خان عموم کرک
(4) مرحمون طلیب الله ترثارین نی الراعی و العشرين من ذی الجھد سنه خمس و سنتین و سبعماه

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the reign of the lord, the shelter of the world,
(2) Abu'l-Muqaffar Firuz Shah the king, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom,
(3) by Malik-i-Mu'azzam Fakhrul-Daulat wa'd-Din, son of Khan-i-A'zam Sher Khan Mahmud Bek
(4) the deceased, may Allah sanctify his grave, on the twentyforth of Dhil-Hijja, year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtyfive (24th Dhil-Hijja A.H. 765-22nd September 1364 A.D.).

The eleventh inscription of this study is from Una, a village in the Junagadh district. The inscripational slab is now fixed into the outer face of the east wall of the small tomb adjoining the water tank (bawd) in the enclosure of Hafragh Shah Pir's Dargah. There is also a mosque in the compound said to have been reconstructed on the site of an ancient mosque to which very likely our inscription belonged.

The epigraphical tablet measures 67 by 44 cm. and seems to have been subjected to inclemencies of weather for a long time, since the writing is badly damaged. The text is in Persian verse and comprises a fragment of seven verses which are incised on the stone (and not engraved in relief as is generally the case) in Nasakh characters. The quality of the verse is unfortunately quite mediocre.

1 For the career of Sher Khan Mahmud Bek, see Barani, op. cit., pp. 545, 583 (who states that when he wrote—i.e. in about A.H. 758—Sher Khan was more than ninety years old); Shams, op. cit., pp. 86-87
2 For an account of Una and its history, see BG, vol. VII (Bombay, 1884), pp. 667-68.
The eye-reading of the text of this epigraph published by Major J.W. Watson in 1879 is hopelessly corrupt.\(^1\) Equally faulty reading was reproduced in the corpus of inscriptions published by the erstwhile state of Bhavnagar.\(^2\) But since its facsimile was not published, the corrupt readings remained uncorrected.

The epigraph mentions the celebrated governor of Gujarat, Zafar Khān Fārsī,\(^3\) as having constructed a mosque in 1367 A.D. It further states that Zafar Khān's name and popular name (lagab) were Muḥammad and Tāj\(^4\) respectively and that he was from Fārs.\(^5\) It also records the fact that he was awarded the title Zafar Khān by Fīrūz Shāh.\(^6\)

Its text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(1) (ع) هر نعماء

(2) (ع) بهبد دولت فرخندگان مشهده عصر

(3) (ع) ابو المظفر فیروز شاگر کم‌تکین

(4) (ع) بملک او همه پیغمیر خیر شد مموم

(5) (ع) بقهراره زب زه روز سال هم‌صد شست

(6) (ع) هم‌امد اسم ولقب تاج نسبت یافارس

(7) (ع) [آ]لمدوار ز مراد شه را از برابر نماز

(8) (ع) همیشه باد اباد این عمارت خیر

(9) (ع) آمین و رحمالعلما

TRANSLATION

(1) He is Omniscient.

(2) In the reign of the auspicious government of the emperor of the time, the lord of heavenly rank and Solomon-like dignity

(3) Abu'l-Muzaffar Fīrūz Shāh of Jam-like strength, the shelter of the world whose audience-hall is Saturn and (who is) the shadow of Allāh——

(4) in his kingdom works of public utility were commonly built (and) in the chain of his service, men of religion reached the pinnacle of the moon——

\(^1\) Indian Antiquary, vol. VIII (1879), p. 182.

\(^2\) Corpus inscriptionum Bhavnagari (Bhavnagar, 1879), p. 3.

\(^3\) For Zafar Khān, see Batani, op. cit., p. 583; Shams, op. cit., pp. 137-142, 156, 168, 162, 206-07, 225, 133-35; Yabūyā, op. cit., pp. 126, 131; etc.

\(^4\) Yabūyā, op. cit., is the only author who gives the name of Zafar Khān but in the printed text, p. 126, his name Muḥammad is followed by the word 'کرم'.

\(^5\) Fārs is a province in south Iran.

\(^6\) Cf. Shams, op. cit., p. 141.
(a) Epigraph of Fihāz Tughluq, dated A.H. 772, from Kapadwānj (p. 17)

Scale: 2:

(b) Inscription of the same ruler, dated A.H. 768, from Una (p. 15)

Scale: 28
(5) (it was) on the fourteenth of the month of Fasting (i.e. Ramadān) in the year (A.H.) seven hundred sixty and in addition eight (14th Ramadān A.H. 768–14th May 1367 A.D.) when the servant of the king

(6) Muḥammad by name and with surname Tāj, a native of Fārs (a province in Iran), (on whom) His Majesty the king by his kindness conferred the title Zafar Khān,

(7) hopeful of the generosity of the king(?!) constructed for prayers through (divine) Grace this house of prayers.

(8) May this noble edifice remain prosperous for ever as long as the double-bent sky endures since it is (the result of) a good action.

The next epigraph, twelfth of the present group, comes from Kapadwanji in District Kaira and is another unpublished record of Fīrūz Shāh. It also belongs to the period of Zafar Khān’s governorship of Gujarat. The tablet bearing this inscription measures 85 by 38 cms. and is fixed over the main entrance of the Jāmī’ mosque of the town. The record consists of three verses in Persian and states that in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, the great Zafar Khān constructed this mosque in 1370-71 A.D. An additional line in Persian prose, inscribed vertically in the left margin contains the name of Uthmān, son of Kamāl Khattūt, the scribe of the text and of Ḥusām, son of ‘Imād, the supervisor of the construction.

Another remarkable aspect of this record is its style of writing which is bold Nāṣīḥ in relief. While in broad outline, it conforms to the style of some of the other records of this age in Gujarat, it has nevertheless a distinctive feature of its own. The pronounced volume, particularly in the rounded portion of its letters which are written thicker in the middle than at the end, the latter being pointed, brings this style nearer to the Bihār variety from which it would be difficult to distinguish it, were the ends drawn blunt.

The epigraph has been deciphered as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate V (a)*

1. بعهد همايون فيروز شاه
2. ز بهر عبادت بكرد این مقام
3. سنن اثنی و سبعین و سبیاپه

*In the left border.*

کتب العبد عثمان کمال خطاط غفر الله له و لجميع المسلمين و بکار فرامی حساب عمام

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the blessed reign of Fīrūz Shāh, may he always successful through the bounty of God,

(2) Zafar Khān the great through divine guidance constructed this place for the sake of devotion (prayers).

---

1 For an account of Kapadwanj and its history, please see *BG*, vol. III (Bombay, 1879), pp. 171-73.

*ARJE*, 1864, S. 47. There is another epigraph, obviously not in situ, in the northern wall of the mosque, for which see ibid., No. C, 48.
(3) In the year (A.H.) seven hundred and seventy-two (A.H. 772-771 A.D.), this paradise-like mosque was completed.

In the left border.

Written by the creature Uthmān (son of) Kamāl the Ḍhattrāt (calligrapher), may Allāh forgive him and all the Muslims, and under the supervision of Ḥusām (son of) Imād.

The thirteenth epigraph, also hitherto unpublished, is inscribed in three lines of Arabic writing on a tablet measuring 11 m. by 55 cm. which is fixed over the central miḥrāb of the Khirān mosque at Dholka. It begins as well as ends with religious texts and states that the mosque was constructed in 1373 A.D. by the great and illustrious Malik Shāhruš Daulat wa’d-Din Suhrawārī Khān, the sarparvādār. It may be pointed out that the epithets and titles used for the king in this epigraph are the same as those to be found in the Tanka mosque inscription set up four years earlier (p. 10).

The style of writing of the record is Yasāh with elongated vertical shafts of its letters, a distinctive feature of the famous bow-and-arrow style of Bengal inscriptions.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Platte VI (a)

١ ٢ ٣

(١) يسمى الله الرحمن الرحيم و أن المساجد فلا تدعوا من الله هذا المسجد

(٢) سرف مع سرف خف ط و خي معرض خرف، ممنوع

(٣) السلمان الأسفل و على اجله كان على الأرض مسجده و الذي

و ذلك في الأزمنة و ذلك في الأزمنة و ذلك في الأزمنة و ذلك في الأزمنة و ذلك في الأزمنة و ذلك في الأزمنة و ذلك في الأزمنة

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And verily, the Lord is for Allāh. This mosque is not to be mistook, for Allāh (2) sent it to me to build the mosque (3) great and illustrious through the help of the bounty of the Commander, namely (4)

Great Dāulat wa’d-Din Suhrawārī Khān, the sarparvādār, may Allāh grant me strength, (5) who provided for the building of the great king and illustrious Dāulat wa’d-Din Suhrawārī Khān, the shadow of (6) the shade of the king and illustrious, and the oblique and obligatory commandments.

May the owner of the Beneficent, Abūl-Muẓaffar Firuz Shāh the king, may Allāh preserve his kingdom and let his rule last for ever. And this took place on the nineteenth of

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١٠ ماهما (١٠)
(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 782, from Cambay (p. 19).
KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT 19

Muḥarram, year (A. H.) seven hundred and seventyfive (15th Muḥarram A. H. 775–7th July 1373 A. D.). The Prophet has said, 'The mosques are houses of the pious.'

This inscription furnishes the name of another official of the pre-Sultanate Gujarat and is therefore of considerable importance. Malik Suhrāb held the high post of sarpaḍaḍār (chief curtain-bearer) and his title was Sharaḍuḍ-Daulat wa’d-Din. Unfortunately no information is available in the record about the exact office Malik Suhrāb had held in Gujarat. His sobriquet Zafar Khān tends to indicate that he was a senior official under Zafar Khān or his son Daryā Khān, also entitled Zafar Khān, who was appointed to the governorship of Gujarat in A. H. 773 on his father’s death.1

The fourteenth inscription of the series is fixed to the left of the mosque situated in the Qāḍīwāda quarter at Cambay.2 Locally known as Bill-Masjid, the mosque is an ordinary structure without any distinctive architectural features. There are two more inscriptions on the mosque and yet another on a loose fragmentary door-frame.3 The earliest of these, dated A. H. 726 (1326 A. D.), is engraved on the base-stone of the left mihrāb indicating that the original building was constructed then. Therefore, it is doubtful if our record is in situ.

The epigraph is another unpublished record of Firūz Shāh and refers to the construction of a mosque in I380 A. D. by one ‘Abdu’llah, son of Jamālu’d-Din, son of Sa’du’d-Din Harīwī.4 It also mentions Malik Muṣarrāḥ Sulṭānī, entitiled Ikhtiyār’uḍ-Daulat wa’d-Din and holding the post of daudi-i-Khāṣṣ, as the muq’ti of the iqṭā of Cambay. The language of the record is mainly Persian. Comprising five lines of writing occupying a space of about 1:2 m. by 40 cm., the inscription is remarkable for its extremely elegant calligraphy. The script employed is basically Naskh with strong Riqā and Thuluth flourishes and betrays an expert hand. It is unfortunate that the talented scribe of such a fine piece of calligraphy should have preferred to remain anonymous.

The text has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

(1) Bismi'llah al-Rahmān al-Rahīm wa an al-masajid allâh tâdâwa bîn al-aḥlî w qâl al-aḥlî

al-salâm min bîn al-masjid allâh wa lâkum fıḳh fâta bîn al-aḥlî bi’tâ fi al-jânîn

(2) Bâdī’ ǧal wa ǧal bârakt ḥârâsr ṭalât al-ḥisâr al-ṣulta’ al-ṣulta’ wa akhlî al-tebâ’ másrâr

masjid dr ʿudh-ḥanîyûn w ʿamîd ʿimûn xâwâl nulmîlt ʿalîm sultân ʿalâl bûl mûṣlîm

(3) Fīrūz-shâh al-sultân xlīl allâh mlâkî kî xîbîr al-ḥumûd w azâmîsît ṭaḥkûma ʾiṭâhā dîwâlî
tâlî mîn mlâkî ʿudh-dar ʾasâr w râṣîs ʾi ṭaḥkûma w

1 There is no unanimity among the historians about Zafar Khān’s date of death. See Hodkwâlî, op. cit., p. 388.


3 Ibid., Nos. D. 49, 51, 52.

4 ‘ARIE, op. cit., gives Harīwī. ‘Harīwī’ is one belonging to ‘Hirāt’, ancient name of Hirāt now in Afghanistan.

5 Ibid. has ‘Dūbdūr’.
TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not anyone else with Allāh.' And (the Prophet), may peace be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, even though it be (as small) as the nest of the Qatāt bird, Allāh builds for him a house in paradise.'

(2-4) God, may He be glorified and exalted, through the blessings of (His) holy messenger, may Allāh’s choicest blessings and best salutations be upon him, by His Grace and Favour rendered possible for the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Creator, 'Abdu’l-lāh, son of the late Jamālū’d-Dīn, son of the pardoned Sa’dū’d-Dīn Harīwī (i.e. of Herat), the construction of the mosque in the auspicious time and blessed period—which is the best of the times and periods—of the lord of the earth, the just king Abu’l-Muṣaffār Firūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, during the governorship of İkhtiyārū’d-Daulat wa’did-Dīn Malīk Muḥarrar Sulṭānī the dawādār-i-khāns and r’a’is-i-mamālik and muqṭī (i.e. governor) of the iqtā’ (i.e. district) of Khambāyāt (i.e. Cambay), may Allāh elevate his position.

(5) on the first of the blessed month of Ramadān, may its bounty be universal, of the Hijra year of the Prophet seven hundred and eightytwo (1st Ramadān A. H. 728-29th November 1380 A. D.). (This is ended) by way of a praise to Allāh and salutations on His messenger.

It is difficult to trace the identity of 'Abdu’llāh Harīwī, the builder of the mosque.

The fifteenth inscription of this study is fixed into the İdgh at Cambay. Engraved in ordinary but bold Naqīḵ characters in relief on a tablet measuring 1-5 m. by 51 cm., the epigraph runs into three lines of Persian prose and records the construction of the İdgh in 1381-82 A. D. during the reign of Firūz Shāh by Malīk Muḥarrar Sulṭānī who has been already mentioned in the preceding lines.

The text has been deciphered as under:

**TEX1**

Plate VII (a)

(1) در عهد سلطان اعظم باشکوه معامله مانک و قاب الامام ولل امام در ایام ابن لادهر

(2) ليري دانش اعظم خادم الله ملکه

(3) یک و کردر این نامه عید امیر کی تصویر مقصر الملک و لامرا عمامه السلطانین

(4) والوزر ذو المناطق و الحاکم

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1 Qurʾān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

2 ARIE, 1959-60, No. D, 134 An English translation of this record will be found in Commissariat, op. cit., p. 86.
KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT

(1) In the reign of the great king, the illustrious ruler, the lord of the necks of nations, the shadow of Allâh on the earth, Abu'l-Muzaffar Firûz Shâh, may Allâh perpetuate his kingdom,

(2) this place of ‘Id-prayers (namâzgâh-i-‘Id) was constructed by the great noble, the pride of the kings and nobles, the prop of the rulers and ministers, one who is possessed of laudable qualities and virtues,

(3) Ikhâtyâr ‘d-Daulat wa’d-Din Malik Mufarraj Sultanî daudâr-i, i.e. dawdâr-i-khâss and ra’ie-i-mamâlik, may Allâh further elevate his high position and perpetuate his government, in the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eightythree (A.H. 783-1381-82 A.D.).

The importance of the above two inscriptions in determining the career of Malik Mufarraj Sultanî in Gujarât has been already discussed above (pp. 13-14).

The sixteenth inscription of the present study, an extremely important record, is fixed over the central mihrâb of the Fatih-Masjid or Tekrewâli-Masjid as it is now called, at Parantij in Sabarkantha district. This epigraph is yet another unpublished record of Firûz Shâh and consists of two lines of writing mainly in Persian. The tablet measures 85 by 30 cm.

The epigraph records the construction of a noble edifice—obviously the mosque—in 1382 A.D. during the reign of Firûz Shâh. But what makes the epigraph one of the most valuable records found in recent times is that it quotes the name of the builder as Hammû, son of Dîdâ Sûmara, who from circumstantial evidence appears to be none other than the so-called Hamîr, the last of the Sûmara rulers of Sind. He is said to have been overthrown by the Sammas sometime in the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century. While the history of the Sûmara and their decline and displacement by the Sammas is still shrouded in vagueness, reliable contemporary evidence, in particular a letter from Ainûl-Mulk-i-Mâhrû to the governor of Gujarat, has been cited to show that the Sûmara were finally overpowered in the early years of the reign of Firûz Tughluq. In his letter, 'Ainûl-Mulk, the contemporary governor of Multan, refers to the calamities that had befallen the last Sûmara king whose name is transcribed as Hamîr, and the patronage and the generous care bestowed on him by the Gujarât governor whose brother Malik Ruknu’d-Dîn Hasan was entrusted with the proper care of the deposed Sûmara ruler by Firûz Tughluq. However, the place where the Sûmara king was kept—Delhi or Gujarât—is not specified in this letter. But in view of the fact that the whole letter is devoted to the affairs of Gujarât and refers to the danger of the Sammas to that province, it stands to reason that the Sûmara chief was allotted a fief in Gujarât. In any case, the epigraph indicates that in A.H. 784 (1382 A.D.) Hammû Sûmara was in Gujarât.

1 The lower portions of the letters have flaked off in this part. But the reading can be clearly made out.
2 For an account of Parantij please see BG, vol. IV, pp. 341-47.
3 *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D. 75; *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 52, where the name of the builder is quoted as Hammû.
The record under study thus provides extremely important and, we may say, definite information about the fate of the Sūmara chief. What is still more important is the fact that it gives the correct form of the name Hammū and the tribal name Sūmara. As we know, the last name of the Sūmara king is recorded in historical works as Hamir or Hāmir.1 The correct spelling of the name as inscribed in our record is Hammū. Likewise, as regards Sūmara, Ruyāz-Islām states that ‘Sumera is written as Sumira (سَمِيرَہ) and Sumēra (سُمِیرَہ). . . . . I have followed . . . Sumera.’2 The spelling of this word is clearly written ‘Sūmara’ in the text and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. Therefore, the correct form of the tribal name is ‘Sūmara’ whose last ‘a’ in Roman transliteration of the Arabic letter ‘gh’ is even today pronounced ā as in Urdu. The pronunciation ‘Sūmara’ has been common in Gujarāt and presumably in Sind too.

Particular attention may also be drawn to the style of writing employed by the designer. Any student of Persian-Arabic epigraphy of India will be struck with the similarity between the calligraphy of this record and that of the pre-Tughlūq and Tughlūq inscriptions from Bihar. The graceful curves and sweeps of the letters carved here vividly recall to mind the highly stylized execution of ornamental Naḵḵ with strong Tughrā and other flourishes that is the high watermark of the Bihar inscriptions. This similarity between the calligraphical styles practised at the extreme ends of the empire—Gujarat and Bihar—may not be as coincidental as one would like to think. It has been suggested by me elsewhere that of all the provinces of India, Gujarāt and Bengal (which then included Bihar) have definite affinities as far as palaeography is concerned.3

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

TEXT

Plate VII (c)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و أن الساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احد اين

بقع شريف نبأرده هو دودا سومرة

(2) در عهد فراعة السامارا خلد الله ملكها در ماه مبارک رمضان سنى اربع و

ثمانين و سبعينه و الله اعلم بالصور

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh.'4 This noble edifice was constructed by Hammū, (son of) Dūdā Sūmara.

(2) In the reign of Firuz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, in the suspicious month of Ramadān of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eighty-four (Ramadān A.H. 784= November-December 1382 A.D.). And Allāh knows the truth best.

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1 Islām, op. cit., pp. 361, 362; Majumdar, op. cit., p. 222.
2 Ibid., p. 360 f.n.
3 EIAPs, 1961, pp. 2-3.
4 Qur‘ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
(a) Record of Firūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 788, from Cambay (p. 20)

Scale: 1:3

(b) Epigraph of the same king, dated A.H. 784, from Mangrol (p. 21)

Scale: 1:2

(c) Another record of Firūz, dated A.H. 784, from Paramīj (p. 22)
The seventeenth epigraph of the series also dated in the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq is not
without palaeographical interest. The inscriptional tablet measuring 94 by 50 cm. is fixed
over the central mihrab of a very neat little mosque called Rahmat-Masjid, situated to the north-east
of the town of Mangrol, capital of the erstwhile state of the same name and now a taluka
headquarters in the Junagadh district. The text and translation of this record were first published
in the Corpus Inscriptionum Bharvaragari, but they are not free from mistakes. For example, the
name and designation of the builder have been respectively read there as ‘Qadi al-Qutb’ and
‘Afsal al-Qudat’ instead of ‘Qadi Jalal Qutb’ and ‘Aqila al-Qudat’. The name of the scribe ‘Umar
bin Adam’ has also been left unread. Moreover, the inscription has not been illustrated so far.
A glance at its plate will show that its execution is somewhat unusual. The striking contrast
between the calligraphy in the large rectangle within borders and that in the borders on the four
sides has a picturesque effect. But for the size of the letters and manner of engraving, however,
the style of writing is uniform Nashk.

The inscription records that the Rahmat-Masjid was built by the chief of the Qadis. Qadi
Jalal, son of Qutb, in memory of the celebrated saint Jalaluddin Bakharr, commonly known
as Makhdum Jahan-i Jahanagh, in 1382-83 A.D.

The full text of the epigraph is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate VII (b)

(a) In the upper border.

i Top side:

با إله يا الله

ii Bottom side:

قال الله تعالى أنه يبهر مسجد الله من أمن الله و أمان الآخر و أمن الصالوة و آتي الزكوة و لم يحب الله أن يفعي وان الله يكفؤوا من المهادين

(b) In the centre:

قال الله تعالى و إن المساجد نه فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(c) Side borders.

i Right panel:

قال عليه السلام الدنيا ساعة فاجملها طاعة

ii Left panel:

قال عليه السلام الدنيا داحة ليس فيها داحة

1 For an account of Mangrol, its buildings and inscriptions, see RG, Vol. VIII, pp. 542-43; EIL, 1958-99
pp. 16-18; Commisariat op. cit., pp. 71-73; ELAP, 1963 and 1964, pp. 54, 57, 59; etc.
2 ARIE, 197, No. 6, 150.
3 CIB, op. cit., pp. 9-10; Commisariat, op. cit., p. 73. has given the text of this record on the basis of the reading
of the Corpus. An improved Gujarati rendering is also quoted in Nahl, op. cit., p. 155.
(d) In the lower border.

قال عليه السلام من بني تميم مسجدا إلى الله له في الجنة قصة على كتب في سجّد
رحمت أفضي القضاء صاحب الخير و الحسنات تأتي جلال تطلب باسم سيد السادات شيخ المشالح
طعم أولياء جلال الحق و الشرع و الذي دق عند سلطان الأعظم المعظم ملك الجود و
الكرم الوائق بتأليق الرحمن ابوب المظهر فوروشاء سلطان خلد ملكه بتاريخ سهور سنة اربع
ثمانين و سبعا و كتب شيخ عمر ابن آدم

TRANSLATION

(a) i. O Allah! O Allah! O Allah!

ii. Allah the Exalted says, 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allah, who believes in Allah and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment), establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allah: so (a successful) they would be among the followers of the right course.'

(b) Allah the Exalted says, 'And verily, mosques are for Allah only; hence invoke not (therein) any one else with Allah.'

(c) i. (The Prophet), may (Allah's) peace be on him, has said, 'The world is (for a) moment only; utilize it in devotion.'

ii. (The Prophet), may (Allah's) peace be on him, has said, 'The world is a gewgaw; there is no rest therein.'

(d) (The Prophet), may (Allah's) peace be on him, has said, 'One who builds a mosque for Allah. Allah builds for him a palace in Paradise.' This Raḥmat mosque was constructed by the aqṣā'ī-qādī (i.e. chief of the judges), master of bounty and good actions, Qāḍī Jalāl (son of) Qūṭb in the name of Suqūq-al-aṣādī (i.e. chief of the elites), Shaikh al-Maṣḥūk (i.e. learned among the learned), Qāḍī al-Maṣḥūk (i.e. pivot among the saints), Jalāl-ud-Dīn waṣḥ-Shar wa'd-Dīn in the reign of the great and illustrious monarch, the lord of munificence and generosity, the reliant on the support of the Compassionate, Abū-l-Muzaffar Frīzū Shāh, the sultan, may (Allah) perpetuate his kingdom in the days of the months of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eighty-four (A.H. 784-1382 A.D.). Written by Shaikh 'Umar, son of ʿĀdām.

About Qāḍī Jalāl, son of Qūṭb, the builder of the mosque we do not possess any information. In the inscription he is mentioned as chief of the Qādis, but it is difficult to verify whether he actually held that post or the title is merely honorary. It is probable that he held the post of a Qādī, if not of the province, at least of the region. Likewise, the identity of Shaikh 'Umar, son of ʿĀdām, who copied this record on the stone cannot be established.

The eighteenth inscription of this series also belongs to the reign of Frīzū Shāh and was published in the Corpus.²⁴ Now set up to the right of the pulpit in the Jāmī' mosque at Mangrol.
the marble tablet bearing this inscription was reported to have been built up in the side wall of the Bohra’s mosque in the eighties of the last century. According to some, the epigraph belonged to the Jami’ mosque from where the tablet, then having been dislodged from its original position, was removed to the Bohra’s mosque nearby to save it from being lost. But the truth of this statement could not be ascertained. It may be worthwhile to point out that the Jami’ mosque is a building of great architectural interest being one of the few mosques of the pre-Sultanate period that have survived in the province.

The tablet measures 47 by 54 cm. and contains an inscription running into nine lines. Of these the first two lines comprising the religious text and the last recording the name of the scribe are in Arabic; the remaining text is in Persian verse. According to the record, the construction of the mosque was started and completed during the reign of Firuz Shah through the efforts of ‘Inz’ud-Din, son of Arunshah. The date of completion is 1383-84 A.D. The style of writing i-Naskh which though not of any exceptional merit is quite pleasing, being particularly remarkable for the sharpness of the outlines of the letters. Another noticeable feature is the employment of the well-known calligraphical-device of using common curvature for two letters, e.g. the curvature of ‘u’ and ‘g’ in line 2 and ‘a’, ‘r’ and ‘j’ in the second hemistich of line 7.

The inscription reads as follows.—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

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

(2) قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى وَأَنَّا مَسِيحُ الْمَسِيحِ يَا مَلَكَ الْأَمْنِ [1] مَنْ أَلْقَى مَعَهُ

(3) يُبَلْغِي إِبِرَاهِيمَ نُبَيًّا بِذِي غَرْبٍ يَجُنُّهُ الْجَاهِلُ وَلَبِنَاهُ

(4) فِي رَأْيِ شَاهِ دِينَ دُوْنِيُّو تُدِينُ عَلَى نَهَانِهِ يَقُولُ يَا مَبَاحِثُ

(5) وَيَرَى لِمَا بَلَغَهُ مِنْ أَرْضِيَةَ نِيَبَادَةَ لِبِنْيَانِهِ إِنَّهُ يَكُوِّنَ

(6) يَكُونُ مَيَّةً مَثَلَّهُ تُحْلُبُ وَتُبَاكِرُ بِذِي عِرْضٍ

(7) رَوْيدَةَ الْعَزَّةِ لَا تَنْفَضُّ وَلَا تَمَارُزُ

(8) إِنَّا مِمَّا بَدْوَتْ وَلَا نَعْفَتْ وَلَا نَحْلَتْ وَلَا نَقَامَةً

(9) مَنْ أَلْقَى مَعَهُ يَا مَلاَكُ الْأَمْنِ لَا تَقْبَلُ عَنْهُ حُصُنَّاً لَا تَقْبَلُ عَنْهُ حُصُنَّاً

TRANSLATION

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

1 Cf. B, op. cit.
2 Nādi, op. cit.
3 For a description and photographs of the mosque, see Commissariat, op. cit., p. 72 and the facing plate and PRI, 1898-99, pp. 15-16.
(2) Allah the most Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allah only; hence invoke not any one else with Allah.'

(3) In the reign of a monarch at whose court the kings place their heads on the ground like dust in his way.

(4) Firuz Shah, the world-conquering king and the refuge of religion, through whom the foundation of infidelity has gone under the clay of destruction

(5) and in the period of whose reign the light of the lamp of shari'ah (religion) received glow from him—may it never be contracted

(6) the foundation of this abode was laid by the bounty of the Creator through the efforts of Izzu'd-Din, son of Aramshah;

(7) this abode was also completed in his period. His hope is that his sins may be completely forgiven.

(8) From the year of Migration of the Prophet, it was seven hundred to which the number eighty and five was further added (A.H. 785-1383-84 A.D.).

(9) O Lord! Through your bounty and support, forgive all the sins of the builder in both the worlds. And peace (be on him)!

(10) Written by the weak creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allah. Tahir (son of) 'Uthman Ja'fari.

The identity of Izzu'd-Din, son of Aramshah is difficult to establish. The contemporary and later reliable historical works do not mention this particular person. One Malik Izzu'd-Din Hajj, the dahir (secretary) is mentioned by Barani in his list of nobles of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah and Firuz Shah.1 But obviously our builder is different from this official who must be very old, if at all alive, at the time of this inscription, i.e., towards the close of the reign of Firuz Tughluq. Nor can he be identical with one Malik 'Abdul-Qadir Badayuni, as having received the title A'zamu'l-Mulk at the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah's accession.2 According to some, Malik 'Izzu'd-Din, son of Aramshah was the local governor.3 But this statement seems to have been made on the basis of the present record only. The scribe of the inscription, Tahir, son of 'Uthman Ja'fari, is also an unknown figure.

The nineteenth inscription, another new record of Firuz Tughluq, is carved on a tablet, measuring 30 by 30 cms., fixed over the pulpit of the mosque in the Undupet Mahalla at Cambay.4 It refers to the construction of a mosque in 1383 A.D. during the administration of Malik-Mulkiki sh-Sharq Ikhtiyarud-Daulat wa'd-Din Farhatu'l-Mulk Malik Mufarraj Sultan by Ahmad, son of Wajh, son of Hasan al-Quraishi. The language of the record is Persian and the text is executed in a mixture of Nasikh, Thuluth and Ragha of a very high order. It will be noticed that the style of writing of this inscription - whose beauty and elegance is only marred, if at all, by the congested writing - bears striking resemblance to that of the Qadiwada mosque inscription (pl. VIIb), executed only seven years earlier and also set up during the governorship of Malik Mufarraj. The similarity does not end here, the text of the two records is to a very extent identical.

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1 Qa'ida, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 Barani, op. cit., p. 455 [who says 2 is obviously a misprint: 1 is correct].
5 ARIE, 1936-37, No 5, 58.
PLATE VIII (a) Inscription of Firuz Taghiq, dated A.H. 785, from Mangrol (p. 25)

Scale : 2

(b) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 787, from Cambay (p. 27)
This inscription is also important in that it is the earliest and the only known record using the title Farhātu'l-Mulk with the name of Malik Mufarrāh and omitting his usual titles daw'idār-i-khāṣṣ and ra'is-i-mamlukī. This aspect of the record has already been referred to in the preceding lines (p. 14).

Its text has been deciphered as follow: —

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

(1) بادی جل و علا برآذت حضرت زیارت علیه السلام بیو (یونی؟) مسجد در عهد همدان و ایام میمون بادیاه و مسکون الموارد بنام الیند الیمین
(2) ابو المقتدر فرخزاد شاه السلطان خالد ملكه که خیر العهود و الازمنه بعثوت ملكه ملوک الشرق اختبار الدولة و الدين
(3) فامع الكفرة و السرکین فلعر الفجارة و المندرین میکس زمان اخض الخواص
(4) اعرف اهل الاستحاق فرحت الممالك فرح صلاته
(5) بنیاه امیدوار برحمت پروارکاس احذف ینه بن حسن الفرحنی را میسر کردارید بننه

و کرمه فی الغرة من المحرم سنی سبع و نماین و سبعه

TRANSLATION

(1-4) God, may He be glorified and exalted, through the blessings of (His) Prophet—may (Allah’s) peace be on him, by His Favour and Grace rendered it possible for the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Creator, viz. Ahmad, son of Wajih, son of Hasan al-Quraishi to construct the mosque in the auspicious time and blessed period—which is the best of the time and periods—of the king of the inhabited quarter (i.e. the earth), reliant on the support of the Merciful, Abu’l-Muzaffar Firuz Shâh the king, may (Allah) perpetuate his kingdom (and) during the governorship of Malik-i-Mulk-i-sh-Sharq Ikhtiyarudda’l-Daulat wa’l-Dîn, subduer of the infidels and polytheists, destroyer of the wicked and the rebellious, the general of the time, the most favourite of the favourites, the most noble among the men enjoying special (royal) favour. Farhâtu’l-Mulk Malik Mufarrâh Sulhâni, on the first of Muḥarram, year seven hundred and eightyseven (1st Muḥarram A.H. 787-12th February 1385 A.D.).

Ahmad son of Wajih Quraishi, the builder of the mosque, is not known to us.

The twentyieth inscription of the group is yet another record of Firuz Shâh. The tablet bearing this epigraph measures 45 by 66 cm. and is built up in the wall to the left of the central mihrâb of the Juni Jail-ki-Masjid at Mangrol.1 The wall of prison building, by the side of which this obelisk, though very small and insignificant mosque is situated, is now no more used for that purpose but having passed into private possession is named Amar Vilâs.

The main text of the epigraph is in Persian verse totalling fourteen couplets and records that the completion of the mosque built through the efforts of the chief among the great (sadr’ul-aksâbîr)

Muḥammad Khwāja took place in 1385-86 A.D. during the reign of Firuz Shāh. There is a line in prose, after the religious text in the first line, according to which the builder of the mosque, Muḥammad Khwāja Faridu'd-Dīn-i-Kalān, was a disciple of the famous Chishti saint Shaikh Nasrūd-Dīn. Likewise, the other three borders of the stone are inscribed with writing which being in a very minute hand and somewhat obliterated does not yield complete decipherment. However, after a few concentrated efforts, I have prepared a tentative reading. According to it, the text in the right border contains the famous tradition relating to the reward for the construction of mosques and a few more obliterated words. The writing in the left border is comparatively better preserved but not quite legible; it also records that the builder of the mosque is Muḥammad Khwāja, who is described as the uncle of Ḥaḍrat Rādi?., a companion of Maliku’ah-Sharq Shamsu’d-Dīn Pirūz?, shahnaub of the city and treasurer of the kingdom; it concludes with a request for prayer for the builder. The text in the bottom border is illegible except the portion containing the name of the stone-carver which reads something like Banthar (son of) Jhagan (Chhagan?).

The style of writing is ornamental Nastaliq of some elegance which though remarkable for the artistic flourishes of its letters is not very impressive. The engraving also suffers from a few spelling mistakes.

The text has been deciphered as under:—

(a) Main portion.

(1) و انا المساجد يسرا تدعو [1] مع الله احدا - بناء مسجد محمد خواجه نورالدين

(2) كلاً؟ ماذا از مربية انسان نصر الدين ينامه يشبط

(3) بعهد دولت شاهي كسامان

(4) نداء نامن را كسي نام و نهان

(5) بذواله منشور ومن سليمان

(6) بديله كسي بدر از نامل

(7) يكيني أنا و صح ست تابان

(8) يناء ابن مبارك مسجد نو

(9) بعهد دولت صدر آكاذر

(10) يصلين مسلم و انام

(11) صفا و انام و بيزون موقد

(12) زاو صفا كدس خود جه كونين

(13) روزون هدف شديد بر سر آن

1 This is engraver's mistake for 'نا'.
(a) (1) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allah only; hence invoke not any one else with Allah.' The construction of the mosque of Muhammad Khwaja Faridud-Din-i-Kalân, one of the disciples of Shaikh Nasiru'd-Din, the mainstay of the Chishtis.

(2) In the period of the reign of the king at whose door kings wait upon aspiring for favours,

(3) viz. Shâh Firuz in whose justice and equity nobody finds a trace of tyranny;

(4) both genii and men hope to be benefited by his favour; the qualities of Solomon have become known through his person:

(5) such a master of the world who is also a world-conqueror, nobody has seen among the human beings in the world.

(6) O God! Keep him safe for ever in the world as long as the moon and the sun shine

(7) the construction of this blessed new mosque (was carried out) at the auspicious time and through the favours of God

(8) by the efforts of the good fortune of Sadrul-Lakshar (i.e. the chief among the great) Muhammad Khwaja, who is the son of 'Ali.

(9) In his person the excellence and munificence are beyond limit (and) the gift of his palm is beyond the range of possibility.

(10) What shall I say in praise of his perfection? He deserves to be the minister of the king.

1 Qur'ân, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 Evidently the celebrant saint Chishti-Dulli
3 This word is clearly inscribed as 'Khan' on the stone but its significance in the present context is not clear.

Could it be 'Dawn'?
(11) The year was seven hundred and eighty and seven more added to it (A. H. 787-1385-86 A.D.) (when)

(12) this auspicious edifice was completed. May God grant its reward to the builder!

(13) May (God) bestow on him profuse bounties of everlasting happiness in the next world (lit. house that knows no end nor limit)!

(14) May (God) keep him immune from the guile of harm until the revolution of Resurrection overtakes the world!

(15) I have prayed (for him) and the angels have said, 'Amen'. O God! Keep him steadfast in Faith!

(b) i. The Prophet, may peace be on him has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds a similar one for him in Paradise' .

ii. The builder of the mosque is Muḥammad Khwāja, uncle of Ḥadrat Raḍī. a companion of Mālikuʿṣh-Sharg Shamsuʿd-Dīn Pirūz, Shamsabek of the city and treasurer of the kingdom .

Whoever comes may pray with Fāṭhah and prayers of Faith for the pleasure of God for the builder.

iii. Banthar (son of) Jhagān (Chhagan), the stone-carver.

While it is not possible to trace any particulars of Muḥammad Khwāja, the builder of the mosque, it transpires from the text of the epigraph—after making allowance for poetical exaggeration—that he was a learned man and probably held the office of sāḍr. Whether he became minister or not in fulfillment of the wishes of the poet who considered him fit for that office is not known.

The twentyfirst epigraph also belongs to the reign of Pirūz Shāh. The tablet measuring 30 by 65 cm. is at present fixed along with a few others into the wall of a room of the old Darbārgāh now used as the Record room at Mangrol. At the time of the compilation of the Corpus where the reading and translation of this inscription are given, the tablet was built up in the wall of a dargāh near the Rāvāli-Masjid. The inscription is said to have originally belonged to the said mosque which is constructed in trabeate style with an open pillared facade and a large and pretentious porch fronting its main entrance.

As the tablet is badly damaged due to weathering, a considerable portion of the text has been affected rendering a full reading out of question. However, with the help of the eye-reading given in the Corpus—which was prepared when the writing must have been in a slightly better preserved condition—the missing words have been supplied in brackets except where its reading appeared to be doubtful.

The epigraph comprises fourteen lines. Of these the first two contain religious texts. Of the remaining twelve verses in Persian, half are devoted to nothing but encomiums lavished on the king while the rest contain the name of Makhdūmzāda Malik ʿAbduʾl-Malik, son of Ḥusān, the date in words and the prayers for the said Malik. Though the surviving text does not contain the reference to the object of construction, there is no doubt that the record was meant for a mosque. As regards the date of construction, it must have been sometime between A. H. 780 and 789.

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1 See ARIK, 1951-55, Nos. C, 136-49.
2 Ibid., No. C, 135.
4 PRWC, 1898-99, p. 16. Commissariat, op. cit., p. 74, also gives the gist of the inscription from the reading of the CIB.
5 These readings have been specified in the footnotes.
(a) Damaged record of Firūz Shāh, from Mangrol (p. 31)

(b) Inscription, dated A.H. 803, from Mangrol (p. 39)
word indicating the unit figure of the year having been totally obliterated on the stone, it is difficult to ascertain the exact year, but the Corpus reads the word in question as ' eight ' and gives A. H. 788 (1366-67 A. D.) as the date of construction.\footnote{1}

The style of writing is Nasikh of a fairly good order being in general outline similar to the other Mangrol inscriptions.

The text of the inscription is quoted below :—

**TEXT**

Plate X(a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) قال [الله تبارك و تعالى و ان المساجد الله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(3) [قال البني صلى الله عليه وسلم] من بنى الله مسجدا بنى الله له في الجنة قصرا

(4) كه حكمت در گرفت از ماه و ماهی

(5) [ییهد دولت فیروز] شاهی

(6) سکندر دولتی ۳ [نجم ؟] سیاهی

(7) نسبت از [خلق او] صد بهره گیرد

(8) زلال از لطف ای که جان پذیرد

(9) دو درگاهه نفیبی که رود

(10) [ییهد زما [دوه زاده]

(11) پسم [مقاومتی] شاهی

(12) نست [قلقراتی] که [سیسا نکا ؟] مسئول

(13) [ربی] ماه [ذ المواء ؟] [نال ؟]

(14) [ییهد بیشه | اجرا] که بخشید به [ایدین]

(15) گناهی عفو [گرفتند ؟] بکونین

**TRANSLATION**

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

(2) Allah the most Blessed and Exalted says, ' And verily, the mosques are for Allah only; and hence invoke not any one else with Allah'.\footnote{2}
The next two inscriptions of this study are unique in that they are the only surviving records of Nurat Shah Tughluq, a grandson of Firuz Shah, set up as a rival king to the throne of Delhi in A.H. 797 (1395 A.D.) by a faction of nobles. Both these inscriptions set up in May 1395 A.D., mention Zafar Khan, later Muzaffar Shah I of Gujarat, as governor of the province on behalf of Nurat Shah. Their indisputable evidence has been elsewhere cited by me to repudiate the general belief that Zafar Khan declared his independence in 1395 A.D. on account of the strife between the two rival kings and the impossibility of determining to whom the allegiance was due. The epigraphical as well as other evidences have now finally established that Zafar Khan did not assume kingship before the second half of the year A.H. 810 (1408 A.D.). These two epigraphs under study indicate beyond doubt that there was no question of Zafar Khan finding it impossible to determine his overlord as they clearly show that the Gujarat governor was a partisan of Nurat Shah only. But the apparent reluctance on the part of Zafar Khan to assume independence until 1408 A.D. as is evidenced by his inscriptions dated A.H. 804, 805, 806, 807—event after his son had made himself king of Gujarat in the middle of A.H. 806—has remained unexplained so far.

4 It should also be remembered that Tatâr Khan, son of Zafar Khan, was a supporter of Nurat Shah (Yabyâ, op. cit., pp. 160-64).
Now we know that in A. H. 797, Zafar Khan acknowledged Nuṣrat Shāh in preference to Maḥmūd Shāh as his sovereign.¹ Nuṣrat Shāh continued to rule until about A. H. 802, when he was compelled to flee to Mewat where he is stated to have died.² How long did Zafar Khan continue to acknowledge the suzerainty of Nuṣrat Shāh is unfortunately not on record, especially as we have not come across so far any inscriptions for the years A. H. 798, 799, 800³, 801 and 802. But that even up to A. H. 803, he was loyal to the Delhi throne is evident from an inscription dated in that year from Mangrol in which the name of the Delhi ruler is, however, not mentioned.⁴ The omission of the name of Delhi king does not seem to have been exclusively due to complete collapse of the central authority at Delhi so that officials in the distant provinces could hardly say who was exercising regal sway at Delhi.⁵ It may be reasonably interpreted to indicate that Zafar Khan being a staunch partisan of Nuṣrat Shāh acknowledged his sovereignty as long as the latter’s whereabouts were known. Zafar Khan, it seems, was torn between two conflicting motives: his sense of loyalty to the house of Tughluq on one hand and his preference for Nuṣrat Shāh and bias against Maḥmūd Shāh, on the other. It is also likely that Zafar Khan was not altogether sure about the alleged death in A. H. 802 of Nuṣrat Shāh who was, it may be stressed, last heard of as having headed towards Mewat. This may have been a contributing factor in his policy of maintaining status quo as far as the declaration of his own independence was concerned. But on the other hand, Zafar Khan was not certain that Nuṣrat Shāh was alive in A. H. 803. In other words, Zafar Khan seems to have been confronted with the dilemma as to whether Nuṣrat Shāh was alive or not. This might be the main if not the only reason why the Mangrol inscription of A. H. 803 failed to specify the name of the Delhi king. The fact, however, that the inscriptions of Zafar Khan dated after A. H. 803 shed off the reference to the Delhi king indicates that Zafar Khan had finally reconciled himself to the generally accepted fate of Nuṣrat Shāh, but even then and despite his avowed loyalty to the house of the Tughluq—for he did not declare his independence for the next five or six years—he was not prepared to owe allegiance as the governor of a province to Maḥmūd Shāh who had returned to Delhi in A. H. 804 and continued to rule there. Zafar Khan’s bias against Maḥmūd Shāh is also indirectly proved by the cold though courteous treatment he meted out to the latter when, having come to Gujarat after Timūr’s invasion, he had sought in vain to enlist Zafar Khan’s support in his bid to recapture the throne of Delhi and had ultimately gone to Malwa.

Whatever be the case, it is certain that Zafar Khan was a partisan of Nuṣrat Shāh. Historical works do not throw any light on the reasons that may have prompted Zafar Khan to adopt such an attitude. It has been seen above that his son Tātār Khan was also a supporter and waṣir of Nuṣrat Shāh. Could this attitude of Zafar Khan and his son have been motivated on genealogical rather than any other grounds? We are told that Zafar Khan’s father Wajhūl Mulk, then Sahāran, had married his sister to Fruż Shāh Tughluq when the latter was yet a prince.⁶ If it could be established, as is likely, that Nuṣrat Shāh’s father Fath Khan, Fruż’s eldest son, was born of this wife who was Zafar Khan’s aunt, this close kinship between Nuṣrat Shāh and Zafar Khan might provide a strong motive and explanation for the latter’s bias. The statement of the author of the

1 Incidentally, in the extremely opposite province of Bihar it was Maḥmūd Shāh who commanded sovereignty (EIAPS, 1951 and 52, p. 15; ibid., 1951, pp. 32, 33).
2 Yabhā, op. cit., p. 168; Firāštā, op. cit., p. 159.
3 What Commissariat, op. cit., pp. 75-76, has taken to be an inscription dated A. H. 806, on the basis of the account in BG, vol. VIII, p. 544, is in fact a record of A. H. 803. Also see the next two foot-notes.
4 ARIE, 1854-55, No. C, 137. This inscription is included in the present study (No. XXIV).
5 Commissariat, op. cit., p. 76. However, in fairness to Professor Commissariat, it must be said that he had to rely upon the account of BG, op. cit., for the date and contents of the record. CIB, op. cit., pp. 2-3, gives the date as A. H. 709.
6 Sikandar, op. cit., p. 9.
Tāriḥ-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī also points to this possibility. According to him, one of the main factors that prompted Muhammad Shāh, son of Firūz Tughluq and father of Maḥmūd Shāh, to send Zafar Kān to Gujarat was “to see that the tent of the latter’s greatness and influence is pitched in a place far from the capital”.1 In other words, Zafar Kān’s presence at Delhi was not liked by Muḥaṁmad Shāh, and the reason for this attitude could well be as suggested above.

The first of these two inscriptions being the twentiethec of the group is engraved on a square slab of marble about 50 cm. a side which is built up into the Record office at Mangrol.2 It is said to have been originally fixed into the chopūta or small room to the west of the Gāḍī gate of the town.3 The epigraph is bilingual, being in Persian verse and Sanskrit prose.4 The Persian version inscribed in twelve lines of minute writing occupies about two-thirds of the space and runs into a poem of twenty-three verses composed by Qāḍī Badr, son of Zahir.5 The composition of these verses is mediocre and faulty rendering their meaning vague and doubtful at places. The epigraph seems to state that during the reign of Nisrat Shāh, Zafar Kān the great minister held the governorship of Gujarāt. Malik Ya’qūb of Tamīm origin who administered the shiq of Sorath on behalf of the latter laid a new foundation: there was a strong city-wall at Manglūr6 but the chains (halgāhā) of the doors were not of iron. Consequently, the Malik got them made of steel and covered these gates with iron of which two hundred mans per panel were utilised. The work was carried out in 1395 A.D. under the direct charge of Malik Ya’qūb’s brother, Malik Mūsā, the kotečīl of the town.

The Sanskrit portion records that in the Sāhnvāt year 1152, Vaisākha-vadī 15, Sunday, during the victorious reign of Bādshāh Nasarāth at Yūgamūra, when Śri Daphara Shāh( Khāna), appointed by him was ruling in the land of Gurjara, when Thāmīnā-Malika-sūr-Akūbha, son of Rāj Mūltānī was conducting the muqātī affairs here at Mangalapūr7 in Saurashtra, his relative Kotwāla-malika-Sūr-Mūsā by name caused to be made separately two massive iron doors for the two gates for the protection of the people. The Torkhī (i.e. Turkī) text was written by Kādī Badarādīna son of Shaikhojīn Jīhīra. It was engraved by Sutradhāra Virdhavaṇa, son of Sutradhāra Rāṇa.8

According to this epigraph, Mangrol was the head-quarters of the shiq of Saurashtra. It also mentions the two officials, Malik Ya’qūb, officer in charge of the district and his brother Malik Mūsā, kotečīl of the town, who do not find any mention in historical works.

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1 Ṭāriḥ-i-Muḥammad Shāhī, photo-copy in Maharājkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh’s library at Sitāmāu, M.P., f.s.
2 ARBE, 1954-55, No. C, 136; CIB, op. cit., pp. 17-18. Diskalkar, New Indian Antiquity, vol. II (December, 1939), pp. 592-93. wrongly states that the inscription was removed to the Junagadh Museum. He also takes Nusrat Shāh of the record to be identical with Nāsir-u-d-Dīn Muhammad Tughluq.
3 CIB, op. cit., p. 16.
4 Commissionerat, op. cit., p. 74 and M. A. Chughtāi, Muslim Monuments of Ahmedabad (Poona, 1942), p. 33, have based their observations in respect of this epigraph on the reading given in CIB.
5 Chughtāi, op. cit., is to assert that ‘Ustād Qazi and Malik Zahir were expert supervisors of the work.
6 Ibīd. wrongly considers Malik Ya’qūb and Malik Tamīm as two persons.
7 The text says so in this portion. But immediately later it is stated that there was a strong fort here which had, however, no iron-doors. Since the Sanskrit version also speaks of the making of iron doors, it is clear that the composer means to say that the iron doors were provided to the fort.
8 That is how Mangol is spelt in the Persian version.
9 Diskalkar, op. cit., p. 592, wrongly identifies Nusrat Shāh with ‘Nāsir-u-d-Dīn Muhammad Tughlakh (II).’
10 This is how the name of the town is spelt in the Sanskrit version.
11 The Sanskrit version has been listed in ARBE, 1954-55, No. B, 513. Its full text was reproduced in H. Cousens, op. cit., p. 246; Diskalkar, op. cit., p. 594; et al.
PLATE XI
(a) Inscription of Nusrat Shah Tughluq, dated A.H. 797, from Mangrol (p. 35)

(b) Another record of Nusrat, dated A.H. 797, from Ghogha (p. 37)
(1) بعون عنايات عمار پاک
زمن و اندازه طبقاً طبق
بناه کرم تا که بنیاد کرد
(2) جهان بود ویرانه اباد کرد
ز ذات که ذات جهان را تبول?
(3) محمد فرستاد بر ما رسول
شهنشاه نصره جهان باشائ
بدست تمامه‌ی ما!
(4) ظفر نفر خان اعظم وزیر
جهان دیده مردان صاحب سخن
دنو و نبایند جهان؟ داوری
(5) گ در عرصه گورجات آمیری
په ش قهر آمری سفری
ز یاکی ذات شرف بر ملک
که سورته به بزیانده‌ی شادگان
ملک بر سیوه؟ شیر گردون شکر
پیتوفت ایزد بنآ نو نهاد
(6) نعم اصل بود [ان] [بل] نامدار
به‌پیتوفت ایزد بنآ نو نهاد
که سد سکنین [ژ] بود شرمانار
(7) بی‌گو و حصن قبیل حصار
فلک در بلندبست يا نیب او
ز پولاد کرده ملک سر بر
(8) بید بسته ز اهن حریث‌های در
ز سر تا بپایی در اهن گرفت
ملک موسی کوتوال دیار
بی‌نام که تا نام و پیمان او
(11) بِثَلَاوِلِهِمَّ نُودُتُ هُنَّ نُورَ تَأمَّمُ بِثُمَّ رَجُبُ چِهَازِهِ نُودُتُ نُورَ
پَانَشِهِ قَانُونِ بِرَزَعِ چَاذِبَهُنَّ پَنَشِهِ قَانُونِ بِرَزَعِ چَاذِبَهُنَّ
(12) هِرُ انگِکُ بِنَاوِانَدُ دِعاَشِیُّ کَنَّ دَهدُ قَانُونِ مِرحباً مِنُّ نَانَدُ

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Through the help of the kindness of the Holy Forgiving Lord, who created everything from sky to Fish,

who laid layers upon layers of earth and suspended the sky, leaf upon leaf;

(2) the world was desolate: He populated it and thus laid the foundation of generosity;

He sent Muhammad to us as messenger on behalf of His Person which is agreeable to the world;

(3) in the period of the reign of the mighty king, whom victory has befriended and whose fortune is high,

the emperor Nasr, the king of the world whose head is fully worthy of the throne (1),

(1) the victorious Zafar the great (was) the minister; all (authority) was in his hands; (only) his feet were not on the throne.

Thus have the ancients of bygone ages the experienced men who were masters of speech—related

(5) that in the province of Gujarat neither there was nor will there be such a just governor.

In every ghig (district) a commander who is the over thrower of sedition and cherisher of subjects is appointed by him.

(6) On account of his dignity and respect his foot is on the heaven; through the purity of his person, he enjoys superiority over the angel.

The Malik (who is) the governor of the time and Ya'qub by name (is one such officer) under whose rule Suraqah is happy.

(7) that illustrious hero is Tamim by origin; he is a Malik with the heart of a tiger (7) and is a lion whose prey is heaven.

Thus at God’s Grace, he laid a new foundation through the bounty of the Most Benevolent (Lord) who guided him.

(8) At Manglir there is a fort with stone-walls, (before) which the rampart of Alexander flanked;

is the heaven high or the lowest portion of the fort is high? There is no other fort that can equal it in splendour and beauty.

(9) The chains of its doors were not fastened with iron; the Malik made them completely of steel.

i.e., there were hundred manas of iron for every plank and covered it from head to foot with iron.
(10) He had a brother who looked after the execution of the work, viz. Mulk Mūsā, the kāˈtīl of the country.

through whose orders this task was carried out, May it remain as long as his name and trace remain!

(11) In the exact year (A.H.) seven hundred and ninety-seven on the fourteenth of Rajab (14th Rajab A.H. 797 5th May 1395 A.D.) it was completed.

Through the composition of Qāˈdī Badr, son of Zāhīr, such an unrivalled work has come to light.

(12) Whoever reads it, may pray for him, offer Fāˈtiḥa for him and welcome him.

The other inscription of Nusrat Shāh forming the twenty-third record of the group is fixed over the central mihrāb of the Idgah in the Mosapura quarter outside the town of Ghogha in the Bhavnagar district.1 The arch-shaped tablet measures 28 cm. from apex to bottom and 62 cm. in length and contains an epigraph of four lines in Persian with the exception of the religious texts. The record mentions the construction of a namaz-izāh (i.e., place for Id prayers) in 1395 A.D. during the reign of Shamsu’d-Din Nusrat Shāh. It further mentions Khan-i-Araum Zafar Khan, son of Wajhul-Mulk, as the governor. The name of the builder is given as Kamal, son of Hamid, about whom we possess no information.

The inscription is an extremely valuable record, being in a way more important than the preceding one, since it quotes the title of Nusrat Shāh as Shamsu’d-Din Yama’ ʿwa’d Din. None of the few coins of Nusrat Shāh that have come to light contain his title.2 Among the Historians, Yahya Sarhindi, whose work is the earliest available chronicle dealing with the later Tughluqs, calls him Nāsiru’d-Din.3 Subsequent chroniclers like Firuzi and others also give the same title. With coins of Nusrat Shāh silent on the point, it is natural that the modern scholars should have accepted this title without questioning it. This record has now established that Nusrat Shāh had adopted the title Shamsu’d-Din on his accession to the throne.

The record was first published in the Encyclopaedia where the date was read as A.H. 777 and the name of the king as Nusrat-Pundh who must have mislead the scholars.4 The style of writing is fairly good Naˈṣaˈri and the text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

\[FI: AI\]

(1) "Huwa Ashamsu’d-Din Shamsu’d-Din Yama’ ʿwa’d Din, kāˈtīl Mulk Mūsā.


(4) Dir. HN. Wrigley, op. cit. p. 7 Ghadir, op. cit., pp. 33-34, referring to the text of this inscription as "unreliable", has, however, corrected the date.

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4 Dir. HN. Wrigley, op. cit., p. 7 *Ghadir*, op. cit., pp. 33-34, referring to the text of this inscription as "unreliable", has, however, corrected the date.
(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) 'And when we made the house a resort for men and a (place of) security; and Appoint for yourselves a place of prayer on the standing-place of Abraham.'

(3) In the reign of the great king Shamsau’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Nūṣrat Shāh the king and during the time of Khān-i A’zam Zafar Khān, son of Wajhū’l-Mulk, the building of this namāzgāh (i.e. ‘Idgāh) was constructed by the creature (who is) hopeful

(4) of the mercy of the Creator, Kamāl, son of Ḥamīd. May God have mercy on that believer who having come to this place remembers this hopeful creature with prayers for his Faith.

(5) On the fifteenth of the month of Rajab, may its dignity increase, in the year seven hundred ninetyseven from the Migration of the Prophet, may Allāh’s salutations and peace be upon him! (15th Rajab A.H. 797=6th May 1395 A.D.).

The twentyfourth and the last epigraph of this series is a record from Mangrol to which a reference has already been made in the preceding lines. As the importance of the record in that it shows the loyalty of Zafar Khān to the house of Tughluq and his reluctance to break away completely from the Delhi authority on one hand and his preference for Nūṣrat Shāh and bias against Māhīmūd Shāh has been discussed there, its only remains for us to give below its text and translation along with a brief descriptive note.

The epigraphical tablet is now fixed into the wall of the Record room and measures 32 by 40 cm. Its original findspot is not known. This inscription was also published in the Corpus which gave its date as A.H. 700. Professor Commisariat following the Bombay Gazetteer gave the date A.H. 800 which also falls short of the correct date by three years. The text refers to the reigning king of Delhi but fails to name him. It also states that Zafar Khān, son of Wajih, was muqti’ of Gujarat on behalf of the king; he had appointed Malik Badr-i-Baujhal as his deputy in Sorath; the latter’s deputy at Mangrol was Malik Shaikh, son of Tūj, who constructed there a strong fort (ḥisār) in 1400-01 A.D. The inscription which runs into fourteen lines of Persian verse was composed by ‘Ālā, son of Ṣadr. The style of writing is Nasīḥ.

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1 Qur’ān, chapter II, part of verse 125.
2 See pp. 32-33.
4 CIB, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
5 Commisariat, op. cit.
The record has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate X(b)

(1) Bism Allah al-rahman al-rhamim

(2) Bawd shahane kini mard khe melsi nash dar jahan sheher bahar

(3) Jahan kyer zor yash qame ksha

(4) Z unda sassar jahan shadaman

(5) Z sheh xan aqwa amal qfar xan wajbeh

(6) Bawdoo choy ulman choy hebro buqun cho amq benda cho rhaym bahar cho malk buj de jokal irai khabar

(7) Z sheh xan yarab burwoteh hee

(8) Darbey cho yad rhayn shim joway jowand schen ibn soba dar

(9) Woz yarab burwot biqulbro kus

(10) Mulk khaban cho yarab dar jahan daiva bawaqar

(11) Heem xuloo xerisend az ltef aw

(12) Yanaa kwy kosh mer xelq ra

(13) Zar e xuloo xeexam sheh ber dar shehar

(14) Woz mald ahn sala yarzad

TRANSLATION

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

(2) In the reign of the emperor, the pivot of the world, like whom there has not been any king in the world.

(3) the world-conqueror, gold-bestower and subduer of forts, at whose door all the monarchs are curtain-bearers (parda-dâr);

(4) through his equity the whole world is happy (and) on account of his generosity the world within world is ashamed;

(5) Khân-i-A'zam Zafar Khân, son of Wajih, was the successful governor (muqti') in Gujarat on behalf of the king.
The denizens of Surath were like "Abdul Manaf Banjhal, a great bohemian.

(9) The latter was a generous man of good judgement and illuminated mind, and was always found at court in the world.

(10) Malik Shaikh, son of Taj, through whose efforts a strong fort was constructed at Manglur.

(11) All the inhabitants were happy on account of his kindness; everybody praised him in the city and the country.

(12) The fort became a strong shelter for the people; what is there to worry even if a hundred thousand armies were to come.

(13) From the Migration of the Prophet when this was completed, eight hundred and three years came into reckoning (A.H. 140-1400 A.D.).

(14) ‘Ali, son of Sadiq, well composed the chronogram. And may it remain for years in memory of him!

Nothing is known about Malik Badri-Banjhal, the governor of Surath under Zafar Khan and his deputy at Panvel, Malik Shaikh, son of Taj. In this connexion, it may be noted that the name of the father of Mahboor Khan, who built the famous mosque at Ahmadabad in 1485 A.D., was also Malik Shaikh, but whether he is identical with Malik Shaikh of our inscription it is difficult to say. The composer ‘Ali whose poetical talents seem to be mediocre, is also an obscure figure.

This is the name of the town in sp. d.
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SHARQIS FROM BIHAR AND UTTAR PRADESH

BY W. H. SIDDiqui

The Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur lasting for more than eighty years produced in all five rulers of whom the most prominent in Bihār is Shāh Sharqi (1402-1436). Although constantly engaged with the Delhi sultans on one side and the Malwa kings on the other, the Sharqis maintained their rule with vigour, at times eclipsing Delhi until they were ultimately overthrown in A.H. 881 (1476-77 A.D.) by Bahlul Lodl of Delhi. Unfortunately, very few monuments of these rulers now exist: Bahlul's son Sikanjur Lodl, prompted by rivalry and personal enmity towards Husain Shāh the last Sharqi king, is stated to have destroyed and mutilated the monuments of this dynasty. Among their prominent buildings that have survived at Jaunpur are Atār-Masjid, Jamu-Masjid and Lal Darwāza-Masjid.1

The Sharqi rule has not been adequately described in contemporary annals. Nor has any monograph pertaining to it been published so far. Consequently, the history of these rulers has to be pieced together from the casual references occurring in Persian chronicles and their mural records. Then too, very few inscriptions of the Sharqis have been noticed and published so far.

It is, therefore, hoped that the following study of nine inscriptions from different places in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh will not be found without interest. These inscriptions range in their dates from A.H. 897 (1491-92 A.D.) to A.H. 899 (1493 A.D.) and four of them come from Bihar Sharif, three from Bilgram and one each from Jāmna and Hathgāon. They represent the reigns of Bihārī Shāh and Muḥāfizī Shāh.

Ibrāhīm Shāh

1. INSCRIPTION FROM BIHAR SHARIF, DISTRICT PATNA, BIHAR

Bihar was captured by the founder of the dynasty, Kaukab-Allah, devoted to Maḥbūb Shāh and Shuhrān Shāh, with whose kinsmen he had previously written a short note on Onā, and Gaṅga of 781, as far as Kāuls which contains the last inscription of Bihār and Bilgram. On his death in A.H. 892 he left his possessions to two of his adopted sons, Mūṣafī, who assumed the royal title, and Muḥāfizī Shāh. The latter died in the following year and was succeeded by his brother Bihārī Shāh.

At this period, Bihar was a base of contention for territorial supremacy between the Tughluqs and the Sharqis, but the latter, however, managed to hold Bihar unto 1156 A.D.1 Their inscriptions from that period range from the years A.H. 895 (1492-93 A.D.) and A.H. 899 (1493 A.D.). However, the earliest epigraph at Darbhanga dates A.H. 890 in the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh is now no

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The epigraph under study was discovered by Professor S.H. Askari of Patna; it is fixed on the one-wall mosque attached to the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Siwistānī, a fourteenth-century saint. The record is important in indicating that Ibrāhīm exercised authority over Bihar at a time when Mamlūk Shāh Tughluq also got the recognition of his authority in this region—a fact established by his inscriptions from Kakā and Bihar Sharif, dated A.H. 799 and A.H. 810 respectively. To explain this apparent contradiction, namely that the sovereignty of two independent kings was acknowledged almost during the same period and in the same region, it has been suggested as likely that the Sharqi inscription is not in situ and was brought from some other place. On the same analogy, Mālmūd’s inscription also may not be in situ since it is found on a modern mosque at Bihar Sharif. Therefore, unless it is conclusively proved that Ibrāhīm’s record does not belong to the place where it is found, the Sharqi occupation of Bihar or a part thereof during his reign cannot be ruled out. Another possible explanation may be that the place was occupied in quick successions by the Delhi and the Sharqi rulers. It is also worthwhile to remember that Mālmūd’s authority over Bihar must have been limited in extent and time since, this was the period when the Tughluq authority had started to dwindle and finally collapsed at the centre and elsewhere, while the Sharqi ruler, on the other hand, was asserting his authority, having offered, in 1403-06 A.D., successful resistance to the Delhi authority represented by Iqbal Khān who had attempted to oust him from his position.

The inscriptive tablet measures 1.12 m. by 27 cm. and contains two complete inscriptions in Persian, carved in relief in an excellent hand in the typical Nashk of the Bihar variety. The record mentions the renovation of a structure by one Qūṭb, son of Aḥmad ’Ārid in 1404-05 A.D., during the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh and has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XII(a)*

(1) در عهد پادشاه جهانگیر جم نشان

(2) تو کرد فطی احمد عارض نیا یقین

**TRANSLATION**

(1) During the reign of the world-conquering monarch having the insignia of Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm, who is the denotation of the age in the world,

(2) verily, Qūṭb, (son of) Aḥmad ’Ārid renovated the structure, when the date of the year was eight hundred and seven (A.H. 807 – 1404-05 A.D.).

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2 Askari, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
3 *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE),* 1955-56, No. 1, p. 82.
4 *KIAPS,* 1961, pp. 32 (pl. Xc), 34 (pl. Xb).
7 *It is clearly inscribed so, but the intended word may be “میان”.*
(a) Sharqi inscription, dated A.H. 807, from Bihur Sharif (p. 42)

Scale: 14

(b) Another Sharqi record, dated A.H. 845, from Bilgram (p. 47)

Scale: 13

(c) Third Sharqi record, dated A.H. 835, from Bihur Sharif (p. 43)

Scale: 3
No thing is known about Quth, son of Ahmad, the renovator of the building. If the word *ārid* is taken as qualifying instead of being adjectival, it would mean that the builder held that post in Bihar.

II. INSCRIPTION FROM THE AMBER DARGAH, BIHAR SHARIF

This epigraph belongs to the same ruler and was also spotted by Professor Askari on a slab fixed in the west compound wall of the Amber *ārid* at Bihar Sharif. Unfortunately, the tablet is broken, and nearly one half of the text is missing. Measuring in its present state 95 by 25 cm., it contains a record of four complete lines in Persian mentioning the erection of a certain structure in 1131-32 A.H., during the reign of Shirāhim Shāh. It further enunciates the exploits and achievements of one Malik Qādīn, particularly in the cause of religion, and gives the name of the calligraphist as Taqī who probably composed the text.

The style of writing is *Nush* of pleasant execution similar to that in the previous epigraph.

The surviving text has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

\[Plate X\(II\)(c)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{در عهد جل حن براتهم ساء آنکه ماجوج فته را بهم سد نفور کرد} \\
\text{دور} \\
\text{قاضا ملكان به خواندن} \\
\text{ار رونش خویش جمان بر زنور کرد} \\
\text{شپورد کرد} \\
\text{اسلام را نبیال رس مش و درند نفاور رابیخ بر افکند دور کرد} \\
\text{{عمل به هصر درد}} \\
\text{هیصد و سی و پنج بد از هجرت نی} \\
\text{خسنه تک که خامه روان برستورد درد}
\end{align*}
\]

**TRANSLATION**

(1) \ldots\ldots\ldots During the reign of Shirāhim Shāh, the shadow of God, who repelled, at all barriers, the Magog of sedition.

(2) \ldots\ldots\ldots removed. Qādīn Malik who is called the sun of the Earth by the sky, has illuminated the world through his own light.

(3) \ldots\ldots\ldots manifested. The plant of Islām was once more rendered green and fresh; he has uprooted (and) thrown out the unbelievers.

---

1. For *ārid* and his duties, see I.H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Lahore, 1944), pp. 83-86, 137-138, 152, 199.

(4) .......... carried out the work without defect. It was eight hundred and thirty-five from the Migration of the Prophet (A.H. 835-1431-32 A.D.), when the infirm Taqi moved his pen over these lines.

Very little is known regarding Malik Qadan. The text being fragmentary, it is not possible to say if it was he who actually ordered the construction. Anyway, it may be reasonably presumed that he acted in some official capacity in the province. From the text of the record, it may be inferred that he enjoyed the title Shamsul-Din. Professor ‘Askari has identified him as a warrior-noble and disciple of a Qadiri saint of Amhār in Gaya district.¹ But we have no information regarding the calligraphist Taqi.

III. INSCRIPTION FROM BILGRAM

This record of Ibrahīm comes from Bilgram in the Hardoi district of Uttar Pradesh. Bilgram, the headquarter town of the tehsil is a place of considerable size on the old high bank of the river Ganges at a distance of sixteen miles south of Hardoi. It is a place of great antiquarian interest.² The earliest Arabic inscription from the town found so far, appearing on the Sayyidwa’s mosque, pertains to the reign of Ilutmish.³

The present record is carved on a tablet fixed in the eastern wall, to the left of the main entrance, of the modern Jami’ mosque in Upperko.⁴ This tablet is also unfortunately fragmentary, and a considerable portion of the text is lost. In its present state, it measures 94 by 57 cm. and in shape resembles a perfect arch. This feature, the shape of the slab has been taken to indicate, that it was at some later date appropriated and the backside of it used for an epitaph by somebody,⁵ while according to a local account which does not quote any source the present tablet, one of the three pieces into which the original slab was broken, was discovered at the time of the construction of the Jami’ mosque in 1925 and kept along with some more pieces in the house of Qadri Muhammed Yauful.⁶ There was not and is not even now any trace of the remaining two pieces of this inscription.

The surviving text comprises six incomplete hemistiches executed in bold Naskh characters, and records the renovation of the Jami’ mosque during the reign of Ibrahīm Shah. It also mentions Muntazib, son of ‘Alam and ‘Ali, son of Shams, presumably as the composer and the builder, respectively. The date portion is lost. A vertical panel which evidently occupied the central portion of the original inscription contains a note stating that this is the date of the Jami’ mosque of the qafta Bilgān.

The extant text has been read as under:—

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

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{.................................} \\
\text{\small 1) شاه ابراهیم شاه} \\
\text{\small 2) ز سر مسجد جامع چنان؟}
\end{array}
\]

¹ ‘Askari, op. cit.
² For details, please see Nevill, H.R., District Gazetteer of U. P., vol. XI, Hardoi (Nainital, 1904), p. 176; Mahmūd Bilgānī, Tājul-kalam Fi Tārikh al-Bilgān (Aligarh, 1937), pp. 98, 100-13, 122; etc.
³ Epigraphia Indo-Muslimica, 1911-12, p. 23 (pl. XXVIII).
⁴ JRE, 1956-59, No. L, 197.
⁵ Ibid., introduction.
⁶ Mahmūd, op. cit., p. 123.
Inscriptions of the Sharqis from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh


date from the illuminated moon (i.e. of lunar era)......................

increased... in the world..........................

The weak creature Muntajib, (son of) 'Ālam from his soul (i.e. sincerely)........ the end......................

in the reign of Ibrahim Shah. See the great Malik 'Ali, son of Shams, through the help of god.

The date of (re)construction of the Jami' mosque of the qaṣba of Bilgram.

In this connexion it might be worthwhile to reproduce the text prepared by the above mentioned Maḥmūd Bilgrāmi:

According to this reading, the mosque was renovated at the instance of the famous Sharqi noble Khān-i-A'zam Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān, about whom we shall speak later, on Sunday the 14th Rabī' II A.H. 842 (4th October 1438 A.D.).

Of the other persons, Muntajib, son of 'Ālam, appears to be the composer of the epigraph. He belonged to a leading Shaikh family and had sometime held the office of the bākim-i-shar'i at
Bilgram. He lies buried in the famous mound, called Bill, at that place. He is also reported to have been a Persian poet of merit.

The other personage, Malik 'Ali son of Shams, seems to have been an officer of note. He is, however, not mentioned in historical works. Mahmūd Bilgrāmi quotes some documents dated A.H. 874 (1469-70 A.D.) in which one Amīr Shams, son of 'Ali is mentioned as the father of the issuing officer Amīr Shaikhan. It is likely that this person is identical with 'Ali, son of Shams whose name may have been wrongly read.

IV. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION FROM THE SAME PLACE

The fourth and the last inscription of Ibrahim Shāh is carved on a slab fixed in the eastern wall to the right of the entrance of the above-mentioned Jāmi’ mosque of Bilgram. Unfortunately, this tablet is also fragmentary and badly damaged, the main portion of the text having been lost. In its present condition it measures 38 by 31 cm. and contains a record of three lines in Arabic executed in relief in bold Nashī characters of a fairly high order.

It is an interesting record both from the historical and palaeographical points of view. Mahmūd Bilgrāmi quotes on the basis of his eye-reading of this epigraph assigns it to Sultan Ibrahim, grandson of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna. But there is absolutely no basis, palaeographical or textual, for such an assertion. The present inscription is evidently a Sharqi record, most probably pertaining to the reign of Ibrahim, since in general outline of its calligraphy it has close resemblance to the previous record. In the absence of a complete text, it is not possible to say anything definite about the main purport of the record. It, however, seems to refer to the Jāmi’ mosque of the qasba of Bilgram and mentions the name Daulatyar, the royal Sharībdār.

The extant text has been deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate XIII (e)

…………..……………………………………….(1)
……………………………………………….…………………..(2)
………………………………………………………………….(3)
……………….……………………………………..(4)

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The Jāmi’ mosque of the qasba of Bilgram during the reign of the king.

(2) ………..the sultan, may his kingdom be perpetuated …………..

(3) Daulatyar, the Sharībdār-i-khās, may (Allāh) strengthen his position………………..
Plate XIII

(a) Fragmentary Sharqi record from Bilgram (p. 46)

Scale: 1

(b) Another fragmentary Sharqi record from plate (p. 11)

Scale: 1
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No information is available about Malik Daulatyar, who was evidently a noble of high position entrusted with the duties of the royal shārābdar.1

Mahmūd Shāh

V. INSCRIPTION FROM THE SAME PLACE

The next five inscriptions of the present group pertain to the reign of Ibrāhīm’s son and successor Mahmūd who came to the throne in A.H. 839 (1436 A.D.). The latter’s reign was marked by expeditions against Kalpi, Chūnar, Orissa, and finally Delhi. He died in A.H. 861 (1456 A.D.).

The earliest of these records, from Bilgram, is now built into the southern wall in the verandah of the above Jāmī‘ mosque.2 The tablet measuring 92 by 28 cm. contains a record of two lines in Persian executed in relief in Nashk characters. The epigraph records the renovation in 1441-42 A.D. of some structure of unspecified nature by Malik Mānīk Bhaṭṭī of Bhatner, a companion of Khān-i-Āzam Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān Harīwī. It is difficult to ascertain the nature of the building since the exact finds pot or the building to which it originally belonged is not quite certain. But according to Mahmūd Bilgrāmī, the loose tablet originally belonged to the Dārul‘-Adālat (court) from whose ruins it was recovered and shifted to the house of Qādir Yūsuf Bilgrāmī at the time when he wrote his book.3

The inscription reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

1) تجدید شد این عمارت [در] عهده میمون شهنشاه عمود ابن ابراهیم شام بسی اجل

ملك مانک بختی

2) بهنیبری یار خان اعظم فتحخان ابن فتحخان هریوی سنن خسی و ازبعن ولیامیة

TRANSLATION

(1) This building was renovated [in] the auspicious reign of the emperor Mahmūd, son of Ibrāhīm Shāh, through the great efforts of Malik Mānīk Bhaṭṭī

(2) of Bhatner, a companion of Khān-i-Āzam Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān Harīwī (in the) year five and forty and eight hundred (A.H. 845=1441-42 A.D.).

Malik Mānīk, the renovator of the building, who evidently belonged to the Bhaṭṭī clan of Rajputs of Bhatner being unknown to history, our record is important in that it has preserved his name as well as the information that he was a Shārqi noble of eminence who enjoyed confidence and companionship of Khān-i-Āzam Fath Khān. The latter was evidently a son of Shāh-zāda Fath Khān Harīwī, a famous noble and general of Mubārak Shāh and Ibrāhīm Shāh. He held Kanauj on behalf of Mubārak Shāh until the latter’s death in A.H. 801 (1401-02 A.D.), in which year Mahmūd Tughluq of Delhi ousted him from that place.4 Apart from this, no further

1 For the office of the shārābdar, see A. Mahdi Husein, The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlāq (London, 1938), p. 220.
2 ARRE. 1958 59, No. D. 196. When the inscription was copied in 1958, the slab was lying loose.
4 Yabiyya Sirhindī, op. cit., p. 171.
information regarding the Shāhzāda is available. He might have died at some subsequent date in the reign of Ibrāhīm.

Khan-i-‘Azam Fath Khan, the son, was a trusted noble of Mahmūd Shāh and commanded the Shārqī army comprising thirty thousand cavalry and thirty elephants against Sulṭān Buhūl Lodi. In the severe battle that ensued in A.H. 856 (1452 A.D.), Daryā Khan Lodi, a partisan of Shārqī ruler having deserted him, Fath Khan was defeated. Rāi Karan, the Lodi governor of Shamsabad, severed the head of Fath Khan and sent it to Buhūl Lodi.1

V. INSCRIPTION FROM JAJMĀU

The second inscription of Mahmūd Shāh comes from Jajmau a village in the Kanpur District.2 The town is very ancient having given its name to Kanpur pargana and tehsil in the past, though it is now a decayed place standing on the bank of the Ganges about four miles to the east of Kanpur.3 The antiquity of this place is proved from its mention by Al-Birūnī. It is also mentioned by Abū’l-Faḍl.4

The inscriptions tablet is set up in the wall to the right of the entrance of the tomb of ‘Alā’uddin Mahdūm Shāh. The saint is popularly believed to have accompanied Qutbū’d-Dīn Aibak.5 His tomb has been attributed to Firuz Shāh Tugluq evidently on the basis of the latter’s inscriptions to be found on the tomb itself and the adjoining mosque.6

The slab is apparently not in situ. In fact, it is reported to have been brought from some ruins nearby about fifty years back. Measuring 70 by 33 cm., it contains a record of three lines in Arabic executed in Thuluth characters after the fashion of the Tugluq inscriptions mentioned above. The record is unfortunately so badly damaged that it is not possible to make out its full text. The readable portion, however, seems to mention the construction in 1446-47 A.D. of a certain building by one Hāmūd, a descendant of the above-mentioned saint. The name of the calligraphist is Ḥāmid, son of ‘Abdullāh Wāhḥāb.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(a)

(1) ......... و شرع و الدين ... شيخ ....... ابن شيخ مشايخ ؟ غبات الحق و الشرع

(2) ... و الدين و ذي الله عن المعاصي أضف العباد حامد بن يرش شيخ إبراهيم ؟ ابن شيخ محمد

(3) ابن شيخ علاء الحق و الدين في

(4) عهد سلطان المعدل الجواد حمود شاه ابن إبراهيم شا. سلطان منه خمسين ؟

و نعمانه كاظم حامد عباسالله أب

1 Niẓāmu’d-Dīn, op. cit., p. 153; Firghta, op. cit., p. 175; ‘Abdu’llāh, Tūrkhā-i-Dādī (Allahabad, 1964), p. 15, where it is mentioned that Fath Khan Harwi was buried at Narea near Delhi. In PASB, 1873, p. 201 and T. W. Beale, Miṣāḥa’l-Tawārīkh (Lucknow, 1867), p. 127, is published the reading of an inscription from Kānnauj of the time of Husain Shāh Shārqī, recording the construction of an arch by Sayyid Rājā, son of Jālāl, under the supervision of Shāh Harī (Shah Harī?) Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān, in A.H. 881 (1478-77 A.D.).


5 Nevill, op. cit., p. 300.

6 For these inscriptions and also one of ‘Alā’uddin Khaljī appearing on the ‘Idgāb, see aRIE, op. cit., Nos. D, 314, 315, 318.
(a) Damaged Shārqi record, dated A.H. 550, from Jajmāu (p. 48)

(b) Another Shārqi inscription, dated A.H. 845, from Hathgaon (p. 49)
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SHARQIS FROM BIHAR AND UTTAR PRADESH

TRANSLATION

(1) . . . . wa’sh-Shar’ wa’d-Din . . . . Shaikh . . . . . . . . . . . . son of Shaikh of the Shaikhs? Ghiyâthu’l-Haq wa’sh-Shar’

(2) wa’d-Din, may Allâh be pleased with him. The builder (is) the weakest of creatures Hammâd, son of Shaikh Îbrâhîm, son of Shaikh Muhammed, son of Shaikh ‘Alâ’u’l-Haq wa’d-Din, in the

(3) reign of the just sultan ‘Abdu’ll-Mujâhid Mahmut Shâh, son of Îbrâhîm Shâh, the sultan, in the year fifty and eight hundred (A.H. 850=1446-14 A.D.). The writer (is) Hâmid, (son of) ‘Abdu’ll-Wahhâb.

The personages mentioned in the record do not find any mention in contemporary historical works. Likewise, no information regarding the writer of the epigraph named Hâmid, son of ‘Abdu’ll-Wahhâb, is available.

VI. INSCRIPTION FROM HATHGAON

The third inscription of Mahmut Shâh is from Hathgaon in the Fatehpur district. Hathgaon is a small town situated on the old Mughal road leading from Fatehpur to Kara at a distance of 18 miles from the former. It is a place of considerable antiquity, as is testified by the height of the main site, which has been raised by gradual accumulation of old building materials.

The loose inscritional tablet originally reported to have been recovered from a field is said to have been first kept for sometime in a small mosque. It is now placed at the headside of the grave of Burhân Shahid situated near the historical Jaichandi mosque of the town, and measures 60 by 32 cm. The exact findspot of the slab, however, is not certain. According to Führer followed by Nevill, the inscription belonged to the tomb of some person whose name is given as Yusuf. But evidently Führer has not given the correct purport of the record.

The inscription is badly damaged due to wear and tear of time and constant exposure to the elements of nature; hence, its complete decipherment is not possible. The text consisting of five verses in Persian, executed in Nush characters in relief, seems to mention the completion of an enclosed garden, a well, a pond and a pool by Fâth Khan, son of Fâth Khan, the muqti, in 1450 A.D. under the active superintendence of Yusuf.

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XIV(b)

1 The saint and his descendants, viz. Shaikh Ghiyâthu’l-Haq wa’d-Din and Shaikh Muhammed are mentioned in the Tughluq records referred to above.
TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of the emperor Māhmūd by name[?] ................ for ever.
(2) May blessings and greetings be on Mustafā! May salutations and peace be upon him!
(3) .......... a well, a tank and a pool (and) an enclosed garden were constructed by the Malik of good reputation
(4) who is the muğfî', (namely) Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān; (the work was carried out) through the efforts of Yūsuf ........ Qiwām.
(5) It was completed on the 2nd of Rajab (in the A.H. year) fiftyfour and eight hundred (2nd Rajab A.H. 854-11th August 1450 A.D.).

The identity of Yūsuf is difficult to establish. But Fath Khān, son of Fath Khān, the muğfî', is none other than Fath Khān Hariwil who has been already referred to in the preceding lines. The inscription thus furnishes additional information that the vicinity of Hathgaun, the findspot of the record, was included in the iqṭā' of Fath Khān.

VII-VIII. INScriptions FROM BIHAR SHARIF

The last two inscriptions which have been already noticed by Blochmann and others, come from Bihar Sharif and are important both from historical and palaeographical points of view. The first of these epigraphs is fixed in the facade of a mosque in the Pahārpūr mahalla, while the other is now in the Amber darqāb.1

The Pahārpūr mosque inscription is engraved on a slab of stone measuring 10 cm. by 22 cm. and consists of seven verses in Persian preceded by religious texts in Arabic, which are inscribed in two lines. It records the construction of a Jāntī' mosque in 1455 A.D., during the reign of Māhmūd Shāh. The text does not specifically give the name of the builder who is simply mentioned by such titles as the champion and refuge of the world, the generous chief (sāde) etc., but in view of the other inscription to be studied next, we would not be far from truth to state that he is none other than Malik Nasir, the governor. The record sincerely invoking the spiritual help of the celebrated Bihar saint Sharafu'd-Din Maneri is composed by Ahmad, who has been identified by Professor Askari with another eminent saint of Bihar, Ḥadrat Ahmad Bakhshī Langari-Daryā.2

The epigraph, executed in graceful Vacch of Bihar variety has been read as under:---

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

2 Askari, op. cit., p. 18.
3 Askari, op. cit.; Diwakar, op. cit., p. 394.
4 Blochmann, op. cit. reads 'Wālin'.

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficient, the Compassionate. He (the Prophet) upon whom be peace has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, there is a house for him in Paradise.'

Great God! In the time of Nāṣir-il-Dūnyā-wa-Dīn (defender of the world and the Faith), Shāh Mahmūd, son of Ibrāhīm, the upright,

the hero of the world, the shelter of the kingdom, the noble chief (ṣadr), received guidance to undertake this charitable act through the bounty of the Lord of the Universe.

He built such a Jāmi' mosque on the earth that its arch [and] its foundation touch (respectively) the moon and the Fish.⁵

(2) Its pulpit and niche due to their extremely exalted position, have received such a lustre that even the Holy Spirit (Gabriel) admires them,

and this voice from the world above comes down continuously saying, 'These are the eternal gardens, enter them for ever.'³

Wednesday, the twenty-seventh of the month of fasting (i.e. Ramādān) in the year (A.H.) eight hundred and fifty-nine was the date (of its construction) (27th Ramadān A. H. 859–10th September 1455 A.D.).

For the perpetuity of his bounty (i.e. the mosque), Aḥmad sincerely prays to the holy soul of Shaikh Shara'u'l-Haqq wa'd-Dīn for help.⁴

The tablet bearing the other of the above two records of Mahmūd Shāh and the last of the group is now lying horizontally on two small pillars in the Amber dargāh at Bihar Sharif and measures 1·25 m. by 40 cm.⁵ Unfortunately, the text consisting of two lines of writing is badly damaged and the letters have become indistinct. This fact coupled with the manner in which the letters are inscribed one upon another has rendered its decipherment extremely difficult. Blochmann who first noticed this record was able to decipher it in parts,⁶ while subsequently Prof. 'Askari deciphered with difficulty some more portion.⁷

Apparently not in situ, the inscription is originally from the Paharpur Jāmi' mosque as recorded by Blochmann.⁸ Like the previous epigraph from the same mosque, this inscription records the construction of a Jāmi' mosque in 1455 A.D., during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh. It also gives the name of Malik Naṣr, son of Bahā, muqti' of the dīq of Bihar as the builder.

The language of the record is mainly Persian verse and the style of writing Naskh. The text is composed by one Faḍlu'llah about whom nothing is known.

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1 Blochmann, op. cit., reads 'هشمد'. For Blochmann's remarks on 'هشمد', see PASB, op. cit.
2 With 'ج' between 'طاق' and 'نپیاز', the hemistich can be taken to illustrate 'لاف و نشر مرتقب'.
3 Cf. Qur'ān, chapter XCVIII, verse 8.
4 Blochmann, op. cit., wrongly translates it as: 'Aḥmad (the Prophet) sincerely (baṣā) desires to protect this religious building for the sake of the pure spirit of Shaikh Shara'u'l-Haqq wa'd-Dīn.'
7 'Askari, op. cit., p. 18, fn. 6.
8 Ibid. takes it to be from another congregational mosque, but in view of the date etc., Blochmann's view (op. cit., p. 305) seems to be more probable.
It has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XV (b)*

(1) [بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم] (the compassionate) upon whom he peace has said. One who builds a mosque for Allah, Allah will build for him a house like it in paradise.

The Jāmi' mosque, by the grace of the Almighty God and through the blessings of Mustafā, the master of authority and dignity,

was constructed during the reign of a king, the fame of whose justice covers the west and the east from the back of the Fish to the moon.

he who is the son of Ibrāhīm ʿAṣāw, the just, the exalted, (namely) the sun of the empire, king of the world, Majmūd ʿAṣāw.

(2) The construction of this worthy edifice was undertaken by Nasīr, son of Bahā, the muqtiṣ of the shay of Bihār, the protector and lover of justice,

the most noble, illustrious and rightly guided, who through such generosity gathered good fortune through deliberation..............

(The mosque has) the purity of the Holy house (at Jerusalem) and the chastity of the Sacred house (of Kaʿba). He constructed a mosque like the mansion of the lofty audience-hall.

The creature Faḍu'llah wrote that twenty-seventh from the (days of) fasting (Ramadān), (AH.) eight hundred and fifty-nine was the date and the year and the month (27th Ramadān A.H. 859-10th September 1455 A.D.).

Nasīr, son of Bahā, the builder of the Jāmi' mosque and governor of Bihār, is also mentioned in another inscription of the same ruler, dated A.H. 847 (1443 A.D.), from the same place, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

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1 Thus in the note-page.
2 The reading of these lines, due to the damaged writing, is doubtful.
3 *ETAPS*, 1935 and 56, pp. 11-12 (pl. IIIa).
BAHMANI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR DISTRICT

BY A. A. KADIRI

So far, the inscriptions from Raichur have been published in three groups: Mr. E. Rehatsek studied without illustrations three 'Ādil Shāhī records, the photographs of which were sent to him by Dr. Burgess. Two of these as well as nine more including two records of Māhmūd Bāhnānī—all of which were later on removed to the State Museum, Hyderabad—were edited by K. M. Aḥmad, and one badly damaged inscription of Muḥammad Shāh I Bāhnānī, also housed in the said museum, was noticed by Dr. Z. A. Desai. Lastly texts of almost all the available inscriptions of Raichur including those of the above-mentioned epigraphs were published without illustrations except in very few cases in an Urdu work on the history of Bijapur by Maulvi Bashirudd-Dīn Aḥmad, whose readings, however, are full of mistakes.

The office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur, copied in 1957 the Raichur inscriptions except two or three, rubbings of which could not be prepared due to adverse weather. Prior to that the Archaeological Department of the H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions, had copied in all thirty-four inscriptions from Raichur in 1929-30.

Raichur doāb, the fertile tract between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, has an extremely rich history from the earliest times. Apart from its agricultural and mineral resources, it was on account of its strategic importance a cause of continuous quarrels between the Western Chaulukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and later on between the Yādavas and the Hoyasalas. It first came under the Muslims in 1313 A.D., when Malik Nāib, 'Alāʾ-ud-Dīn Khalji's general, after vanquishing the last Yādava king pushed on further to the south, captured Gulbarga and annexed the tract after reducing its chief fortresses Raichur and Mudgal. Very little of its history in the subsequent few years is known, but we hear of the founder of the Vijayanagara dynasty, Harihara I, having been made governor of Bellary and a part of the doāb by Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, sometime after 1327 A.D. The region must have continued under Tughluq authority, since as late as in 1345 A.D. we find that the amīrān-i sāda of Raichur and Mudgal were ordered by the Sultān to accompany the troops to Gujarāt. It is natural that Bāhnānī kingdom, established in 1347 A.D.,

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6. These have been only enumerated in G. Yazdani, Report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions, 1929-30, p. 51, App. H.
10. Ibid., p. 29.
also inherited the doāb which towards the close of the reign of ʿAlāʿudd-Dīn Bahman Shāh, its founder, was put along with the capital Gulbarga in charge of Malik Saifudd-Dīn Ghori. The first clash between the Bahmani and the Vijayanagara arms over the region took place in about 1362 A.D. in the reign of Muhammad Shāh I and ever since, the doāb continued to be a bone of contention between the Bahmanīs and their successors in the region, the ʿĀdil Shāhīs on one hand and the Vijayanagara kings on the other. till Rāmarāya was defeated and killed in the battle of Raksasatagadi in 1565 A.D. As there is no complete accord between the various authorities regarding the Bahmanī-Vijayanagara conflict over the doāb, and particularly since the Arabic and Persian inscriptions set up during this period at Raichur have not been taken into account by the leading authorities on this subject, it would not be out of place to give a brief résumé of the conflict in the light of the said epigraphical evidence.

Sometime after the accession of Muhammad Shāh I, Bukka I of Vijayanagara demanded the doāb from the former on the ground that it had always belonged to the southern state. The former refusing to comply, Bukka invaded the region in 1362 A.D. and is said to have temporarily captured Raichur along with six other forts on the Bahmani border. However, according to some authorities, the Rāya had captured only Mudgal, but retreated leaving fifty elephants and other booty when Muhammad I appeared. Subsequently, the Vijayanagara army was defeated again somewhere near the village of Kautalam in 1366 A.D., and Muhammad I marched victorious to the city of Vijayanagara, but later retreated, pursued by Bukka’s forces which were, however, attacked and repelled, once the Bahmani king was in his own land this side of the Tungabhadra. After this the Rāya appealed for peace which lasted until the death in 1375 A.D. of the Bahmani monarch.

The short reign of Muhammad I’s successor Mujāhid Shāh (1375-78 A.D.) was marked by a war of nerves against Vijayanagara. In the early days of his rule, Mujāhid wrote to Bukka to fix the Tungabhadra as the frontier and transfer the fort of Bankapur to him, to avoid future frictions over the doāb. But Bukka reiterated his claim over the region and also demanded the fifty elephants captured by Muhammad Shāh I. This resulted in the expedition of Mujāhid against Vijayanagara. On the death of Mujāhid, Harisara II, the new Rāya, crossed the Tungabhadra and laid siege to Raichur, but eventually raised it and retired across the Tungabhadra, on learning of the unanimity with which Muhammad Shāh II was enthroned in 1378 A.D.

Thereafter the two kingdoms reigned in peace till 1398 A.D., when the Vijayanagara army again crossed the Tungabhadra and advanced simultaneously against Mudgal, Raichur and other Bahmani possessions in the doāb. Fruız Bahmani who had by this time ascended the throne, defeated Harisara II, made him pay ten lacs of huns as tribute and appointed Faulād Khān, son of Šafdar Khan Sitāni as the governor of the doāb, hitherto a part of the Gulbarga province from which it was now separated.

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1 Sherwānī, op. cit., p. 62.
4 Shershāhī, op. cit., p. 289-90.
6 Ibid., pp. 119-23.
7 Ibid., pp. 124, 126; Haig, op. cit., p. 385.
8 Ibid., p. 153.
9 Ṭabāṭābāī, Burjdhaw-Maʿdḥir (Hyderabad, 1938) pp. 42, 45 gives 30 or 33 lacs takils.
10 Haig, op. cit., p. 389.
However, some authorities have questioned the success of this expedition. Likewise they have also expressed their doubt on the success of Firuz in his second campaign of 1408 A.D., against Vijayanagara. From the statement of Tabataba, Professor Venkataramanayya is inclined to infer that the Sultan's campaign was confined to the Deodurg till in the north-west of the Raichur district, from which he returned to his capital. According to him, it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the events of the campaign in view of the conflicting evidence of the Muslim historians, but at the same time he finds it hard to believe that Firuz could reach the city of Vijayanagara without any opposition. According to Dr. Joshi also, the doab had remained in possession of the Vijayanagara king after this campaign and even Firuz's third campaign of 1417-20 could not wrest the doab from his hands. As against this, the success of the campaign is vividly described by Firirsha the much maltreated historian whose account does not carry any weight with these authorities in the absence of corroborative evidence of more trustworthy character. That Firirsha was more truthful in his account of the campaign is more than implied by the evidence of an inscription included in the present study (No. 1). This epigraph refers to the construction of a mosque under royal orders in A.H. 809 (1406-07 A.D.) after the conquest of the fort of Manvi, the findspot of the record. This clearly shows that Firuz had not only not confined his attack to the north-west part of the Raichur district but had also recaptured the doab towards its south-western limits, where Manvi is situated. It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that Firuz had gone far beyond Manvi, and Firirsha may be right in making him go right up to Vijayanagara. Also, the 1417 A.D. campaign does not seem to have much to do with the doab, which in all probability remained with the Bahmanis and not in the possession of Vijayanagara as stated by Dr. Joshi. For, if the status quo of the second campaign was maintained, the doab should, as seen above, have remained in Bahmanis possession and moreover, if the doab were in possession of Vijayanagara, where was the need for Deva Raya to re-establish his authority over that region at this time as asserted by Prof. Venkataramanayya? Professor Venkataramanayya has also expressed doubts about Deva Raya's being forced to sue for peace and agree to pay tribute as stated by Firirsha. That Firirsha is not as irresponsible for this statement as the learned writer would like us to believe, is also indicated by the Sanskrit version of a bilingual record, originally from a step-well at Bidad and now in the State Museum, Hyderabad. Dated the 21st September 1444 A.D. it also speaks of Deva Raya as paying tribute to Ahmad Shah I. Also, according to Tabataba, Raichur along with Cheul and their dependencies were granted to Da'id Khan in A.H. 837 (1433-34 A.D.). Two years later taking advantage of the Bahman prince Mahmud Khan's rebellion, the doab was again attacked and Mudgal fort captured by the Vijayanagara forces, but the Mudgal fort along with others was again taken back by Ahmad II in about A.H. 841 (1437-38 A.D.).

The doab thus seems to have continued to be ruled by Bahmanis upto 1443 A.D. In that year, Deva Raya II crossed the Tungabhadra and captured Mudgal, sending his sons against Raichur and Bankapur. Ultimately, however, the Raya was compelled to sue for peace which was concluded on the promise on his part to pay up all the arrears of tribute and effect cessation of hostilities.

1 Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 204-55, 283.
2 Ibid., pp. 255, 285.
3 Ibid., p. 285.
4 Ibid., p. 255.
5 Ibid., p. 287.
6 Ibid., p. 289.
7 For this inscription, see p. 82 supra.
8 Tabataba, op. cit., p. 71.
9 Ibid., p. 81.
10 Sherwani, op. cit., p. 238.
11 Ibid., p. 239.
Anyway, we hear next of the doab in 1492 A.D. when Qasim Barid, being alarmed at the growing power of Yusuf Adil Khan, invited the Vijayanagara king to attack Raichur and Mudgal in the doab which then formed part of Adil Khans jagir. Between 1443 A.D. and 1492 A.D., the Bahmani do not appear to have had any difficulty in the doab, for we have at least three inscriptions at Raichur itself (Nos. 2-4), dated A.H. 273 (1468-69 A.D.). A.H. 374 (1469-70 A.D.) and A.H. 945 (1489-90 A.D.) acknowledging the Bahmani sovereignty. The said two forts were lost to Narayana Naya in 1492 A.D. for a while, but were recovered in the same year by Mahmud who had come to the rescue of Yusuf Adil Khan and granted to the latter. Anyway, there appears little doubt that the doab mostly remained in the possession of the Bijapur governors, first under the nominal authority of the Bahmanis and later on under their independent rule. We have at least two inscriptions at Raichur, mentioning (Isma'il) Adil Khans which are dated 1510-11 and 1513-14 A.D. Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara is said to have again invaded the doab in 1512 A.D. and captured Raichur which could not be defended by Isma'il Adil Khans, then a minor. These authorities also speak of Isma'il's futile attempt in A.H. 927 (1521 A.D.) to recover the doab from Vijayanagara. But these accounts seem to be in contradiction at least partially, with the epigraphical evidence. For, we have near Raichur itself an inscription (No. 6) dated A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.), containing the text of a qawwilima issued by Maliku Sharq Ambar. There is one more record (No. 7) acknowledging Mahmud Bahmani's sovereignty and Isma'il Adil Khan's governorship in A.H. 919 (1513-14 A.D.). There is yet another, which though unfortunately undated, was set up in the time of Isma'il's governorship and obviously belongs to about this time (No. 8). This would either mean that Krishnadevaraya was not able to consolidate his hold over the doab if at all he had captured it, in 1512 A.D. or at the most, the region may have changed hands more than once between 1512 A.D. and 1520 A.D. when Isma'il Adil Khan, coming to power after the overthrow of the regent Kamal Khan, is said to have made an unsuccessful bid to regain the area. But the Bijapur king was able to reduce the doab without much difficulty in 1530 A.D. after the death of Krishnadevaraya.

Approximately from this time onwards, the dispute over the Raichur doab was carried on between the Vijayanagara empire and the independent kingdom of Bijapur, since the Bahmani rule had come to a virtual end with the death of Mahmud Shah Bahmani in 1518 A.D., though their overlordship continued to be acknowledged, however nominally, till about 1538 A.D.

Seven of the eight inscriptions studied below range in their dates from A.H. 809 (1406-07 A.D.) to A.H. 919 (1513-14 A.D.), while the eighth inscription which has been mutilated can be easily assigned, as will be discussed at the proper place, to about A.H. 918 or so. These epigraphs apart from throwing light on the Raichur doab affairs, as discussed in the preceding lines, offer valuable information regarding the career of certain noblemen not to be found in historical works.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The earliest inscription is a new record of Firuz Shah Bahmani (1387-1422 A.D.) and comes from Manvi, the headquarters of the tulaq of the same name in Raichur district. The slab bearing
the epigraph, reported to be fixed above the door of a mosque, measures 2 ft. 6 in. long, and contains eight lines of writing in Persian verse cut in relief in Naskh characters. It is an important record in that it provides fresh evidence about the doubts raised by some modern authorities as to whether the Bahmani king's campaigns in the death of Sher Shah Suri. The epigraph refers to the conquest of the fort, evidently by Manasa, by Muhammad. Further, Bahl Bakhsh Bahmani who, it further states, placed it in charge of Malik Safdar the chief of chieftains. It also records that Muhammad Zahir Agha constructed a mosque on the site of a temple in 1394 A.D.

It is difficult to ascertain the identity of Malik Safdar who received the charge of the fort and perhaps its dependencies. It may be pointed out in connexion, that according to Frishta, Faiz Khan, son of Safdar, Khan Sitan was appointed governor of the Raichur doab in 1398 A.D., or about a decade before the date of our inscription. Likewise, nothing is known about Muhammad Zahir Agha, the builder of the mosque.

An eye reading of this inscription was published by Bashiruddin Ahmad, but it is hopelessly corrupt as will be seen from the text quoted below:

Text

Plate XVI (a)

1) بحمد الله يورود بز ابطن له سجد بين معار
2) بعصر ميضان لسور لشاء به دين يتم خسمه لمدار
3) جوان ملك فزير و بتسي
4) نكه در باغ دنبس دو توهار
5) بحال قيا ه بلا يبرين اب
6) بناي نبات تا ناوه مه ناه
7) بناي ساز تا مسجد سربت
8) بناي غردو جون نباعت

2 Bashiruddin Ahmad, op. cit., has "بسباس ".
3 Ibid. omits them two hemistiches.
4 Ibid. reads "دن".
5 Ibid. reads "پس".
6 Ibid. reads "پن".
7 Ibid. reads "پماند" and given in date A.H. 780.
8 Ibid. reads "ش".
(1) He (Allāh) is Omniscient.

(2) Praise be to Allāh that by the decree of the Nourisher, a mosque has been converted out of a temple as a sign of religion.

(3) in the reign of the world-conquering emperor, the king who is the asylum of Faith and possessor of the crown,

(4) whose kingdom is young (i.e. flourishing), viz. Firūz Shāh Bahmani, who is the cause of exuberant spring in the garden of religion,

(5) Abūl-Fath, the king, who conquered this fort by the firm determination of his mind in a single attack (lit. on horseback).

(6) After the victory of the emperor, the chief of chiefs, Sāfдар (lit. the valiant commander) of the age, received (the charge of) the fort.

(7) The builder of this noble place of prayer is Muhammad Zahir Aqūl, the pivot of the Faith.

(8) He constructed in the year eight hundred and nine from the Migration of the Chosen (prophet Muhammad) (A.H. 809-1406-07 A.D.) this Kaʿba-like memento.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The second inscription was found in the fort of Raichur.¹ The two huge epigraphical tablets said to have originally belonged to the Kumānī gate, no more extant, are now fixed inside the gate called Kātī-Darwāza. Obviously due to their exposure to elements of nature, the tablets have weathered and the writing therein slightly damaged in a few places. The upper slab measuring about 3'09 m. by 51 cm. is inscribed with two lines of writing, executed in bold Naskh of inferior order, containing the First Creed followed by a line in Persian purporting that the gate was constructed by Mallū Khān Hāfż in 1468-69 A.D. in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humayūn Shāh, son of Sultān Ṭāhir-ʿAlāʾ-ud-Dīn. The lower slab measuring 2'27 m. by 37 cm. contains a text of two verses in Persian engraved in the same hand, which merely invokes prayers for the edurance and propriety of the structure.

Mallū Khān Hāfż who was also responsible for setting up at Raichur three more inscriptions, dated A.H. 874 (1469-70 A.D.) and A.H. 885 (1470-71 A.D.), two of which will be studied next, was surnamed "Deccani."² A noble of high rank, he played an important part in the reigns of five Bahmani sovereigns, namely, Abūmād II, Humayūn, Nizām Shāh, Muḥammad III and Maḥmūd.³ His father’s name is given by Fīrūzta as Qaṣim Baig Saf Shīkan.⁴

According to Tabāṭabā, Abūmād I had devised and conferred the title of Mallū Khān for the sannadat-i-pasana, and his successor Abūmād II had also followed his father’s policy,⁵ but it is not clear from his account if the incumbent of that post under Abūmād II and Mallū Khān of our records are identical. Anyway, Mallū Khān Hāfż appears to be the one appointed by Abūmād II at whose death he, along with some other nobles, supported the cause of Ḥasan Khān to the throne, but fled the capital when Humayūn was acclaimed king. Mallū Khān went to Raichur but was

³ Yāzdānī, op. cit., p. 7, f.n. 3
⁵ Tabāṭabā, op. cit., p. 88.
subsequently won over and comforted by the queen-mother and was given charge of the Bidar fort. After the death in A.H. 886 (1481 A.D.) of Maḥmūd Gāwān who had held the territory of Bijapur, Malik Khān was made one of the lieutenants of Yūsuf Aḥūl Khān, who received the province of Bijapur. He is one of the prominent nobles who were absent on the occasion of the coronation of Maḥmūd and it was no doubt due to the great importance attached to these high personages that Malik Nāṣir Nizām-ud-Daulah Bahārī made a provision that when they arrived at Bidar the capital, the ceremony would be held again.

The text of the record under study is quoted below:

**TEXT**

Plate XVI (b)

(a) *Upper slab.*

(1) ла алю ла бурлус ла
(2) ۰ در عهد محمد بن همام بن شاه بن سلطان علاءالدين بن قرده خان اعظم
(3) ملي خان ۰ حافظ سنه تال و سبیع و ثمانی

(b) *Lower slab.*

(1) این در همانه در همه عالم کشاده باد
(2) اقبال و عز و دولت و [و] شادی مدام باد
(3) یارب ۰ میزید این در خان ز خان بین

**TRANSLATION**

(a) (1) The First Crew.

(2) In the reign of Muhammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, son of Sultan Aḥūl-Dīn (the gate was) constructed by Khān-i-Azam Malik Khān Hāż in the year (A.H.) eight hundred and seventy-three (A.H. 873 = 1468-69 A.D.).

(3) (1) May the gate be always open to the whole world! May the enemy be under the dust in this gate!

(2) O Lord! May the gate be never bereft of such a Khān! May he always be prosperous, humble, fortunate and happy!

**INSCRIPTION NO. 3**

The third inscription, dated 1169-70 A.D., is found over the inner side of the second gate of the Makki-Ltwaža of the Raichur fort. The inscriptive slab measures 2:13 m. by 33 cm. and contains only one line of writing in Persian executed in relief in Naskh characters. The record

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1 Tabātābā, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
2 Firdhwa, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 561.
5 Al-Abbād, *op. cit.*, p. 333. omits these words.
mentions the construction of the gate by the same Mallū Khān Ĥāfiz in the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh. The text of this inscription also was published by Baghīru'd-Din.\textsuperscript{1}

Its text reads as follows:—

\begin{center}
\textbf{TEXT}
\end{center}

\textit{Plate XVII (a)}

\begin{center}
\begin{prolong}
در عهد سلطان محمد شاه باکردخان اعظم ملو خان حافظ سلّه اربع سبعین و ثمانیا
\end{prolong}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textbf{TRANSLATION}
\end{center}

In the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, the construction (of this gate) was carried out by Khān-i-Ā'zam Mallū Khān Ḥāfiz, in the year (A.H.) eight hundred and seventyfour (A.H. 874-1469-70 A.D.).

\begin{center}
\textbf{INSCRIPTION NO. 4}
\end{center}

The fourth inscription is engraved on a slab measuring 40 by 76 cm. which is fixed into the ground in the park called Mahbūb-Gulshan on the outskirts of the town of Raichur.\textsuperscript{2} It consists roughly speaking of six lines of Persian prose written in Naḵḵ characters of an inferior type and refers to the same Khān-i-Ā'zam Mallū Khān Ḥāfiz as the builder of some structure in 1480-81 A.D. during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. It is difficult to establish the exact nature of the construction, since no data are available about the original findspot of the inscription.

Its text has been deciphered as follows:—

\begin{center}
\textbf{TEXT}
\end{center}

\textit{Plate XVII (b)}

\begin{center}
\begin{prolong}
(1) در عهد
(2) افضل سلطانين
(3) محمد شاه بن همايونشاه
(4) باکردخان اعظم
(5) ملو خان حافظ
(6) سبّه خمسة و ثمانينو ثمانیا
\end{prolong}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{1} Baghīru'd-Din Ahmad, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 316.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{ARIE}, \textit{op. cit.}, No. D, 156; Baghīru'd-Din Ahmad, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 315; Yazdī, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 31, App. H, No. XXXIII.
\textsuperscript{3} The words are not written in regular order in a line; for example "بّن سلطانين" and "بّن" of the third line is written between the first and second lines.
\textsuperscript{4} Baghīru'd-Din Ahmad, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 315. reads 'من'
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Ibid.} reads 'لمانون مایه'.
(a) Bahmani inscription, dated A.H. 874, from Raichur (p. 60)

(b) Another record, dated A.H. 885, same place (p. 60)
Debe de endowment, dated A.H. 904, from Raichur (p. 61)

Scale: 11
BAHMANI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR DISTRICT

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of
(2) the most excellent of the kings,
(3) Muḥammad Shāh, son of Ḥumāyūn Shāh,
(4) (this) was constructed by Khān-i-ʿAṭām.
(5) Mālli Khān Ḥāfiz,
(6) (in) the year (A.H.) eight hundred and eighty-five (A.H. 885=1480-81 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The fifth inscription is engraved on four slabs—the first measuring 2.05 m. by 30 cm. and the remaining three jointly measuring 5.85 m. by 19 cm.—which are fixed on the frieze over the open facade of the Daftari-Masjid, situated opposite the jail inside the Raichur fort.\(^1\) It consists of one line of Arabic and Persian prose written in ṹašk̡ characters of an inferior order. The letters on the first slab are larger in size than those on the remaining slabs, as is the case with inscription No. 7 of this group. The epigraph registers the deed of an endowment made by Malikūsh Sharq Malik Ḥājī, son of Sulaimān Qirmanī\(^2\) of 9 chāwars of land in the village Gabur in Raichur district—8 chāwars for the leader of prayers, the caller to prayers, etc., and 1 chāwar for the managing trustee of the mosque—and also of 40 shops in the city of Raichur near the monument for meeting the expenditure incurred on the mosque. It is dated 1498-99 A.D. Its text has been read as under:

TEXT

**Plate XVIII**

(a) First slab.

احتجاج بن رضو القداح و العموة على سيدنا محمد و الام بيمن إما بعد وقف كرد و تصدص نعوم و رائفعا لمشرش الله ملك قمراني ملك الأمازي وصر الملوك على الله الرحمن ملك حاجي بن سليمان قرماني

(b) Second slab.

[Prepare حافشان و إمام و موزن مسعود مسطور فيه هشت چاور زمين]

\(^1\) *ARIK*, op. cit., No. D, 139; Bashiruddin Ahmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-31. Though this as well as the next inscription do not mention the name of the then ruling Bahmani king Māhānād Shāh, they are included in the present study since they mention high officials who seem to have been in charge of the fort and the district.
(c) Third slab.

جَهَلَ ذَكَانٌ مَوْصُوَفٍ مَعُودٌ وَقَدٌ درَوَادُور دَرْ جَنَبُ مسْجِدٍ مَعْلُو مَكَّ أَزْتَعِمْرِ وَرَوْحَنْ جَرَاغ
وَ شِرْفُ وَ سَيْرُ إِمْصَالٍ وَقْلِي صَحِيحٍ شَرِيعَيْ وَالَّيْسُ رُكَّ دَفْ وَقُفُّ هَا لَمَتْ بَرْ أَنْثَى بَادٍ كَه
مُطِلَّ شوْد

(d) Fourth slab.

وَإِرَّيْنَ وَقَفَتْ وَنِمْرَ وَتِبْدِيلٍ إِنْ نُمِيْدُ كَا نَقِلَ آلِهُ تَبْارَكَ وَتَعَالَيْنَ مَعَ هُمْ كَتَابِه
مُنِعَ لِلْعَيْرُ مَعْتَدَ أَلِيمٌ مُرْدَدَ مدْحَا سَهَنَ أَرْعَ وَتَسِمَعَيْه

TRANSLATION

(c) Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds, and salutations be on our leader (the Prophet) Muḥammad and on all his progeny. Coming to the point, by way of seeking the pleasure of Allāh, the Malik al-Shaʿr (who is) dependent upon Allāh the Merciful, Malik Hājī, son of Sulaimān Qirmānī, dedicated and gave in charity a piece of nine chāvārs of land in Gabūr

(b) in the jurisdiction of the district of Raichur, for the huffāz (those who have learnt the Qurʾān by heart), the iʿāmār (the leader of prayers) and the muʾadhhdhīn (the caller for prayers) of the said mosque. (Of these), eight chāvārs of land is meant for the hāfīq, the iʿāmār and the muʾadhhdhīn, and one chāvar of land for the mutawalli. Likewise, he also endowed

(e) forty shops described and defined, situated in Raichūr by the side of the said mosque, to meet the expenditure of repairs, oil for lamps, mattresses and all other heads of expenditure sanctioned by religion in connection with a pious bequest. And the testator has put forth a condition that curve be on that person who is aware (of this endowment) and

(d) knowingly makes any change or appropriation in this (bequeathed property); he will become in accordance with what has been said by Allāh the Exalted and the Glorious in the Irrevocable book (i.e. Qurʾān), the ‘forbidder of good, transgressor and sinful’.5 Dated in the year (A.H.) nine hundred and four (A.H. 904-1498-99 A.D.).

It will be observed that the village in which the endowed land was situated is spelt in the inscription as ‘Gābūr’. There are two places in Raichur district bearing this name: Gabur and Gabbur. The former is situated at a distance of about thirteen miles north-west of Raichur itself, while the other lies in the south-west part of the district, at a distance of about 2 miles from the Ginigera railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the Southern Railway. It is evident that Gabur near the district headquarters is the village intended in our record.

1 Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit., reads ""مصلى الوقفي"".
2 Ibid. reads """"شريف گیبر"".
3 Ibid. reads """"كرايت"".
4 This ""و"" appears to be redundant.
The sixth inscription is found at the village Maliabad in Raichur taluk. The inscriptionsal slab measuring 60 cm. by 1.71 m. is lying loose in the local mosque and contains a bilingual record of twentyone lines of writing executed in ordinary Naskh in relief and five lines incised in Kannada characters. Unfortunately, the writing is damaged and weather-beaten in the most part, the slab having remained exposed to elements of weather for a long time. It is therefore, a pity that it was not possible to decipher the full text of this extremely interesting record which forms the text of a gaulānā issued in 1613 A.D. by Malik u' Zh-Sharq Ma'il Abbar granting reductions in the levies on the village-communities like farmers, oil-sellers, weavers, tailors, etc., and prohibiting collection of the same by rates other than those laid down in the order. It also prohibits the practice of forced labour, unreasonable demand, etc. The gaulānā ends with an imprecation against those officials who might seek to disregard the said order. The Kannada portion which was kindly examined by the office of the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, is reported by him to consist of only the imprecatory portion with which late inscriptions usually end. The language of the Persian version is unsatisfactory.

This Malik u' Zh-Sharq Abbar who is incidentally mentioned in the next inscription also appears to be an official of note, though I have failed to trace any reference to him in historical records.

The text reads as under

**TEXT**

*Plate XIX*

(1) قول نامه ان حضرت ملكه الشرق ملكه عنير قايتا
(2) كاكان في الحجر و فاما الي بقالي الدهور در
(3) باب آنكه مزاوان و بقالي و حاكمان
(4) و روغكران و جمع اهل محترفه و جموري
(5) سكنه قصبه مليانه ک مال ديوان در سالنه بدين
(6) تنصير مزار عان أردن كم يك برتب بقالي دونك
(7) اول يك هون زيمک دوم يك برتب حاكمان هرکي يك
(8) هون زيمک ميدسان مامه صبارد جينيل بود معاف پنج جينيل
(9) قرار نه جينيل و روغكران سايين دونکه بود معاف نيم
(10) تكرک تيرب تئک و نيم بيكنو و بيكن زمين مردم كشت
(11) ياغنون و سباع هفت تئک خيات و جينيل أول جينيل دوم


* The reading of the underlined words is tentative.
EPigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement

(1) (This) qaulnāma (issued) by Ḥaḍrat-i-Malik al-Sharq Malik Ambar (which is) as steadfast
(2) as the engraving on stone (which will) endure till the existence of the world, is with
(3) regard to this that the cultivators, the grocers, the weavers, the oil-sellers and all of the
artisans and the entire population of the village Maliābād (should pay) the annual revenue as per
following
(6) schedule: Cultivators one partāp each; the grocers of two categories,
(7) the former, one large hūn and the other, one partāp; the weavers,
(8) one large hūn each; the irregular monthly (weavers) had to pay fourteen ītāls: they are
given exemption of five ītal (and)
(9) have to pay nine ītal: the oil-sellers (who) had to pay two tankas in the past (have)
exemption of half a
(10-11) tanka and have to pay one and a half tanka; for each chāwar (or) bigha land of the
people (land for residence?), gardens and cattle (i.e. land for grazing), seven tankas; the tailor
and the... one has to pay one ītal and the other
(12) three tankas; the first, one partāp, the second three tankas and the
third, two
(13) tankas; apart from this, from the artisans may be collected and forwarded later. Beyond
(14-15) this no oppression and illegal practice should be resorted to and the illegal gratifica-
tion.
(16) forced labour, and unauthorised demand are abolished. Zubūl... may be collected in accordance with the law. Neither anything in excess of this should be taken
nor should there be any leniency.
(a) Bahmani record, dated A.H. 918, from Raichur (p. 65)

(b) Another Bahmani inscription, same place (p. 66)
(17) shown. If anybody disobeys this qa'lu'nâma, resorts to tyranny and carries on
(18) illegal acts, curse be on him. If he is an infidel, an outcast
(19) he will become. (It is stressed) once again that having submitted to this qa'lu'nâma, (all)
should apply it to barren
(20) as well as habited places (i.e. everywhere), and follow this illustrious qa'lu'nâma.
(21) Dated the 14th of the month of Dhîl-Qa'da A.H. 918 (21st January 1513 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 7

The seventh inscription belongs to the reign of Sulṭân Mahmûd Shâh Bahmani.¹ It runs
into five couplets of Persian verse which are engraved on three tablets of unequal size—the upper
slab measuring 2.21 m. by 27 cm. and the lower two 2.1 m. by 19 cm. and 1.33 m. by 19 cm. respectively—which are fixed over the main entrance of the Yâk-Minâr mosque² situated outside the
fort of Raichur. The writing in the first slab is bolder than in the lower two slabs, while the radâf
portion in the middle slab is engraved transversely and vertically. The epigraph records the construc-
tion of a mosque by ‘Ambar in 1513 A.D. in the reign of Sulṭân Mahmûd Shâh Bahmani and
during the governorship of ‘Âdil Khân II by whom Ismâ‘îl ‘Âdil Khân, the second Bijapur ruler,
is meant. The ‘Ambar of this record is undoubtedly identical with Maliku’sh-Sharq ‘Ambar of
the previous record (No. 6). This inscription is an important record as it provides, as discussed
above in details, irrevocable evidence about the political status of Raichur in the early 16th
century.

The text is inscribed in Yâshkh characters and may be read as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate XX(a)

(1) بعهد سلطنت ناہ بھمین محمد
(2) جنین عماوت خوب لعیف شد موجود
(3) بدولات ملک صاحب مکر عادل تا یہ
(4) اس کے اسم عتیر و خلیش مثال عتیر بود
(5) تھام گشت عماوت بطلان محمد
(6) بسال نوزده و نهصد از میہ هجرت

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the reign of the Bahmani king, Mahmûd, such a graceful and fine edifice took shape.

(2) In the government of the Malik of the kingdom, ‘Âdil the second (i.e. Ismâ‘îl ‘Âdil), such a
(beautiful) edifice was constructed in this auspicious place.

² For a brief description of the mosque, see Yazdâni, op. cit., p. 13.
³ Bashîru’d-Din, op. cit., p. 322, reads ‘کرر’. 
⁴ Ibid. reads ‘کرر’; غرض کھڑ.
(3) It was built by one (who is) master of charity and generosity, who is named 'Ambar and whose disposition is as (pleasing as) ambergris.

(4) Whosoever builds a mosque in the world, in exchange for it, God bestows on him the reward of the highest heaven.

(5) In the year nine hundred and nineteen from the month of Migration (A.H. 919=1513-14 A.D.), this building was constructed through auspicious fortune.

INSCRIPTION NO. 8.

The tablet containing the last inscription of this group is now fixed over the entrance of the mosque of Hazāra Baig but is said to have been brought from behind the jail.\(^1\) It measures 1.12m. by 31 cm. and contains three lines of writing in Arabic engraved in relief in ordinary Naṣḥī letters. The epigraph is yet another record of Māhmūd Shāh Bahmani and refers to the construction of a mosque during the time of Ḫālid Khān II, that is to say, Ismā'īl Ḫālid of Bijapur, by Khwāja Sumbul. The letters in the date portion have been scrapped off and hence it is not possible to say exactly when the mosque was constructed. However, we may be able to fix the date approximately. There is at Bijapur a mosque popularly called Yūsuf's old Jāmi' mosque which was constructed according to the inscription on it by Khwāja Sumbul in Shuhur San 918 corresponding to A.H. 923 (1517 A.D.), in the reign of Māhmūd Bahmani.\(^2\) Now, our inscription was also set up in the reign of the same king who died in A.H. 924 (1518 A.D.) and therefore, the mosque must have been built before that date. Again, the present inscription was set up in the time of Ismā'īl Ḫālid who succeeded Yūsuf Ḫālid in A.H. 916 (1510-11 A.D.), and therefore, the mosque must have been constructed in or after A.H. 916. But since in the Bijapur inscription, Khwāja Sumbul is mentioned with the high designation of naib-i-qāibat of Ḫālid Khān, which title or for that purpose any other title is absent in the present record, it is reasonable to hold that our inscription was set up sometime before A.H. 923, the date of the Bijapur inscription. In other words, the mosque must have been constructed, soon after Ismā'īl's accession, in about A.H. 917-18 (1511-12 A.D.).

The inscription reads as follows:

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

(1) Bismillah ir-rhammah w-al-rahman w-al-raḥim
(2) Qud wafiq bi-hand al-masjid fi-Zaman al-sultan Majmūd Shāh w-al-an 'Abdal Khān
(3) Khwāja Abd al-ṭahif: zhif mināji nāshī al-akall khāwah sīnīl...

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allah. And praise be to Allah, and salutations upon the prophet of Allah.

(2-3) Verily, the humble and weak creature (who is) suppliant to the Creator of the universe, namely Khwāja Sumbul, was directed by God to construct this mosque in the reign of Sultan Māhmūd Shāh and (in the time or government) of Ḫālid Khān the second in... .

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\(^3\) Baghūr al-Dīn Ahmad, *op. cit.*, 104: la faṣl al-bani.
(a) Epitaph of Mubarak Shah Faruqi, A.H. 851, from Thalner (p. 67)

(b) Record of 'Adil Shah Faruqi IV, dated A.H. 997, from Asirgarh (p. 70)
SOME MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM KHANDESH

BY S. A. RAHIM

A few inscriptions of the Fārūqi kings of Khandesh were studied by me in the last issue of the journal. In this article I propose to study ten more inscriptions from that region.

The earliest of these inscriptions is to be found on the octagonal tomb of Mubarak Khan (1441-1457 A.D.), the fourth king of the line, situated at Thalner in the Shirpur taluka of Dhulia district in Maharashtra. The huge inscriptive tablet measuring 2.72 by 1.22 m. is fixed over the entrance gate of the tomb facing south and contains three lines of writing in Persian verse and Arabic prose executed in Thuluth characters of a fairly high order. The inscription has been twice noticed, but the reading given is not only hopelessly misprinted but full of errors. The record forms the epitaph of Mu'inud-Din Mubarak Shāh Fārūqi who is stated therein to have died in A.H. 861 (1457 A.D.). The main text which begins as well as ends with a Persian complet is in faultless Arabic. The epigraph is somewhat damaged. It has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

آيت منشور حكمت يفعل انت مابشئ
قد فقه وفات السالمة الأعظم الاعمال الاكبر اشرف خوانين
(1) سوره جاهاج صفات كله هو الله احد
(2) في عهد و اشجع خوانين في عصره الواصل إلى رحمة الله الملك الخان معين الحق
و السلطة و الدنية و الدين مباوك خان عادل ؤ .... الغفران
(3) في ثاني عشر رجب الدرجب سنة إحدى و ستين و ثمانية
جواندر ایمان کشادی راه یخشایش بیان
بر کتکوژان بحق مصلحت و مجتنی

TRANSLATION

(1) (Verse) 'Say: He. Allah. is One' is the chapter containing an epitome of (His) attributes. The verse diffused with wisdom is 'Allah does what He will.'

The death took place of the mighty, the just and the illustrious sultan, the noblest among the khans.

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1 Epigraphia Indiae—Arabic and Persian Supplement (E1AP) for 1961, pp. 49-58.
2 The border of the gate is also carved with Quranic verses.
3 The reading given in J. Burgess, Architectural and Archaeological Remains in Khandesh (Bombay, 1877), p. 31, has been repeated in H. Consens, Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency (Bombay, 1897), p. 57.
4 J. Horovitz 'List of the Published Mohammeidan Inscriptions of India', Epigraphia Indo-Modernica (EIM), 1909-11, p. 129, No. 1225.
5 Qur'ān, chapter CXII.
6 Ibid., chapter XIV, verse 27.
(2) of the time and the bravest among the khāqāns of the age, the one who attained the mercy of Allāh, the Beneficent Lord, namely Mu`inul-Haq wa`ṣ-Salṭanat wa`d-Dunyā wa`d-Dīn Mubārak Khān `Ādil, may he be forgiven,

(3) on the twelfth of the respected month of Rajab in the year (A.H.) eight hundred sixtyone (12th Rajab A.H. 861=5th June 1457 A.D.).

(Verse :) When Thou hast opened the door of Belief, closest not the path of pardon in the face of the sinners on behalf of the Chosen and Selected (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad)!

The above record is very important since it gives the full titles of Mubārak Shāh which are not given in historical works. But still more valuable is its evidence which settles the date of his death: according to Firīghta, Mubārak Shāh died on Friday, the 12th Rajab A.H. 861, but Ḥājji Dābir places the event in the last ten days of Jumādā II of the same year. The present record proves the correctness of the information of Firīghta.

The next inscription, also an epitaph, is carved on the four sides of the sarcophagus of the grave of a celebrated Fārūqī nobleman, Amīr Yār `Allī, situated to the east of the `Ādil Shāhī tombs on the outskirts of Burhanpur. Amīr Yār `Allī, al-Mughalī, as he is called by historians, and his brother Husám `Allī al-Mughalī were prominent nobles of the Fārūqī court and played an important role in the affairs of the kingdom towards the close of the fifteenth century. However, Firīghta and others do not contain any mention of Yār `Allī's career beyond giving his name. Fortunately we are told by Ḥājji Dābir that on the death of `Ādil Khān II in A.H. 909, Amīr Yār `Allī leading a strong party of the nobles supported Ghaznin Khān, son of Dā`ūd Khān, against the latter and proclaimed him the king. But after about a month Yār `Allī, with the help of two nobles of his group, deposed Ghaznin Khān in favour of his father Dā`ūd Khān contrary to the wishes of the remaining members of the party who left the capital and were given chase by Yār `Allī. After dispersing them, Yār `Allī camped for the night in the vicinity of Bāgh-i-Ārānghalā near Māhmūdpur and in the course of the night when he was greatly intoxicated, was murdered by one of his slaves. However, Ḥājji Dābir who correctly places the event in Dḥī’l-Qa`da A.H. 909 does not quote the day of the month. Our inscription supplies this omission and further corroborates the historian in the matter of Yār `Allī's martyrdom. Further, it gives the full names and titles of the said Amīr.

The inscription is executed in beautiful Thulū` characters and its text is in Arabic. The text, as has been stated above, is carved on the four sides of the grave of which the north, the east and the south ones contain religious texts comprising the traditions of the Prophet and a verse in Arabic, while that on the west side forms the epitaph proper stating that Malik Amīr Shujā’-u’d-Dīn Yār `Allī was martyred on the 13th May 1504 A.D. The text of the epitaph, it will be seen, speaks very highly of Yār `Allī.

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1 Firīghta, Tāriḥ-i-Firīghta, vol. II (Lucknow, 1884), p. 281.
3 Firīghta, op. cit., p. 281.
4 Firīghta, op. cit., pp. 54-55. It may be pointed out here that Ḥājji Dābir has described the events as taking place in the same year when `Ādil Khān II died, i.e. in A.H. 909. Though the printed text of Ḥājji Dābir's history has A.H. 907, the mistake was corrected to A.H. 909 in the errata of the same work. But almost all the modern authorities right from T. W. Haig, ed. Cambridge History of India, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928) to A. K. Majumdar, author of the chapter on the Khandesh kings in The Delhi Sultanate (Bombay, 1900), not caring to refer to the errata, have rendered Ḥājji Dābir's account as incorrect.
SOME MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM KHANDESH

The writing occupies a total space of 3.24 m. by 31 cm. on the sarcophagus. The epitaph has been read as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXII

(a) North side.

The writing occupies a total space of 3.24 m. by 31 cm. on the sarcophagus. The epitaph has been read as follows:—

(b) East side.

Plate XI

(c) South side.

(d) West side.

The writing occupies a total space of 3.24 m. by 31 cm. on the sarcophagus. The epitaph has been read as follows:—

TRANSLATION

(a) Death is a bridge linking a friend to a friend. One who dies, verily for him the Day of Judgment comes.

(b) (1) The chief of Arabia and 'Ajam (i.e. Persia), may the blessings and salutations of Allah be upon him and his descendants, has said, 'A true believer is alive in both the worlds.' And (he), may peace and salutation be upon him, has said, 'The true believers do not die but they (only) move from one house (this world) to another (the next world).'

1 This phrase seems to be redundant.

2 The reading of the underlined phrases is tentative.
(2) And (he), may salutations, blessings and respects be upon him, has said, ‘He whose last words (at the time of death) are ‘There is no god except Allāh’ enters Paradise.’ And (he), may the blessings of Allāh be upon him and his descendants and may He not deprive us of his generous favours, has said ‘A generous man is near Allāh and near Paradise but far from Hell.’

(c) (Verse :) He (i.e. Allāh) has an angel (whose duty is) to shout every day, ‘Be born for death and build for destruction’ (i.e., he who is born dies and anything that is built is ultimately destroyed).

(d) (1) Verily, he answered to (the call of) the executor of his Lord and happily accepted (the call of death) (and passed away) from the house of trouble and deceit (i.e. this world) to the house of rest and pleasure (i.e. next world), namely, the martyr who tested martyrdom and obtained the status of a martyr, the noble and the generous Amir, the like of whom is scarce during the revolutions of times as long as the revolving heavens revolve, one who took away all the reeds of perfection in the matter of generosity in the field of existence,

(2) the unique of the age, the phoenix among the human beings, the incomparable one in the age for bestowing gifts, one who has succeeded to receive the mercy of Allāh, the King, the Lord, the Friend, viz. the great and illustrious Amir Shuja’u’l-Millat wa’d-Daulat wa’d-Dunyā wa’d-Din, Yār ‘Ali, may Allāh give him place in the gardens of His Paradise and pour upon him the heavy rains of His Mercy and Pleasure, on the twenty-eighth of the month of Dhi’l-Qa’da, the year (A.H.) nine hundred and nine (28th Dhi’l-Qa’da) A.H. 909=16th January 1504 A.D.).

The third inscription of the group is from the ‘İdgâh at Asirgarh in the West Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh and belongs to the reign of ‘Abd Shâh IV (1576-96 A.D.), the last but one Fârūqi ruler. It is executed in plaster over the three arched recesses immediately to the left of the pulpit in the west wall and measures 1.62 m. by 23 cm. The raised letters of the inscription have been filled up with successive coats of white-wash rendering it difficult to decipher the record in full and prepare a good inked rubbing thereof. It will be seen from the transcript that the writing above the two arches on the right is identical while the text on the third, namely, the one close to the pulpit, records the renovation of the namâzgâh (i.e. ‘İdgâh) in A.H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.) in the reign of ‘Abd Shâh IV. It will be recalled that the same king had ordered the construction of the Jâmi’ mosque of Asirgarh as well as of Burhanpur in this very year.

The language of the inscription is Persian verse and the style of writing Naskh. The composition of the record is not only mediocre but faulty. Consequently, it has been difficult not only to prepare a satisfactory reading but also to give its readable translation. The calligraphy is also equally bad.

**TEXT**

*Plate XXI(b)*

(a) On the arch, third from the pulpit.

1. [الله نو ر]حمة كن پادشا ہا
2. [پادشاہی جاری] کن تو عرس ثانیا
3. [منو]د است و جای نمارگہ
4. پیش از ان در چنان ساہ بنا
5. نورد چوہ دیدست صورشید ماه
(b) On the middle arch.

(1) الله او رحمت كن آن پادشاه را
که این عمارة فرمود مارا
گذشته عمارة نوسخت جارا
پادشاهی جاری کن تاعرش و ثنا
(2) هر انس چو [آید بو]فت نماز
ازینست مر هر دو طرف [رازابار]
نور چو [میدست خورشید]د ماه
در چنان دو..... پناء

(c) On the arch, first from the pulpit.

(1) شد آن عمارة مبارک تمام
مربی شد کار تمام
بوقت پادشاهی عادلشاه
مرتبت شد کار تمام
(2) در وقت عادل شهنشاه
سر انجام شد کار تمام
چندانک خورشید مه آیاد را
الی تو پناء آتین این دیارا

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) Oh God! Bestow your mercy upon the king who constructed this building for us. He made the old building a new one; (so) keep his kingship as long as the empyrean.............

(2) This place is enlightened and is a namāzgāh. And it is wonderful in that it is approached from two sides.

Before this, under such a shadow, light has shone forth from sun and moon.¹

(b) Same as in (a) above.

(c) (1) This auspicious edifice has been completed in the year (A.H.) nine hundred ninety-seven (A.H. 997=1588-89 A.D.);
in the reign of 'Ādil Shāh the king, the work of the namāzgāh has been carried out.

(2) In the time of the just emperor, the place of worship has been completed.
Oh Lord! Protect this city till the sun and the moon endure.

The fourth inscription of this study is one of the two inscriptions of Akbar to be found at Burhanpur. It is engraved on the base of the southern minaret of the Jamā' mosque built by 'Ādil Shāh IV in A. H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.). The inscription has greatly suffered due to weathering of the stone and the letters have in most cases peeled off. It forms one of the many records engraved in different parts of the country by the celebrated nobleman, literateur and calligrapher of Akbar's court, Mir Muḥammad Ma'qūm, with the poetical name Nāmī, of Bhakkar. Composed in prose and verse, also by him, the inscription states that the Ilahi year of Akbar was reckoned from the date of that emperor's accession. It also records that Akbar had reached Burhanpur on the 11th Farwardan of the Ilahi year 45 corresponding to the 25th of Ramadān A. H. 1009 (10th March, 1601 A.D.). It also refers to the homage paid to Akbar by Bahādur Khān, the last Fārūqī king.

The epigraph further states that the emperor left for Lahore on the 12th Ur dibbīshī of the

¹ It is not possible to correctly translate this faulty verse.
Ilahi year 46 corresponding to Shawwal A.H. 1009 (20th April 1601 A.D.). It also gives the genealogical details regarding Nami himself.¹

There is some confusion in the dates quoted in the epigraph. The Ilahi year 45 and A.H. 1009 are perfectly distinct in this greatly damaged record but Farwardin of Ilahi year 45 did not coincide with Ramadhan of A.H. 1009 but of A.H. 1008. This may have been an inadvertent mistake. Also according to Abu'l-Fazl, the new Ilahi year 45 started on the 4th Ramadhan A.H. 1008,² in which case 11th Farwardin was 14th Ramadhan A.H. 1008. However 11th Farwardin of Ilahi year 46 was 25th Ramadhan A.H. 1009. What seems to have happened is that Nami made a faulty computation of the day and month of the previous year on the basis of the current year. In other words, he gave 25th Ramadhan as the equivalent for 11th Farwardin of Ilahi year 45, being perhaps caught unawares by the fact that in the Ilahi year 46, 11th Farwardin was 25th Ramadhan. Also Abu'l-Fazl gives the date of Akbar's entry to Burhanpur on the 21st Farwardin of the Ilahi year 45 which fell on the 24th Ramadhan A.H. 1008.³

The record measuring 1.31 by 1.2 m. consists of nine lines of writing executed in Nasta'liq of pleasing type and reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

¹ A gist of this record with plate was published in M.A. Suboor, Bulletin of the Nagpur Museum, No. 1 (Allahabad, 1920), pp. 8-9, pl. III.
³ Ibid., p. 531.
(a) Akbar's inscription, dated A H. 1000, from Burhanpur (p. 72)

(b) Another record of Akbar, same place, same date (p. 74)
Some More Inscriptions from Khandesh

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(8) [Text in Arabic]

(9) [Text in Arabic]

Translation

(1) The Ilâhî era is meant to commence from the time of accession of His Majesty, the emperor, the shadow of God, Akbar Badshâh (Verses: the king who through the support of his young luck

(2) conquered the fort of Aśīr; Aśīr has become prosperous; hence Nāmī (for the year of the conquest of the fort) composed, with one more year (the chronogram in the words): populated by God.

(3) On the 11th of the month Farwardin of the Ilâhî year 46? corresponding to the 25th Ramâdân (A.H.) 1009, His Majesty the emperor with the audience-hall of sky, the shadow of God, made Burhanpūr

(4) the camping ground of the victorious standards and Bahâdur Khân having presented himself was granted the favour of paying obeisance (and) the emperor pardoned his as well as his dependants' lives. And the fort of Aśīr was conquered.

(5) (Verse): Jalâlu’d-Din Akbar, the victorious king who with the favour of his luck is conqueror of forts, reduced the fort of Aśīr. Therefore, Nāmī (for the chronogram of its date) said, 'He took the lofty fort.'

(6) The composer and engraver (of this) is Muḥammad Maṣūm, whose pen-name is Nāmī, son of Sayyid Šafā’, a’r-Tirmîdî by origin and al-Bakkarî by domicile and by death, and

(7) related on mother’s side to Sayyid Shûr Qalandar, son of Bâbâ Hasan Abdâl, a’s-Sabzwârî by birth and al-Qandahârî by domicile and by death.

(8) On the 12th of the month Urđibihisht of the year 46 corresponding to the 26th Shawwâl (A.H.) 1009, His Majesty set out for Lahore.

(9) (Verse): When the king conquered Khândesh and Dakan, he at once started for Hindūstân (i.e. North India). Nāmī added one figure and then said (for the chronogram), 'The exalted king started for Lahore.'

The above inscription contains three chronograms: the phrase populated by God in the second line yields 44 to be added by 1 thus giving the Ilâhî year 45 in which the Aśīr fort was conquered; the phrase He took a lofty fort in the fifth line gives 1009, the Hijra year of the conquest of the fort; and the last hemistich in the last line yields A.H. 1008 to be added by 1 i.e. A.H. 1009, as the date of Akbar's departure towards Lahore. The exact days and months of the years are specified in the main text.

R. B. Hirâlal states that according to this inscription, Akbar came to Burhanpur via Allahabad. This is not corroborated by the inscription. The text does not use the word Ilâhâbâd in the sense of the famous city, but in its literal meaning. Likewise, Mr. Suboor in his summary

of this epigraph states that Akbar marched from Akbarahād to capture the fort of Asir,¹ while it will be seen from the above text that Akbarahād is not mentioned at all.

The other inscription of Akbar and the fifth of this group, is engraved on the western side of the plinth of the eastern of the two 'Ādil Shāhī tombs at Burhanpur. It is inscribed in four panels, three having three lines each and one having four. The language is Arabic prose and Persian verse. Apart from the well-known Arabic maxims, it contains a few verses in Persian composed by the engraver Nāmi and states that this record was inscribed in A.H. 1099 (1681 A.D.) at the time when Akbar after having conquered Asir and Ahmadnagar, started for Lahore. It also gives the same genealogical details about himself as in the previous record.² The style of writing is Nastaliq and the total space occupied by the text is 2.42 m. by 42 cm.

The record reads as follows—

TEXT

Plate XXIII(b)

(a) First panel.

(1) انظر او اهل القبور فاعثروا بأولى الأباح
(2) لما قبل غفلة الأحياء أكثر أم حسرة الأموات
(3) فألبت قريب عين الدنيا نظرة فاعثروا ولتعدمونها

(b) Second and third panels.

(1) فرياد رحيل أزهاء كسر ميشونه
(2) كرده حم شبكير سوز منزل دور
(3) نامي ز زمانه بار بردار دو آن برهان سبکار

تو خفته وار و كاروان فئز تو نسك خوئین زاد بر خيز

(c) Fourth panel.

(1) دم حنين كه حضرت تلك جلال الدين محمد آخر بانه از فرح قلبه اسر
(2) و أحمد انكر وا إزدغته موجة ماهروه سيدة تبحر ضاقت سنة 990
(3) العبد محمد معصوم بن سيد ضاي ابا و البكرا مرقدا و الترمدي اصل
(4) و ببن بابا حسن ابدال ابا و القهار شيده و السيستوي موطلا

¹ Subhor, op. cit., p. 8.
² It may be noted that Qandahar in this inscription is quoted as the place of martyrdom, while in the previous record it is only mentioned as a place of death.
³ The spelling "آبک" may be noted. For coins of Jahāngīr from Ahmadnagar mint bearing this spelling, see R.B. Whitehead, Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore (Oxford, 1914), p. XXXVII.
TRANSLATION

(a) (1) Have a look at those who are in the graves (i.e. the dead) and take lesson, O possessors of sight!

(2) Because, it is said, ‘Is the negligence of the living greater or the remorse of the dead?’

(3) Jesus, may peace be upon him, has said, ‘The world is (like) a bridge; therefore, cross it and do not dwell in it.’

(b) (1) You are listening to the (sounds of) departure from everybody (and) to the sound of the caravan-bell from front and behind.

(2) All have undertaken nocturnal journeys and reached their far-off destinations, while you are sleeping on the way and listening to the sound of the caravan-bell.

(3) Nāmī! Pack up your goods from this world and turn your face to the other world, light of burden.

You are sleeping in the way while the caravan is going fast. You yourself are the stone (i.e. hurdle in the way), (therefore) get up from the way.

(c) (1) At the time when His Majesty, the shadow of God, Jalālu’l-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the king, having dispensed with the conquest of the fort of Asir

(2) and Aḥmadānagar set out for Lāhore, (this record) was inscribed. Year (A.H.) 1009 (1601 A.D.).

(3) (Written by) the servant, Muḥammad Maṣūm, son on the paternal side of Sayyid Saḥā’s al-Bakkarī by the last resting place and a’t-Tirmidhī by origin.

(4) and on mother’s side son of Sayyid Shīr, son of Bābā Hasan Abdāl, al-Qandahārī by the last resting place (lit. place of martyrdom) and a’s-Sabzwārī by origin.

The sixth epigraph, set up in the reign of Jahāngīr, is engraved over a slab measuring 95 by 50 cm. which is fixed over the main gate of the Akbarī-Nānā at Burhanpur. The record comprises four lines of writing in Persian executed in Nasta’līq of a high order. It mentions the completion of the sarāq under royal orders in A.H. 1027 (1618 A.D.) during the governorship of the province of Mīrza ‘Abdūr-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, the commander-in-chief. The work was supervised by Lashkar Khān.

TEXT

Plate XXIV(b)

(1) در عهد سلطنت ظل الله في الأرضين نور الدين محمد جهانگیر باشناده فارغ
(2) خلقت الله ملكه و عده و احسانه و صاحب صويغي خان خانان مسلمان
(3) خلقت شوکه حسب الامر جهانگیر باشام بهدا دره خلائق پناه لشكر خان
(4) در سنه هزار و بست و هفته ابن سرا باشنام و نشان به خلف الفبریزه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the shadow of Allāh in the worlds, Nūru’l-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshah-i-Ghāzi,

3 DGA/62
(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, justice and beneficence, and during the governorship of the province of Khān-i Khānān, the sipahsaldār (commander-in-chief),

(3) may his glory be perpetuated, and in compliance with the order obeyed by the world and under the supervision of Lashkar Khān, a servant of the people-sheltering court,

(4) this sara was brought to completion in the year (A.H.) one thousand and twentyseven (A.H. 1027=1618 A.D.). Written by Khalaf a't-Tabrizī.

Lashkar Khān under whose charge the construction of the sarai was carried out is too well-known to need detailed mention here. He was the divān of Khandesh when Khān-i Khānān was appointed the governor of the province in A.H. 1027, but since both were not on good terms, Jahāngīr replaced him by Šīḥ Abīd Khān.1 His name was Abūl-Hasan Mašḥhādī.2 As regards the scribe, Khāla a't-Tabrizī, no information is available in the annals of the period, but it may be recalled that he had also designed the epigraph of the bāsmām constructed at Burhanpur in A.H. 1024 by Khān-i Khānān.3

The seventh record is found carved on a slab fixed into the compound-wall of the mosque called Masjid-i-Kabīr in the village Shendurni in Jāmer tābūka in Jalgaon district of Mahārāshtra. The inscriptive tablet measuring 62 by 28 cm. is fragmentary and the writing is also badly damaged. The mosque is stated in the epigraph to have been originally built by Bahādur Khān Fārūqī, son of Rāja ʿAlī Khān, governor of Khandesh on behalf of Akbar. Bahādur Khān was the last Fārūqī ruler of Khandesh; he ascended the throne in 1597 A.D. but was deposed by Akbar in 1601 A.D. when Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal empire. The record also contains a reference to the tomb of Kabīr Khān Ghāzī, son of Sayyid ʿAbd ʿAlī Kāhīr being situated in the compound of the mosque. The epigraph bears the date 1660 A.D. but it is difficult to say if it is the date of the renovation of the mosque or of the construction of the tomb or of the death of the said Kabīr Khān.

The inscription consists of three lines of Persī and is written in Nastaʿīq characters. Though the letters are badly damaged, the calligraphy appears to be of a very high order. It has been read as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate XXIV (c)

۱ مسجد بهادر خان فاروقی بن راجح علی خان گه منجب باشنداء
۲) أكبر حاکم صوبه پرھان برخاندیس پود تعمیر کرده است در احاطه
۳) دیوانش؟ مقرره کبیر خان غازی بن سید میر احمد کبیر وحنم الله علیه بیست و یازده
غلیب آخر در سنه ۱۶۸۴

**TRANSLATION**

(1-2) This mosque had been constructed by Bahādur Khān Fārūqī, son of Rāja ʿAlī Khān, who was on behalf of emperor Akbar the governor of the gūba Burhanpūr Khāndes. In the compound.

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1 Sayyid Ahmad, ed. Tāzak-i-Jahāngīrī (Alligurh, 1864), p. 257.
2 For details of his career, see Shīh Nawāz Khān, Maʿālīkhān-i-Umarā, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 163-68.
3 *EIAIPS* for 1955 and 56, p. 116 (pl. XXXa). For an inscription at Pāithān, District Ahmadnagar, also designed by him, see *SIM*, 1949-50, p. 13 (pl. VIIb), where, however, his name is wrongly read as Khāla Ḵān-ʿNaḍhir.
(a) Inscription, dated A.H. 1114, from Burhanpur (p. 78)

(b) Record of Jahangir, dated A.H. 1027, same place (p. 75)

(c) Inscription, dated A.H. 1071, from Shendu ni (p. 76)
Plate XXV

(b) Epitaph of Hā'iga Maryam, dated A.H. 1130, same place (p. 79)

(a) Epitaph of Mirzā Brāhīm, dated A.H. 1111, from Burhanpur (p. 77)
(3) of its wall is the tomb of Kabir Khān Chāzī, son of Sayyid Mūr Ahmad Kabir, may mercy of God be upon him. 20th of Rabi‘ II, year (A.H.) 1071 (13th December 1660 A.D.).

The eighth inscription appears on the headstone of a grave in the compound of a mosque in Mahalla Niimatpūra of Burhanpur and seems to record the date of death of one Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Abu’l-Fath al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī al-Ịnī’ī. Nothing could be traced about the deceased or his father from the records at our disposal.

The language is Arabic and the style of writing Thulṭ, while the tablet measures 30 by 30 cm.

Its text runs as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXV(a)*

1) ميرزا محمد ابراهيم ابن ميرزا
2) ابو النفتح الحنفي الحسناني الانجولي
3) في خمس شهر رمضان المبارك سنة 1111

**TRANSLATION**

(1) (Death occurred of) Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā
(2) Abu’l-Fath al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī al-Ịnī’ī
(3) on the fifth of the auspicious month of Ramadān, year (A.H.) 1111 (14th February 1700 A.D.).

The ninth inscription of this study is fixed over the gate of the eastern wall of Șufi Nūr Shāh’s tomb in the Mahalla Siḥat-Kwān at Burhanpur. Its text is composed by Muḥammad Shāh, son of Hāji Sadr Shāh and a disciple of Shaikh Nūr Muḥammad Ridā’i—Sāfī Nūr Shāh in popular parlance—and furnishes some interesting information. The text contains two chronograms, yielding A.H. 1114 (1702 A.D.) and A.H. 1118 (1706-07 A.D.) for the date of the demise of the saint and the construction of the tomb by the same Muḥammad Shāh respectively. It also supplies some valuable information about Hāji Sadr Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh’s father, who was, as we shall soon see, an official. We are told that the Hāji was the son of Imām Qulī, son of Shāh Sawār and that he came to India from Bukhārā and populated after his own name two villages, named Sadarpūr and Shāhpūr in the pargana Shakarpūr in the vicinity (mudf) of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) and settled there.

Hāji Sadr Shāh had also constructed a mosque at Jājmaṇ in Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh at the instance of Qilīch Khān, the sirdu’s gudār and the grandfather of Aṣaf Jāh I, in A.H. 1093 (1682 A.D.). As Qilīch Khān whose original name was ‘Ābid Khān had spent some years at Bukhārā, first as Qādī and later as Shaikhul-Islām, it is a reasonable guess that the Hāji had accompanied him to India and was attached to him. After Qilīch Khān’s demise, he seems to have been enrolled in the service of the former’s son, Nawwāb Shāzīn’d-Dīn Bahādur Frīz Jang. For, he was in A.H. 1113 the deputy, at Bid in Maharashtra, of Frīz Jang when the latter held charge of the province of Deccan—from Bijapur to Aurangabad. He seems to have been.

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2 For ‘Ābid Khān’s career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 120-22.
3 E.I.M., 1921-22, p. 16.
mainly responsible for the foundation of the suburb Ghâzī’u’d-Din-Nagar, a bastion, a mosque in the tomb of Shâhînâbâd Wali, all at Bid, etc., between the years A.H. 1113 and A.H. 1118, as indicated by several inscriptions at that place. At least one of these, dated A.H. 1118, was composed in verse by the Hâji’s son Muhammad Shâh of our inscription.

The text of the inscription runs into seven lines of Persian prose and verse. The style of writing is Nasta’liq of a fairly good type, while the tablet measures 1.20 m. by 74 cm.

The epigraph has been read as follows:—

**TEXT**

_Plate XXIV(a)_

(1) صل الله عليه وسلم

(2) نود نه نام حق احصا نمودن

(3) برنام سروده جنت درین است

(4) محمد شاه را دانست چنین است

(5) تبرک دکرم ولد حاجی صدر شاه ابن شاه امام قل بن شاه سوار كه والد قانیر

(6) از نبخشان درندوستان آمده بنام خود قریب مندر و شایان در سپرگیری شکرپور مساوی

(7) نامه‌های عیاد آباد ساخته وطن اختیار کرد و ابن خاک‌کی هی قطع الی حضرت شیخ

(8) نور مجدد برای بشریه این جهان در سر نورواره 1118 تعمیر نمود و تازیف وصال

۴۴۴ بواست و حفظ شرع رجب سال ۱۱۱۸ هجری بود، قطعه

۵۵۵ در تلاش لفظ تازیف وصال پیر خود

یکی محمد شاه تازیف مبارز کرده بگو

اینکه طالبه در حرم پیر با همیشگی بوده

**TRANSLATION**

(1) Peace of Allah be upon him (i.e. on the Prophet Muhammad). In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Fragment:

(2) To count ninetynine names of God—Paradise lies in it, according to the saying of my chief (Prophet Muhammad).

Therefore, oh counter, since you have gone through all the three, such is the permission granted to Muhammad Shâh.a

(3) The servant of the court, son of Hâji Sadr Shâh, son of Shâh Imâm Quli, son of Shâh Sawâr, father of this poor fellow (i.e. the builder Muhammad Shâh),

(4) having come from Bukhârâ to India, populated two villages, Sâdpûr and Shâhpûr (called) after his name, in the Shakarpûr pargana in the vicinity of

(5) Shâhjâhânâbâd (Delhi) and settled there. And this dust of the feet of the pole-star of God, Hâjrat Shâkih Nûr Muhammad Ridâ’î,

(6) may God enlighten my heart by his light, constructed this building in the year of eternal existence,a A.H. 1118 (1706-07 A.D.). And the date of (the saint’s) death is the 27th of the month of Rajab A.H. 1114 (6th December 1702 A.D.). Fragment:

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b The meaning of this verse is not quite clear.

c This phrase forms the chronogram.
(7) I was seeking the words (i.e. the chronogram) for the date of the death of my spiritual guide, when a voice from the Unseen came to the ear of my heart, saying), 'O Muhammad Shāh! proclaim this auspicious date, namely that the seeker has got together with the Friend in the latter's sanctuary.'

The tenth and the last inscription of this study is also from Burhanpur. Near the city-wall on the south there is a grave which according to the inscription thereon marks the resting place of Hathiza Maryam. The marble tablet is of considerable dimensions measuring 1.7 m. by 92 cm. and contains an epitaph in Arabic with the exception of one verse in Persian, recording the death of Maryam, daughter of Muhammad, son of 'Ali-Muṣā al-Ḥusaini al-Muntazarâni, entitled Muf-takhâr Khân. It is interesting to note that according to the epigraph, Maryam was a gāriyya (i.e. well-versed in the science of recitation of the Qur'ān) and had performed pilgrimage to the cities of Mecca and Madina, having stayed there for two years, in the course of which she had visited the shrines of the holy Prophet and his daughter from whom she claimed descent. The text of the inscription was composed and written by her husband who was the son of her cousin on father's side, namely, Abūl-Ḍaql Khân, son of Ghiyāthu'd-Din, son of Maṣūr al-Ḥusaini al-Injū'i.

The style of writing is Nasīḥ of a fairly good type, and the text may be read as follows:—

**Plate XXV(b)**

(a) **Top corners.**

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) الله علي محمد المصطفى
(3) وعلى المرشد وقاطعة الزهراء وحسن المجتبى
(4) وعلى الحسن الشهيد بكربلا وزين العابدين
(5) وعلى محمد وعصر وموسى وعلي ومحمد
(6) وعلى الحسن وحجة المنترش المحدى
(7) صلى الله وسلم عليهم اجمعين الظهرين
(8) وفدت على الكرم بغير زاد من الحسنات وقلب السلام
(9) فحال الزاد اتح كل شيء إذا كان الوقود على الكرم
(10) تاريخ وفاته راجوج اسم شجت بن يحيى مريم سنة 130;

(b) **Within the arch.**

(c) **Around the border.**

قد قالت السيدة المبورة المغفورة الموتات قارة القرن المجيد وزائرة بيت الله الحرام ومجاورتها فيها حجتي واداء الحجتين وزيارة جدها سيد المرسلين وجدتها سيدة نساء العالمين وسائر اسماء الظاهرين صلى الله عليه وسلمهم_jetة سيدنا إبراهيم عليه السلام مريم بنت المرحوم الأجل الإمام محمد بن علي موسى الحسيني المازندران اخطاف ينابغ خان
80 EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

في يوم الخميس الثاني عشر شهر جمادي الأولى سنة ثمانية ورائدة بعد الهجرة الميلادية
كتبه عبد المجدد المعموم المحرّر زوجها وابن ابن اخت أبيها أبو الفضل خان بن
غلاط الدين بن منصور الحسن الحسيني الأبخولي

TRANSLATION

(a) 'Everything is mortal except His Face.'1 'Everything which is on it (i.e. on the earth)
will perish.'2

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

(2) Shī'a dawūd.

(8) I went to the most beneficent (God) without any provisions of good deeds and good
heart.

(9) For, when one happens to go to a generous person, carrying provisions is the worst of all
things.

(10) When I sought the date of (her) death. (the chronogram was found in the phrase :) The
evergreen Paradise became the abode of Maryam. Year (A.H.) 1130 (1718 A.D.).

(c) The death took place of the chief, the forgiven, the pardoned, the favoured, the qāriyya
of the glorious Qur'ān, the visitor of the Holy House of Allāh where she stayed for two years (lit.
two biys), performing two pilgrimages and visiting the tombs of her ancestor, the chief of the
prophets (Prophet Muhammad), of her ancestress, the chief of all the women of the world (Fāṭima),
and of the remaining holy Imāms, may blessings of Allāh be upon them in their sacred tombs
(lit. gardens), one who bears the name of the mother of Christ, may peace be upon him and on our
Prophet (Muhammad), that is to say Maryam, daughter of the late highly respected grandee,
Muḥammad, son of 'Ali Mūsā al-Ḥusainī al-Māzandarānī entitled Muṭṭakhar Khān, on Thursday,
the 12th of the month of Jumādā I in the year eleven hundred and thirty from the Migration of
the Prophet (12th Jumādā I A.H. 1130-2nd April, 1718 A.D.). This is written by her husband,
who is also the son of the son of her father's sister, the humble creature, the depressed, the sad,
the sorrowful, the separated, Abū'l-Faḍl Khān, son of Ghiyāṭu'd-Dīn, son of Muḥammad
al-Ḥusainī al-Ingū.1

Maryam of our inscription is evidently identical with Hāfīza Maryam, the tutoress of Princess
Zaibūn-Nisā, daughter of Aurangzeb, according to Shāh Nawāz Khān.3 But there seems to be
some confusion in the account of the said author who makes her a wife of Mirzā Shukrullāh while
in the present record, the name of her husband is given as Abū'l-Faḍl Khān. Likewise, it is not
possible to establish satisfactorily the identity of Maryam's father Muṭṭakhar Khān with the ori-
ginal name Muḥammad, son of Abū'l-Mūsā al-Māzandarānī. The only Muṭṭakhar Khān who is
mentioned by historians is Mir Khālīl, son of A'zām Khān Jahāngīr Shāhī, who later received the
title of Khān-i-Zamān. He was associated with Burhanpur in the capacity of governor at least
twice and is said to have had constructed his residence in that city.4 It is possible that these
chroniclers or the copyists may have made some mistake about the true name of the said
Muṭṭakhar Khān, if he is identical with the Muṭṭakhar Khān of our inscription. In any case, the
inscription has preserved the names of two titled grandees of the time of Aurangzeb.

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1 Qur'ān, chapter XXVIII, part of verse 88.
2 Ibid., chapter I V, verse 26.
SANSKRIT PORTION OF THE BIDAR INSCRIPTION IN THE HYDERABAD MUSEUM

By B. DATTA and C. L. SURI

[In the 1959 and 60 issue of this journal, Mr. R. M. Joshi had studied the Sanskrit version of the Bidar step-well inscription, now in the State Museum, Hyderabad. On being told that the study of Mr. Joshi suffered from some inaccuracies, I requested Dr. D. C. Sircar, then Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, to see if the said study could be improved upon. The present article written by two epigraphical assistants of that office is published here with due acknowledgement.—Ed.]

In April 1961, three impressions of a bilingual inscription, found at Bidar and now preserved in the Hyderabad Museum, were sent to the Government Epigraphist for India by the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Nagpur. The Sanskrit portion of the record is here published with the kind permission of Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, who has also helped us in the preparation of this paper.

The inscription is engraved on a stone slab measuring about 47 by 72 cm. The Sanskrit portion covers an area about 47 by 45 cm. and contains 21 lines of writing which is not carefully engraved. The preservation of the writing is also not quite satisfactory. The record is in verse except the word śrīḥ at the beginning and at the end, and the words idāṁ cha in line 19 just before the date. It is written in Nāgarī characters of the 15th century. The change of final m and the class nasal to anusvāra may be noted as an orthographical peculiarity of the epigraph.

The inscription is dated both in a chronogram (tarka-ras-ānala-chaṁdra) and in figures as the Śaka year 1366, Raktākshi, Aśvayuja śu. 10, Monday, Śravanā-[nakhātra] and Dhrvavāyoga, regularly corresponding to the 21st September 1444 A.D. The Persian portion of the record, however, bears the date equivalent to 28th September 1444 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a step-well by Sahānājā (Persian, Shahnāz), queen of the Bahmani king Ahmad Shāh I and mother of Maḥmūd Khan, during the reign of ‘Alā’udd-Din Ahmad II (1436-58) who was the son and successor of Ahmad Shāh I.

The record begins with the word śrīḥ which is followed by a verse in adoration to the god Aja (unborn), i.e. Brahman (verse 1). Then it introduces the Bahmani king Ahmad I (verse 2). His capital, the city Bidar, is next compared with the cities of Mahendrā and Kubērā (verse 3). A hill called Nānakā is mentioned in relation to the said city (verse 4). Originally, the capital of the Bahmani kings was at Gulbarga and Ahmad Shāh I changed the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar.4

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3 Joshi, op. cit., seems to have mistaken the text to be in prose because neither there are punctuation marks intended to show the verse-end in his transcript nor the names of the metres are mentioned in his article. Moreover his remark that '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 Dandin and Banabhaṭṭa' leaves no doubt that he has really mistaken the record to be written in prose.
4 Joshi, op. cit., has not read the chronogram here.
5 EIAPS, op. cit., p. 34.
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

Verse 5 describes the army of the Bahmani king and refers to the commanders in charge of his forts and to his Malikas, Khānas and innumerable castles. Next it is stated that the king’s commander imprisoned the living ruler of Rājāmahendrā-
durga and that his minister made Dēvarāja to pay tribute to him (verse 6).

The contemporary ruler of Rājāmahendrā-durga (modern Rajahmundry in Andhra Pradesh) was the Rājā of Virabhadra (1423-44 A.D.), a subordinate of Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagara.1 Ahmad Shāh I is known to have attacked the Vijayanagara king Bukka III in 1423 A.D. Dēvarāya II who succeeded the latter in 1424 A.D.2 is referred to in our record as paying tribute to Ahmad Shāh.

The Bahmani king had a queen named Bībī Sahānāḥā (Shahnāz) (verses 7-9), whose son 


1 Maharī || Ajāya jagad-uptatti-sthitī-saṁhāра-kārīnē | triguṇā[y]a] guṅ-āṭita-mūrtayē Brahmanē na-

2 māh || [1*] Tad-ājāñay-ājāyata bhūtalē-smin bhūri-pratāp-ā[na]a-tāpi[t-ā]rih | Aha-

3 nō mahān Bahmani-pātiśāhah || [2*] Mahōmdrasya Kubērsaya nagāri na garīyasi | apēkahā Būdhalah yasya na-

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1 M. S. Sarma, History of the Rāddī Kingdoms (Waltair, 1948), pp. 190-93; Epi
graphia Indica (EI), vol. XXXIII, p. 2.
2 EI, op. cit.
3 Joshi has confused Mahmūd Khān with Muhammad Khān who was joined by Devarāya II of Vijayanagara in a conspiracy resulting in an unsuccessful revolt against his brother, the ruling king ‘Alāʿū’d-Dīn Ahmad II. The latter pardoned him and gave the jāgir of Rājāchal to him. The Persian portion states that Mahmūd probably held Māhur (reading of which in the Sanskrit portion is doubtful) and not Rājāchal. This clearly shows that Ahmad Shīh I had three sons, namely ‘Alāʿū’d-Dīn Ahmad II, the immediate successor, Mahmūd Khān, son born to him by Bībī Shahnāz referred to in this epigraph and Dāwūd Khān.

4 This is the only mention of the name of the ruling king in our inscription. Joshi reads the name as Alābändi and seems to translate it as ‘the servant of God’. It is, therefore, surprising how he ascribes the present record to the reign of ‘Alāʿū’d-Dīn Ahmad II. Perhaps the name Ahammads in line 2 was taken by him to refer to ‘Alāʿū’d-Dīn Ahmad II.

5 From impressions. There are a number of gaps, irregularities and mistakes in Shri Joshi’s transcription, all of which have not been pointed out here.
Sanskrit version of the Bible inscription, Hyderabad Museum (p. 82)
4  garaṁ nga-raṁ[jitam(ā)] || [3*] Muktaṁ-samaṁ pravāl-[dhyāṁ] puraṁ śra(ṛ)-bha-
    vanam hi yat | uchchaṁ-āṁbhodhi-vad-bhā[ti] chitraṁ Nānaka-

5  bhuḍharan(ī) || [4*] Vādītirā-badhīrāyatē tribhuvanam [dhuḷḥ]bhir-āṁdha[ya]tē
    yasmin rājin(ya) (rā[jy]=) bhishenavatē ati-bharād=bhū-

6  mī=sha na[ma]ryā yat yad-durg-ādhikītā mālīka-chanaṁ khānāṁ puraḥ kōṭayaḥ kas=tasy=
    Āhama-Bahma-

7  ni-narapateḥ Samikhyātum-ishtē chamūṁ(mūṁ) || [5*] [Jiva]d-Rājamahēndra-durga-
    nipa[tini] yasy=[āgra]-sēnuapatē kārāmam-

8  dira-gaṁ [karōti] o o — śrī-Dēvarājaṁ nipaṁ(pam) | vikrāntaṁ karadikarōti sachivō
    ya=ch=aikakāḥ sarvadā

9  kas=tasy=Āhama-Bahmanī-narapatēḥ sāmikhyātum-tām guṇan || [6*] Tasy=āasty=abhimatā
    bhū-

10  pa-vanitā paryupāsaḥ | Bibi śrī-Sahanājā-ākhyā hrēpa[ya]ni1 ratim śrīyā || [7*] Kiṁ

11  āṭṭadāyi-maṁḍalād[abhipatat] kumō-dōja(appa)lā kaumūḍī amṛ-āṁbhōruhataḥ prabhūta-
    ma[ ḍhuṇā]ō

12  nisyaṁda-dhārā kiṁu | kiṁ vā chaṁdramaṇaṁ śravā-nava-sudhā-vē[lā] manēhāriṁ
    kiṁ vā ratna-sa-

13  mūhaṁ bahrī-asau sphārībhavad-dīdhitiḥ || [8*] Saubhāgya-sudrā-satītvacalā-vilāsa-
    cha-

    ratnāṁ

15  Rōhana-prithu-dyutimaṇi saṁti | [9*] Mahamūda-khāna-nā[mā] tanayō2 Māṁ...3 [pu-
    raṁ] yasyāḥ | pāla-

16  yati sma-[āvani]pati-[kri]ṭa-kōṭi-pramṛṣṭh-āṁghriḥ || [10*] Sā ch=Āhama-Sultrāṇa-tanayē
    naya-sā-

17  lini | Allābadī-pāṭiśāhē[s]aṣatuṁ-urvīṁ mahōdayē || [11*] Tasmin puravarē-gāya-turmga-
    maṇḍi-

18  ra-maṁdītē [vāpim=akārayad=raṁyaṁ bhūrī-sōpāna-sampadāṁ-(dam) || [12*] Niūḍatya=
    upavanam raṁyaṁ yasyāḥ. . . . . . . . va-

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1 Joshi, op. cit., reads: Sulatraṇa-Rāma hemayanī.
2 These akṣaras are engraved on something else previously engraved. The first two of the four akṣaras appear to have been corrected from the originally incised word jasi.
3 The last akṣara of this name in three akṣaras is written above the line and looks like yva or n.
19 nam vanam(nam) | manute cha-āpi pāniyaṁ tam payaḥ sāgaram garaṁ(ram) || [13*] idaṁ cha | tarka-ras-ānala-chaṁdraṁ\(^1\) 1366 Śā-

20 kē Raktākshi-vatsar-Āśvayuji | māśe śukla-daśamvāṁ Sūme Šravaṇe Dhruvē yogē || [14*]...

..........n=Āhmada-Ba-

Śrīḥ ||

\(^1\) Joshi, op. cit., reads : idam chāṭaka... .......................................................... chandraḥ.
Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, M.A., D. Litt., O.B.E.
Honorary Epigraphist to the Government of India for
Persian and Arabic Inscriptions
(1915-1941)

Born:
22nd March, 1885
at Delhi.

Died:
13th November, 1962
at Hyderabad-Dn.
DR. GHULAM YAZDANI

We regret to announce that Padma Bhushan Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, M. A., D. Litt. (Osmania and Aligarh), O.B.E., the late Director of Archaeology, Archaeological Department of H.E.H. Nizam’s Dominions, Hyderabad-Dn., and late Honorary Epigraphist to the Government of India for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions passed away at Hyderabad on the 13th November, 1962, at the age of 77 years after a prolonged illness. With his passing away, an eventful life of service to arts and letters has come to end, the country has lost a great oriental scholar, historian and archaeologist, and the Persian and Arabic studies, in particular epigraphy have suffered irreparable loss.

The late Dr. Yazdani was born at Delhi in 1885, in a family celebrated alike for piety and learning. He had had a brilliant academic record: After completing his school education, he joined Delhi’s premier educational institution, St. Stephen’s College, and passed the Intermediate Examination of the Panjab University, securing first place in the province in Persian. Two years later, he took his B.A. degree from the same University having stood first in Arabic, and was awarded two gold medals for proficiency in Arabic and a University scholarship in the same subject. In the same year, he won the McLeod prize of the Panjab University for proficiency in Oriental Classics with English. In 1906 he took his M.A. degree in Persian from the Calcutta University.

While reading for his M.A. in English and Arabic at St. Stephen’s College, Dr. Yazdani was appointed the Government of India Archaeological scholar for research in Arabic and Persian in 1905, and held it until 1907. During 1907-1909, he served as Professor of Persian in the St. Stephen’s College. In 1909 he joined Bengal Educational Service and was appointed Professor of Arabic in the Government College, Rajshahi. His services were lent to the Panjab Government in 1913 and he worked as Professor of Arabic in the Government College, Lahore, where he continued until he was selected in 1914, on the recommendation of Sir John Marshall, then Director General of Archaeology in India, who cherished a very high opinion of his abilities and work, to organise and act as the head of the archaeological department of the Hyderabad State. He also won the Griffith Prize of the Calcutta University in history in 1913.

Dr. Yazdani did a yeoman service to the preservation of monuments and promotion of archaeological studies in the Hyderabad state during his tenure as Director. Apart from contributing a number of articles on historical and archaeological subjects, the annual reports of the department, his monumental works like Mandu: the city of joy, Bidar: its History and Monuments and his magnum opus, Ajanta in four volumes, containing the description and plates of the world renowned paintings bear eloquent testimony to his valuable work in the fields of conservation, exploration, excavation, epigraphy, numismatics, etc. Even after his retirement, Dr. Yazdani continued to render extremely valuable services to the archaeological and historical studies. He was the founder-secretary of the Majlis-i-Makhtūtāt - Farsiyāa—The Persian Manuscripts Society, Hyderabad-Dn., and was mainly responsible for bringing out important historical works like Burhān-i-Ma’āthir, Chuch-Nāma, Riyāḍu’l-Insān and Tughluq-Nāma. He was also mainly associated with the setting up and working of the Board of the History of the Deccan, and was one of the three members of its Board of Editors. He was entrusted with the compilation of the first volume of the series which was published in 1960 under the title Early History of Deccan.
The late Dr. Yazdani's association with this Journal dates almost from its very inception in 1907. As the archaeological scholar in Persian and Arabic, he was required to undergo training in Persian and Arabic epigraphy under such eminent scholars as Sir E. Denison Ross and Prof. J. Horovitz. He had already started to contribute to the journal *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, the predecessor of the present series, before he assumed charge on the afternoon of 31st July, 1915, subsequent to the resignation of Dr. Horovitz as the Honorary Government Epigraphist for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions. From that date until he relinquished the charge on 19th March, 1943, he rendered unique service to the cause of Persian and Arabic epigraphy of India and edited most successfully the biennial *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* from its 1913-14 issue onwards. He not only edited in all 15 volumes including one Supplement during his tenure but also contributed most of the articles himself.

The following is the list of articles contributed by Dr. Yazdani to the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*:

1. The Inscription on the Tomb of 'Abdullah Shâh Changâl at Dhar.
3. A New Inscription of Sultan Naṣrat Shâh of Bengal.
4. Inscriptions in Golconda Fort.
5. Two Inscriptions of king Hussain Shâh of Bengal from Tribeni.
7. Inscriptions in the Golconda Tombs.
8. Remarks on the date of a copper plate inscription of Khandesh.
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The late Dr. Yazdani is survived by his wife, two sons and five daughters.

May God’s mercy and peace be on him! Amen!
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A NEW INSCRIPTION OF SIKANDAR SHAH OF BENGAL FROM BIHAR?

BY DR. QEYAMUD-DIN AHMAD

This unpublished inscription of Sikandar Shāh of Bengal (1357-89 A.D.) was first brought to public notice by Shri P. C. Singh, Senior Deputy Collector, Bhagalpur. On reading a report in one of the English dailies of Patna about this important discovery—it may be remembered that not a single inscription of that monarch has so far been discovered in Bihar—I started correspondence with Shri Singh requesting him to let me copy the inscription. He very kindly acceded to my request and I accordingly took an estampage.* I am deeply obliged to Shri Singh for his co-operation.

The inscription is quite clear and legible. It commemorates the building of a mosque by Ulugh Ṭahsil Khān, son of Bughra Khān, in 1367 A.D. during the reign of Sikandar Shāh, son of Ilyās Shāh. There are one or two points of interest about the text and its arrangement, but the main point of interest is the provenance of the inscription. We shall, however, first give a description of the inscription and a reading of its text.

The text is inscribed on a black basalt slab of rectangular shape measuring 76 by 40 cm. which is divided into two equal halves by a flat horizontal line in relief. The right half of the slab is broken into four pieces but Shri Singh with whom the tablet now lies has got them joined together with chemical solution. Fortunately, no part of the text has been rendered illegible because of this damage. The text is written in three lines the first of which occurs in the upper half and the remaining two in the lower half.

The style of writing of the record is Nashī, broadly conforming to the style of the early Muslim inscriptions of Bengal but with a tendency towards cursiveness. Also, there is at least one orthographical omission; the alif of the word al-jannah in the last line has been omitted, inadvertently perhaps, by the engraver. It may also be pointed out that the record fails to give any title of the king. In view of the fact that his coins and inscriptions quote the title 'Abu'l-Mujahid' it is very likely that the engraver omitted the word 'ابو' before 'المجا هد' in the first line. Another peculiarity about the text of the record is that the well-known Hadīth about God's reward to those who build mosques comes after the main text and not before as is usually the case.

---

1 Dr. Qeynamud-Din Ahmad, M.A., Ph. D., Department of History, Patna University.
2 The inscription was copied subsequently by the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur. It is listed in Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE), 1962-63 under No. D. 17.
The text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(1) Bismi l-lahir a'smaa’ ilaha al-musjid fi ‘ahd al-sultan al-majhad al-walid bin al-‘as

(2) al-bina’ al-kabir wa-samtun bintul’iiz al-qutbiyxn bin al-bur’i, al-dawla l-na’ imad il-lah dima al-malih. A’raf

(3) malah bi’r’afi?

(4) al-lah tamal fay al-a’zam al-salam min bi’r’i miskiyya la darr al-dunya la’ imad il-lah c’usr

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allah, the best of names. This mosque was constructed in the reign of the sultana, warrior in the cause of religion, Sikandar Shah, son of Ilyas Shah. The master of

(2) this charitable deed (i.e. the builder) is the great Khan and the unrivalled general, Ulugh Taghi Khan, son of Bughra Khan, may Allah perpetuate his glories. He spent his money for
seeking the pleasure of

(3) Allah the Exalted. The Prophet has said, ‘He who builds a mosque in the abode of this world, Allah builds for him a palace in Paradise’. On the 1st Muhaaram (A.H.) seven hundred
and sixty-nine (1st Muharram A.H. 769=28th August 1367 A.D.).

Nothing is known about the two personages, Taghi Khan or his father Bughra Khan mentioned in the inscription. But there should be little doubt that Taghi Khan was a high official
acting perhaps as the head or commander of a region, as is implied by the titles used for him.

However, as will have been surmised by the query put against the title of this article, the
main point of interest about this inscription is in regard to its provenance. Shri Singh, the dis-
coverer of the inscription, was himself rather reticent when I asked him about the actual
findspot. He simply said that it was found by some one in Champangar, a suburb of Bhagalpur, without
specifying the place or monument. He also did not say anything about the owner or the manner
of the find. The queries as to whether it was lying detached or it was in some mosque or private
house, etc., remained unanswered. At one stage Shri Singh thus wrote to me in the course of a
letter regarding the findspot: ‘Like most of the inscriptions of the Turko-Afghan period found
in Bhagalpur, the original location of the stone tablet of the time of Sikandar Shah discovered by me
is unknown. It might have come from Amarpur Police station or might have been somewhere in Cham-
panagar. I found it in Champangar’. But later, in his article on the inscription which is
shortly to be published, Shri Singh stated that the slab was found in the premises of Shri R. N.
Ghose, an ex-landlord of Champangan.

1 Amarpur is situated about 16 miles south-west of Bhagalpur.

2 Italics mine.
(a) Inscription of Sikandar Shāh, dated A. H. 769, from Champanagar (p. 2)

Plate I

(b) Inscription of Muzaffar Shāh I, dated A.H. 804, from Munjpur (p. 6)
A NEW INSRIPTION OF SIKANDAR SHAH OF BENGAL FROM BIHAR?

If we accept the provenance of the inscription as given by the discoverer to be correct, it will lead to certain conclusions which are of great significance in the political history of Bihar in the mid-fourteenth century. For it will mean that sometime after Fīrūz Tughluq’s expedition against Sīkandār Shāh (1357–58 A.D.), the latter resumed initiative and recaptured part of Bihar. However, this conclusion, tempting though it is, does not fit in with the known outlines of the political history of the period based on important contemporary evidence.

Fīrūz Tughluq’s two expeditions against Bengal during the reign of both Ilyās Shāh and Sīkandār Shāh are well-known. It is also definitely established that he annexed Bihar from the Bengal rulers. Fīrūz Tughluq’s inscriptions in Bihar, totalling eleven, are the largest among all the pre-Mughal rulers. These range, with some gaps, from A.H. 761 to 774 (1359–1372 A.D.) and testify to the continued existence of his rule over Bihar. It may be contended that all these inscriptions belong to South Bihar, and therefore, the Tughluq hold was probably confined to that region and that North Bihar, which was militarily more susceptible to a Bengal attack, might have been re-occupied by the Bengal rulers. But this contention, too, is controverted by the recent “re-discovery” of a very important inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq in village Tajaūr-Bassah in District Saran. This inscription commemorates the construction of a fort by Muhāmmad Dā’ud Khān in A.H. 774 (1372 A.D.). This is an unimpeachable evidence of the continued political hold of Fīrūz Tughluq over North Bihar also.

The Tajaūr record was inscribed fifteen years after Fīrūz Tughluq’s expedition against Sīkandār Shāh. The latter’s inscription is dated 1367 A.D. Even if we assume that Sīkandār Shāh re-occupied part of North Bihar after Fīrūz Tughluq’s expedition of 1357–58 A.D., how are we to account for the Tajaūr inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq? There is absolutely no evidence to the effect that Fīrūz Tughluq had to re-occupy North Bihar after 1357 A.D. It is also to be noted that inscriptions of Fīrūz’s successors, Muhāmmad Shāh and Muhmūd Shāh, bearing as late a date as A.H. 810, have been found in Bihar at Bihar Sharif, Maner and Kako. The only valid conclusion, therefore, would be that the Tughluq hold over both North and South Bihar continued uninterruptedly from 1357 to 1372 A.D. and till much later.

Corroboration of this fact which is clear enough from the inscriptions themselves is provided by the near-contemporary and valuable testimony of Mūllā Tāqiyā. He has clearly stated that after the expulsion of Ilyās Shāh by Fīrūz Tughluq, Bengal lost its hold over Bihar for over a full century and that it was only Bārbār Shāh who in A.H. 875 (1470 A.D.) re-occupied part of North Bihar. Although the Tughluq hold over Bihar weakened during the concluding years of the dynasty, it passed not to the Bengal rulers but to the Shārqs of Jaunpur. Mīllā Tāqiyā’s statement on this point is worth quoting, in English translation, in full:—

“Although Fīrūz Tughluq had earlier overpowered Sultan Shamsu’d-Dīn Ilyās Shāh and had brought the kingdom of Tīrhuṭ under his control, later on it became an appanage of the Shārqi kingdom. Still later, after 121 years, in A.H. 875, Ruknu’d-Dīn Bārbār Shāh having gathered together the Bengali Afghānīs prepared a multitudinous army for the conquest of the Tīrhuṭ—

2 ARIE, 1962-63, No. D, 25. This inscription was first noticed by W. Hoey who described it in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. LXIX (1900), p. 79. However, he could not decipher it and consequently failed to identify the name of the king. An old castmange of this inscription lying in his office was identified by the Superintendent, Persian & Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagoi and on an enquiry from him as to whether the inscrptional tablet still existed, I visited the place in August 1962 and obtained its castmange.
dom which was under the occupation of Husain Shāh Sharqī, and after many a battle the formér became triumphant. He brought Hajipur and its environs under his direct control as was the arrangement under Ilyās Shāh, and gave the areas north of Burhi-Gandak to the Rāias of Tirhut and nominated Kedār Rāi as his agent in this region. 1

The above account is clear and needs no comment. The Sharqī hold over part of North Bihar is also testitied to by the now lost inscription of Ibrāhim Sharqī which referred to the construction of a mosque in Darbhanga in A. H. 805 (1402 A.D.). This inscription was seen by Taqiyya who has quoted its full text. 2

How then we are to explain the reported discovery of Sikandar Shāh’s inscription in a place in north-eastern Bihar?

In this connection, it may be worthwhile to remember that instances are known of inscriptions from one place being carried, deliberately or accidentally, to another place. The transfer of the Aśokan pillar edicts to Delhi by Fruz Tughluq is of course a well-known example, though of long past. One of the more recent examples is that of an inscription of ‘Alā‘u’d-Dīn Husain Shāh, dated A.H. 914: originally belonging to Maida, it now adorns the entrance of the beautiful guest-house in the compound of the Qila House in Patna city, whose ex-owner, the late R. K. Jelan, was a well-known lover and preserver of historical relics. How the slab came to be there is, however, not known.

It is the sacred duty of all students of history to examine all connected factors having a bearing on the conclusion of a new theory which they seek to propound. However tempting the significance of a new theory might be, the thorough and dispassionate scrutiny of the premises on which it is based should be given first and foremost priority.

---

2 Ibid., The text is:
قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد لله بنياً في الجنة بني هذا المسجد في زمن الايمام نايب الخليفة امير المؤمنين ابي الفتح إبراهيم شاه السلطان خلدت خلافته منه خمس وثمانية
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANS

BY DR. Z. A. DESAI

This article, a continuation of my study of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions of pre-Mughal Gujarat, is intended to be supplementary to the article on the inscriptions of the Sultanate period, and should now account for all the inscriptions of the sultans of Gujarat that have come to light so far. There are still in the province a considerable number of unpublished inscriptions dating from the fourteenth century onwards which have been discovered and listed in recent years by the Archaeological Survey of India, but their detailed study has been left out for the present as they do not contain the names of the reigning monarchs. All the same, they are important in some respect or the other and will be taken up, time and space permitting, in due course.

In the following lines I have dealt with thirty-two epigraphs, mostly unpublished, found at various places in the state. They represent all the sultans except Muhammad Shāh I, Qutbuddin Ahmad Shāh II, Mahmūd Shāh II, Sikandar Shāh, Ahmad Shāh III and Muzaffar Shāh III. The largest number of these inscriptions i.e., twenty-two, register the construction of mosques, in one case along with a fort and in another with a well. Among the rest, one commemorates the building of a fort, two of step-wells, and one of a well; two contain texts of royal orders, one is an epitaph, and two refer to the construction of some edifices. The remaining one being fragmentary, its purport is not clear. The earliest and the last dates of these records are A.H. 804 (1401-02 A.D.) and A.H. 946 (1539 A.D.) respectively.

The importance of these epigraphs cannot be overstressed: They have preserved the names of quite a few notable personages—noblemen, administrative personnel, saints, etc.—who are otherwise unknown. Among these personages are: Malik Naṣīruddin Mahmūd, son of Malik Da‘udd; Khān-i-A’zam Asad Khān; Khwāja Khāṣṣa, son of Wajih, hājib (chamberlain) of the court; Malik ‘Umar Malik Marjan Sultān; Khān-i-A’zam Kamāl Khān; Khwāja ‘Ali Khān; and Malik Shār Shams, son of Mumārak, entitled Shamshir-ul-Mulk. While it is not so specifically mentioned, it stands to reason to hold that these men enjoyed highest official status in the regions where these records are found. On the other hand, there are some whose official status is specifically mentioned, e.g. Karim, son of Khudraw, mutaṣṣarīf (accountant) of the shīq of Asāwāl (modern Ahmadabad); Malik Khǎshbāsh Sultān, koteāl of the province (‘argā) of Gujarat; Malik Shār Shams Jamāluddin Bihāmad, nā’il (deputy) of the king; Malik ‘Abdul Shāh Sultān, koteāl of the city of Nahrwalā (modern Patan); Budh, son of Kamāl, royal aslabādār (arms-bearer); Malik Aman, muqta‘ of Cambay; Malik Suraj, koteāl of the city of Nahrwalā; and Jamāl, son of Fathullāh, alias Malik Makhdujm, nadim (boon-companion) of Mahmūd Shāh I. As against these, only two of the nobles mentioned in these epigraphs are well-known; Khān-i-A’zam Ulugh Khān and Malik Sārang entitled Qiwām-ul-Mulk.

2 These have been listed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE) from the Report for 1952-53 onwards.
3 A few of these have been either briefly noticed or published in original or translation as will be indicated in the proper places.
4 It must be remembered that no epigraph of Muhammad I, Mahmūd II, Sikandar and Muzaffar III has been found so far.
Of the two saints referred to in these epigraphs, Shaikh Husamud-Din Multani (d. 1336 A.D.) is well-known, but Shaikh Muhammad Turk of Kashgar owes his name exclusively to one of our records. In addition, a few more personages are mentioned in these epigraphs but they do not merit any particular attention except perhaps Nakbdah Yahya, son of Tandel Nanya, on account of his profession: obviously a ship-master, he is mentioned as an employee of Khan-i-A’zam Kamal Khân, a fact which may imply the private ownership of ship or a fleet of vessels by the nobility.

Palaeographically, there is nothing more to be said about these inscriptions than what I have already stated elsewhere. But a few words may be said about the language. Almost all the inscriptions of the sultans so far published are in prose, the language being either Arabic or Persian. But in the present group there are epigraphs composed in verse, the earliest of which are dated in the reign of Muñafar Shâh I, the founder of the dynasty. Also, the present study discloses the fact that the inscriptions of the Gujarat sultans were not composed almost exclusively in Arabic as was generally believed hitherto. With these prefatory remarks I proceed to study these inscriptions which are arranged chronologically under the respective monarchs.

Zafar Khân or Muñafar Shâh I

I. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 804 FROM MUNJUR

Munjur, situated in 23°35’ N. and 71°50’ E., was once the headquarters of a paragan.2 but is now reduced to a small town in the Samv tâluka of the Mehsana district. It lies at a distance of 24 miles south-west of Patan. Its only surviving relic of earlier times is the Jami’ mosque of some architectural pretensions.

This epigraph was listed by Cousens who did not give any particulars thereof,3 while the district gazetteer briefly reported it to contain the name of Zafar Khân, son of Vajhul-Mulk.4 But no attempt was made to copy it until 1911, when Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant of my office, toured north Gujarat in search of inscriptions.

The inscription is carved in relief on a slab measuring 64 by 36 cm. which is fixed over the central mihrab of the said Jami’ mosque.5 It runs into three lines of writing, part of which comprising religious texts is in Arabic. The historical portion which is in Persian assigns the construction of the mosque to Masnad-i-’Ali A’zam Humayûn Zafar Khân, son of Wajhul-Mulk, in 1401-02 A.D. The style of writing is ornamental Naskh with Tughrâ flourishes.

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(1) قال الله تعالى و الإنسان سنة فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال عليه السلام من بني

(2) إلى الله ل مثله في الجنة توفي يفت بر بناى ] مسجد جامع مسجد عال اعظم

همايون نوفر خان

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1 EIAPS, 1961, pp. 23.
4 Bombay Gazetteer (BG), vol. V, Ootch, Palanpur and Mahi Kântha (Bombay, 1880), pp. 343-44.
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(3) ین وجیه السلمک کر صاحب معاذت که در یقیم شریف حاضر آید برابر معاذت
خیر باذل فانجکه شفع آرد سنه اربع و ثمانیاهه

TRANSLATION

(1) Allâh the Exalted has said, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allâh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allâh.' And (the Prophet), on whom be peace, has said, 'He who builds for Allâh a mosque,

(2) Allâh builds for him a similar house in Paradise.' For the construction of the Jâmi'-Masjid, blessed was with divine guidance Masnad-i-'Aâl A'zam Humâyûn Zafar Khân,

(3) son of Wajihull-Mulk. Every fortunate person who visits this noble abode should by reciting fâtiha invoke prayers for the good end of the builder. (In) the year (A.H.) four and eight hundred (A.H. 804-1401-02 A.D.).

II. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 806 FROM KAPADWANJ

This inscription is fixed into the northern wall of the courtyard of the Jâmi' mosque at Kapadwanj situated in 23â€™ N., 73â€™ E. in Kaira district. This ancient town mentioned by Arab writers seems to have been the headquarters of an administrative unit during the Sultanate period as is indicated by inscription No. IX, supra; it also finds frequent mention in historical works.

The tablet (96 by 50 cm.) containing this epigraph is evidently not in situ since the text refers to the construction of a fort. The inscription consists of seven verses in Persian and one line in prose carved in the left border, and states that Zafar Khân, 'the minister of the east and west' laid foundation of a strong fort which was completed in 1404 A.D. We are also told that the fort was built at the request of Karim, son of Khusraw, the mutasarrîf (accountant) of the shîq of Asâwallâ. According to an epigraph found at Harsol in Sabarkantha district, Karim was also responsible for the construction of a fort at that place in the following year. The Harsol inscription and the one under study are not only alike in their execution but their texts are also identical except in the portion indicating the date.

Since nothing is known about Karim from historical works except that he was one of the nobles who revolted against Ahmad Shâh I immediately after the latter's accession, these two records provide at least this information that Karim was the mutasarrîf of the shîq of Asâwallâ.

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1 Qur'ân, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
4 Sikandar, op. cit., pp. 77, 80, 111, 155, 399, 400, 408, 425, etc.
5 Consens, op. cit., p. 94, states that there are three inscriptions in Arabic on a mosque at Kapadwanj. He evidently refers to the Jâmi' mosque. But this monument has only one more inscription, also in Persian verse, recording the construction of a mosque in 1370-71 A.D. (EIAPS, 1962, pp. 17-19).
6 For the duties, etc., of the post of mutasarrîf, see I. H. Quraishi, Administration of the Delhi Sultanate (Lahore, 1944), pp. 208-09.
8 Sikandar, op. cit., p. 30.
A.H. 806 and 807. Another interesting feature of these records is the mention of Asāwol in the immediate vicinity of which Ahmadabad was founded within less than a decade. While it is not possible for want of sufficient data to define its boundaries as they existed then, it is evident from these two documents that the sīq of Asāwol must have extended to the town (and perhaps pargana) of Harsol in the north and Kapadwanj in the east.

The epigraph is also remarkable for its calligraphical style. The ornamental Nāşkh employed here is similar to, though not so fine as, the Baroda inscription of Zafar Khān. Its text reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate II(c)*

بعد اختو میمون زمان و نز فال
بنا نباد مصاحیب جدید بدین مثال
مفتقر ست بر اعدا [ی] دین هم احوال
گرزیده طبع و سوابق صفات خوب خصال
نرود من دخله کن امانا فی الحف
ز هجرت نبی هیسه و شمش از سال
فَوی چو سبب شداد و متنین چو فطب شمال

*In the left border.*

فرمایش کریم خسرو متصفم شق اسامل

**TRANSLATION**

(1) At the fortunate juncture, (in the) auspicious month (of the) blessed year, at the lucky time, auspicious period and happy omen,

(2) at the best of places and choicest spot, such a fort, the like of whom is rare, was built

(3) by the minister of the East and West, Ulugh Zafar Khān who is victorious over the enemies of the Faith in any eventuality (and who has)

(4) heaven as threshold, dignity of angels, position of sky, select mind, praiseworthy qualities and excellent habits.

(5) What a (wonderful) fort (it is) that at its entrance, the Angel at once delivers the good news of 'He who enters it is safe'.

(6) It was completed in the month of Ramadān and it has been from the Migration of the Prophet eight hundred and sixth year (Ramadān A.H. 806-March-April 1401 A.D.).

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1 *Epigraphia Indica-Asianica (EIA),* 1939-40, pl. II.

2 Qur'ān, chapter 11, part of verse 97.
Plate II

(a) Inscription of Muzaffar Shah I, dated A.H. 813, from Patan (p. 13)

(b) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 807, from Sami (p. 9)

(c) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 806, from Kapadwanj (p. 8)
(7) May the foundation of the life and basis of the aspirations of the builder be as strong as Seven firmaments and as firm as the Pole star!

In the border.

At the request of Karim Khusraw, mutasarrif of the shiq of Asawal.

III. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 807 FROM SAMI

The tablet bearing this inscription measures 57 by 59 cm. and is fixed above the central mina’ of the Jami’ mosque at Sami, headquarters of the taluka of the same name in Mehsana district.1 Sami situated in 23°41’ N. and 71°40’ E. was, like Munjpur, the seat of a pargana during the Sultanate period.3

The record consists of five lines of writing except for the religious texts in Persian. It states that the Jami’ mosque of the qaṣba of Saraf was constructed in 1404 A.D. during the time of Masnad-i-‘Ali Zafar Khan by Nasiru’d-Din Malik Mahmud, son of Malik Daud. The identity of Nasiru’d-Din Malik Mahmud cannot be satisfactorily established. Our epigraph is the only source to quote his name in full. One Mahmud Daud salahdar is mentioned in the Tūridh-i-Mahmud Shāh in connection with Ahmad Shāh’s invasion of Idar not long after his accession.2 In all probability he is identical with Malik Nasiru’d-Din Mahmud, son of Malik Daud, of our record. Of course, historical works do mention more than one Malik Mahmud, but without a parental name, in connection with the events of the period: a Malik Mahmud Bargi (or Turk) was among the nobles who rebelled against Ahmad Shāh I immediately after his rise to kingship. He was subsequently despatched in A.H. 929 by Ahmad Shāh against Malik Nasir of Khandesh who had besieged Sultanpur near Nandurbar.4 The name of Khān-i-A’gam Mahmud Khan also occurs in the same connection.5 Then there is Malik Mahmud whose son Malik Dauwaru’l-Mulk was a prominent noble of Mahmud’s; he must have flourished at about the time of our record. It is difficult to say in the absence of details, if these persons are quite different from one another.

The style of writing of the record is Nasīkh of the same type as in Inscription No. I. It is very likely that both were designed by the same calligraphist. Its text is deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate II(b)

1 A.R.E., 1900-01, No. D. 69.
4 Sikkandar, op. cit., p. 48.
5 Ibid.
TRANSLATION

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

(2) This Jāmi’ mosque was constructed in the gaṣba of Samī during the regime of Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Zafar Khān, may he remain exalted for ever,

(3) by the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Naṣīrū’d-Dīn Malik Mahmūd, son of Malik Daʿūd,

(4) in the hope of (the fulfilment of) the promise of the chosen prophet Muḥammad Mustafā, may the blessings and salutations of Allāh be upon him, (contained in his tradition), ‘He who builds a mosque

(5) for Allāh, Allāh the Exalted builds for him a house in Paradise’. On the first of Muharram year (A.H.) seven and eight hundred (1st Muharram A.H. 807=10th July 1434 A.D.).

IV. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 807 FROM CAMBAY

The present epigraph is carved in relief on a loose slab preserved in the tomb of Qābil Shāh situated opposite to the Police Office near Prince Mahdi ‘Ali Khān park at Cambay in Kaira district.² The tablet does not belong to the tomb which is uninscribed, and it has not been possible to trace its findspot. Its text was quoted by Cousens who unjustly condemns it as ‘about the worst of the lot both in calligraphy and in style’. Needless to say, the reading prepared for and published by him is most corrupt. To quote only one example, he gives A.H. 775 instead of A.H. 807 as its date.³

The text consists of five lines in Persian prose and verse, and records the construction of a mosque in 1405 A.D. during the time of Masnad-i-ʿĀlī Zafar Khān by Malik Khūshbāsh, kotwāl of the province (argā) of Gujarat. Since Malik Khūshbāsh is mentioned in the text as a slave of the late Firūz Tughrul, it is likely that he had come to the province along with Zafar Khān. Malik Khūshbāsh is not mentioned in historical works, and therefore, the present record is quite important. His designation, kotwāl of the whole province of Gujarat, is again interesting.

The inscriptive tablet measures 60 by 45 cm., and the style of writing is Nashīkh.

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(1) ʿism Allāh arham al-rahim

(2) ʿanakard abn mīṣāj bnh xzm slltzn yāsīn yāz fyrz aṭār Allāh brnḥ mllk xwshās

(3) kwayd arṣ qmr ṣn

(4) ysbd mnsdn nl ʿl xzn ksr b thān

(5) nākardist abn mīṣāj mllk xwshās sllāz

¹ Qur’an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
³ Cousens, op. cil., p. 314. There are quite a few mistakes in his reading which need not be detailed here.
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Translation

1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

2) This mosque was built by the slave of the seal of the kings (i.e. the last of the great kings), Sultan Firuz, may Allah illuminate his proof, (namely) Malik Khushkash, the kothool of the province (argat) of Gujarat.

3) (Verse:) In the time of Zafar Khan, the second Chorlasses, this mosque has been constructed by Malik Khushkash Sultan.

4) It was on the twenty-third of Shawal and eight hundred and seven from the Migration (25th Shawal A.H. 807-23rd February 1405 A.D.) that this mosque was completed through the grace of the glorified Lord.

5) May God have mercy on that creature who having entered this mosque offers prayers from his heart and soul for the welfare of the builder!

V. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 812 FROM PATAN

This important inscription containing a new record of Muzaffar Shah I is engraved on two slabs measuring 78 by 37 cm. and 76 by 30 cm. which are respectively built into the outer and inner face of the wall over the window of the koya situated inside the tomb-enclosure of Mahdum Husainud-Din, a celebrated fourteenth-century Chishti saint (d. 1336 A.D.), at Patan. It may be pointed out that so far only one inscription of the kingship period of Zafar Khan has come to light; it is at Veraval. One more such record also discovered at Patan is studied next.

The present record consists of two poetical fragments of three verses each, inscribed in Naqsh characters in relief, and states that Khani-i-Azam Asad Khan constructed a ‘noble and agreeable edifice’ in 1409-10 A.D. during the reign of Shamsud Din Muzaffar Shah. From the second fragment it is clear that the edifice referred to is the koya (lit. room) where the night-vigils could be kept and prayers offered. The fact that historical works of the period fail to give any clue to the identity of Khani-i-Azam Asad Khan, the builder, enhances the importance of the record. Another interesting point about the epigraph is that it furnishes the earliest versified record of the Gujarati sultans.

1 The upper portion of the letter ٖ is broken.
3 EIAPS, 1953 and 1954, p. 90.
4 It may be of interest to note that all the inscriptions of Zafar Khan, including the one of his kingship period, are composed in Persian, while majority of the records of his successors are in Arabic.
Its text has been read as follows:

TEXT

Plate III(b)

(a) Outer side.

(1) بعهد شاه جهان شمس دین مفطر شاه
(2) چنان مقام شریف و عمارت مطبوع
(3) که شد تمام عمارت بعون لطف اله

(b) Inner side.

(1) انتهای این عمارت دل نشان یاد
(2) دو او وارد شب خیزان همه روز
(3) قهانی یکد مراد دل چنان یاد

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) In the reign of the king of the world, the sun of the Faith (i.e. Shamsu’d-Din) Muṣaffar Shāh, Asad Khān constructed with glory, pomp and dignity

(2) such a noble place and agreeable building whose like none from among the nobles, lords and the kings has seen.

(3) Eight hundred and twelve years had passed from the Migration (A.H. 812-1409-10 A.D.) when the building was completed through the help of Divine favour.

(b) (1) O God! May this edifice be agreeable, and may joy and good fortune be conjugated therein!

(2) May the repetitions (aṣrād) of those who keep awake at night be always devoted to the prayers for the Khān-i-A’qān!

(3) May all his affairs be in accordance with his deliberation, and may all the wishes of his heart be fulfilled!

VI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 813 FROM PATAN

This epigraph, found by me in 1951, is to be seen over the central miḥnāb of the mosque called Rāḩrezon-ki-Masjid at Patan. Also dated in the reign of Muṣaffar Shāh I, it records the construction of an auspicious edifice—a mosque if the record is in situ—by Khwāja Khūṣṣa, son of Wajīh, the doyen among the nobles and the lord-chamberlain (hājīb) of the court, in H10-11 A.D. Unfortunately the month of the year is not quoted in the text; otherwise, the epigraph might have provided evidence about the correct time date of the end of Muṣaffar Shāh’s rule and of the accession of his immediate successor Aḥmad Shāh I. Even then, the inscription is quite important. The builder Khwāja Khūṣṣa, son of Wajīh, though not categorically described so in the record,

2. The problem of these dates was briefly discussed by me in EIAPS, 1953 and 1954, p. 52.
is a brother of Muzaffar Shāh. For apart from the parental name Wajih, Khwaja Khāṣṣa is mentioned as the chief among the nobles and the hājib of the court. It is a well-known fact that the office of hājib was only conferred upon the prince of the royal family next to the king. The only brothers of the king whom historical works mention are Shams Khān the founder of the Nagaur line of rulers and Nurṣat Khān who was left in charge of Malwa after the defeat of Hoshang Shāh.1

The text of this record consists of three verses in Persian engraved in relief in Naskh characters and occupies a total area of 49 by 31 cm.2 It has been deciphered as under:

TEXT

Plate II(a)

(1) شد این تناری مبارزک ز فیض فضل اله
(2) به هدی خواجته خاصه این واجی
(3) برخی و سه و دهم سال حسبه

TRANSLATION

(1) This blessed construction took place through the bounty of Divine grace in the time of the government of the protector of religion Muzaffar Shāh.

(2) The shelter and refuge of guidance, Khwaja Khāṣṣa, son of Wajih, the chief of the great dignitaries and hājib (chamberlain) of the court,

(3) made efforts and was favoured with Divine guidance; (it was constructed) for the sake of Allāh only in (the year A.H.) eight hundred, ten and three (A.H. 813=1490-11 A.D.).

Ahmad Shāh I

VII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 820 FROM THE SAME PLACE

This epigraph is also unnoticed. It was found by me over the central māḥīd of the mosque in the Phuti-Mahalla or Pinjarkot at Patan.3 The text comprises six lines in Arabic inscribed in Naskh script in relief on a slab measuring 56 by 31 cm. It states that the mosque was constructed in 1417 A.D. during the reign of Nāṣiru’d-Din Abū’l-Fath Ahmad Shāh, by Jamā’u’d-Din Bihāmad, a purchased slave of the king.

The name of Jamā’u’d-Din Bihāmad, like many other names recorded in epigraphs, is not traceable in historical works of Gujarat. But there is little doubt that he was an important official since, he became a noble of first rank with the title Maliku’sh-Sharq and deputy of the king at Kapadwān only six years later, according to inscription No. IX of this study. Now in the present inscription he is mentioned as Jamā’u’d-Din Bihāmad, while in the later epigraph his name occurs as Jamāl Bihāmad. In case an idqaf-i-iubai is intended between the two names, as is very likely the case, it would mean that Jamāl was son of Bihāmad. If so, it is just possible that the father is identical with Bihāmad, later Bihāmad Khān, who was brought up in the house of Firūz Khān, a minister of Ghīyāthu’d-Din Tughluq II (died A.H. 791). Bihāmad accompanied Firūz Khān’s

1 Tarikh-i-Firīzshāhi, vol. II (Kanpur, 1865), p. 182; Nizamū’d-Din Ahmad, Tabaqāt-i-Abbari (Lucknow, 1875), p. 449. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 26, however, does not name Nurṣat Khān as the king’s brother.

2 The tablet is slightly damaged.

3 ARIE, 1956-57, No. D, 94.
son to Kalpi where he entered into the service of Junaid Khan, another son of Firuz Khan, who was made minister by his brother Nasiru’d-Din Muhammad Shab of Kalpi. Bihamad Khan also received in fief the town of Erachh in Jhansi district. He is said to have been alive in A.H. 842. One of his sons, Muhammad, wrote a general history entitled Tarih-i-Muhammad.1 If the above assumption is correct, it would mean that Jamalu’d-Din had migrated to Gujarat entered the service of the king and ultimately rose to a high post.

The text of the record reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate IV(a)

(1) س نى بناه هذ ه المسجد بعون الله الملك المنان العبد الراحل إلى رحمة الرحمن
جمال الدين

(2) بهامد من عبيد خاقان الأعظم و قهرمان العظم الواثق بالليل المستعان ناصر الدين
والدين

(3) أبو الفتح أحمد بن محمد بن محمد بن محمد مظهر على السلطان ابناه للفاتع الله الكريم
و اعتيادًا

(4) يقول رسول الله السور بخلق العظيم من بنى الله مسجدًا يبنيه به وجه الله بنى الله
ملته

(5) في الجنة وقال عليه السلام من بنى الله مسجدًا لكونه قطة وجبت له الجنة
و وقع الإغراء من هذا النتا

(6) بمهد شهير أعظم الله تعالى بالبيان شهر رمضان الذي نزل فيه القرآن في سنة كانت
تاريخها عشرين و ثمانية

TRANSLATION

(1) In the construction of this mosque efforts were made through the help of Allah, the Bountiful Lord, by the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Beneficent, Jamalu’d-Din.

(2) Bihamad, one of the slaves of the great Khosr and the magnificent Qahrman, the reliant on the support of the Helper, Nasiru’d-Dunya wa’d-Din.

(3) Abu’l-Fath Ahmad Shab, son of Muhammad Shab, son of Musafr Shab the sultan, by way of obtaining the Face of the Generous Allah and relying

(4) upon the saying of his Messenger (who is) described (in the Qur’an as possessing) ‘sublime morality’,2 to wit, ‘He who builds for Allah a mosque seeking thereby the Face of Allah, Allah builds for him a similar edifice.

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2 Qur’an, chapter LXVIII, part of verse 4.
(a) Inscription of ʿAbd al-Rahmān Shāh I, dated A.H. 820, from Patan (p. 14)

(b) Another inscription of the same king, same place, dated A.H. 821 (p. 15)
(5) in Paradise. And (the Prophet), may peace be upon him, has also said, 'He who builds for Allâh a mosque, even if it be (as small) as the nest of a sandgrouse, Paradise becomes due to him'. And he became free from this construction (which took place)

(6) in his (i.e. king's) reign in the month whom Allâh the Exalted has honoured by mentioning it (in the Qur'ân) 'the month of Ramaḍân is that in which the Qur'ân was revealed',¹ of the year whose reckoning was twenty and eight hundred (Ramaḍân A.H. 820=October-November 1417 A.D.).

VIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 821 FROM THE SAME PLACE

An English translation of this record was made by Professor Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Dār at the request of Professor Commissariat for his History of Gujarât.² But since its text and facsimile have not been published, it is included in this article.

The inscripional tablet measures 67 by 37 cm. and is fixed on the water-trough for cattle near a well outside the ḫaṭīpūl gate at Patan.³ The record comprising eight lines of Persian interspersed with Quranic texts in Arabic is inscribed in Naṣḥī characters in relief and refers to the excavation and construction of a 'flowing bounty' i.e. well on the last day of 1418 A.D. during the reign of Aḥmad Shâh by 'Abdu'llâh Sulṭânī, the kotwâl of the city of Nahrwâlâ i.e. Patan.

It is not easy to establish the identity of 'Abdu'llâh Sulṭânī.' Historians do mention one Malik 'Abdullâh who was the superintendent of the elephants (shâhna-i-fîl) in the beginning of Mahmûd Shâh I's rule i.e. in A.H. 863; but his name only occurs once in connexion with the release of the minister Malik Sha'bân 'Imâd-ullâh Mulk,⁴ and no particulars are available about his antecedents or subsequent career. It is possible that 'Abdu'llâh of our inscription might have risen from the kotwâl ship of Nahrwâlâ to the superintendence of royal elephants. In any case, the importance of the record in that it supplied the name of an official of Nahrwâlâ is obvious.

The text of the epigraph reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate IV(b)

(1) بناء این خیر جاری از عنایت حضرت بایّر در عهد همايون خداگان عالیمنا درگذش

اسمان جا

(2) سلطان السلاطین ظل الله فی العالیمین برکزیده فضل زدنا سپرد بهد و احسان

(3) الوافق پدید مستعان ناصر الدینا و الدین ابو الفتح احمد شاه بن معبد شاه بن مظفر شاه

(4) السلطان خلد الله مکه و سلطانه اعظم درجت و شانه بندید و درم خریده این درگذش

(5) عیدیالله سلطان زکوتال شهر نبوالله پنیاد نباده و عمارت مربت کردانیده تا تنگدان

خداگی غز

¹ Qur'ân, chapter II, part of verse 185.
(1) The construction of this flowing bounty (i.e. well) through the kindness of the Lord of Majesty, in the auspicious reign of the master, asylum of the world, having the court of heaven's dignity,

(2) king of kings, shadow of Allāh in the worlds, chosen by the grace of God, praised for justice and benevolence,

(3) reliant upon Allāh whose help is sought, Nāṣiru’d-Dunyā wa’d-Din Abu’l-Fath ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muṣṭafā Shāh,

(4) the sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty (and) magnify his status and dignity, by the purchased slave of this court,

(5) (namely) ‘Abdu’l-ʿĀlam Sulṭānī, the kotwāl of the city of Nahrwāla, was founded, and its structure completed, so that the creatures of God, be He glorified

(6) and exalted, may at this place in accordance with (Divine) decree ‘And we have made of water everything living’,¹ derive benefit,

(7) find comfort and remember the founder of this bounty with prayers for the achievement of his pardon and soundness of his faith. ‘And (all) praise is due to Allāh, the Lord of the Creation.’² On Friday, the second of Dhi’l-Hijja, year (A.H.) eight hundred and twentyone (2nd Dhi’l-Hijja A.H. 821=31st December 1418 A.D.)

IX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 826 FROM KAPADWANJ

I noticed this inscription for the first time in 1954 A.D. It is built into the west wall to the left of the central mihrāb in Sām Shahād’s mosque at Kapadwanj.³ Consisting of six lines of Arabic interspersed with a few Persian phrases, the text records the construction of the mosque in 1423 A.D. during the reign of Ahmad Shah when Malikuš-Sharq Jamal Bihāmad was the (latter’s) deputy at the place. The way in which the names of the two builders are mentioned is confusing; it reads: ‘the builder(s) of this mosque are slaves of the house of the Prophet, Ahmad Budh Ḥasanī Muḥammad Budh Ḥasanī commonly known as Sayyid Makan.’⁴ While the phrase indicating the builder—al-bābī—is in singular, the Persian term bandagan describing them as the descendants of the Prophet is in plural; again, there is no conjunction—wa—between the two names. But on the whole I am inclined to take Ahmad Budh and Muḥammad Budh as brothers. But in that case, whom should the popular name Sayyid Makan refer to? It can only refer to the father whose name appears to be Budh. In the alternative, the phrase Ahmad Budh Ḥasanī Muḥammad

¹ Qur’an, chapter XXI, verse 30.
² Isrā‘, chapter 1, verse 1.
⁴ The name ‘Makan’ is to be found even today in Gujarat particularly in the rural areas.
PLATE V: (a) Inscription of Ahmad Shah I, dated A.H. 826, from Kapadwanj (p. 17)

(b) Another record of the same monarch, dated A.H. 828, from Wadhwan (p. 20)
Budh Ḥasanī can be taken to mean Ahmad Budh Ḥasanī son of Muḥammad Budh Ḥasanī in which case the builder would be the son, who was popularly called Sayyid Makan. But in that case, the occurrence of Budh as part of the names of both the father and the son is somewhat unusual. I would personally prefer to take them as brothers.

Malik Jamāl Bihāmad is identical with Jamālu’d-Din Bihāmad of the Patan inscription (No. VII). On the date of this epigraph he enjoyed the title of Maliku’š-Shārq and was the king’s deputy at Kapadwanj. The builders Ahmad and Muḥammad, sons of Sayyid Makan alias Budh, appear to have been at the best men of local importance.

The text is inscribed on a slab measuring 70 by 27 cm. in ordinary Nāṣīḥah characters in relief and reads as under:—

**TEXT**

**Plate V(a)**

(1) قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدنا تعلَّى برئ الله في الجنة
(2) بناء هذه المسجد بهاء همادون على لازال على ناصر الدنيا و الدين هب الفتح احمد شاه
(3) بني محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان بن السلطان خانداي ملكه النايب
(4) في هذ الاقام
(5) ملكه الامام جمال بير ملكه السلطان يديم الله معايله الباني لهذه المسجد بلجكان
(6) خانداي نبوي
(7) و عشرين و تماماه
(8) من دين اول سنة
(9) [١٩٦] {١٩٦} [١٩٦] {١٩٦}

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The Prophet, may Allāh's blessings and salutations be upon him, says, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh the Exalted, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise'.

(2) The construction of this mosque (took place) in the auspicious time, may it never cease to exist, of Nāṣiru’d-Dunyā wa’d-Din Abū’l-Fath Ahmad Shāh,

(3) son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the sultān, son of the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, (and in time of his) deputy (nāʾib) at this place,

(4) Maliku’š-Shārq Malik Jamāl Bihāmad Sultānī, may Allāh make his glory last for ever. The builders of this mosque are the slaves of the family of the Prophet (and)

(5) hopeful at the court of the Omnipotent Creator, Abīmad (son of ?) Budh Hasani and Muḥammad (son of ?) Budh Hasani (the latter ?) popularly known as Sayyid Makan. On the date 10th of Rabi’u’l-Awwal, year (A.H.)

(6) six and twenty and eight hundred (10th Rabi’ I A.H. 826=21st February 1423 A.D.).
X. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 827 FROM CAMBAY

The credit of first noticing this inscription in 1919 goes to Mr. R. D. Banerji, then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Western India.¹ It has however not been published. Its tablet measuring 55 by 30 cm. is fixed into the west wall, above the pulpit, or the Sad-i-Awwal mosque.² This mosque is locally so named as it is claimed to have been erected in the first sad (century) of Hijra, but the present structure does not seem to be original, much less of that age. There are two more inscriptions in the mosque, of which one appearing above the central mihrab is an epitaph, and the other fixed near the prayer-niche refers to the reparation carried out to the mosque at a much later date.³

The text consists of five lines of faultless Arabic inscribed in Nasīkh characters in relief. It assigns the reconstruction of the mosque from its very foundation, after it had fallen apart, by Ahmad Shāh in 1423 A.D. It has been deciphered as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate VI(a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تبارك و تعالى و إن المسجد ندأ فلا تدعوا مع الله إحدا و قال عليه السلام

(2) من بني الله بنياً بعد الله في الدنيا بنى الله بنى في الجنة من الدر وال)yاقوت و علبه عليه السلام من بني الله مسجدا و لوكمنصب قطاوة بني الله

(3) بنى في الجنة بنى هذا المسجد المبارک و بتجديده العمارة من أمه بعد انقضاءه

(4) السلطان العالم العادل

(5) البناقل الأخوم تلل الله في العالم الواثق بالله المستعان ناصر الدنيا و والدينibo الفتح

إحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر

(5) شاه السلطان خليد الله ملكه و إله رافاه ابن رب العالمين و ذلك في الغرفة من المحرج

(6) سنه سبع و عشرين و ثمان ماه من الهجرة

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allah the Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allah only; hence invoke not any one else with Allah'.⁴ And said (the Prophet), may peace be upon him,

(2) 'One who builds for Allah a house in which Allah is worshipped, Allah builds for him a house of pearl and cornelian in Paradise'. And (this saying is) also by him, may peace be on him: 'One who builds for Allah a mosque even if it be as (small as) the nest of a sandgrouse, Allah builds

¹ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle (PRWC), 1919-20 (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 50 (No. 29), 58.
² ARIE, 1556-57, No. D, 54.
³ Ibid., Nos. D, 53, 55.
⁴ Qurʾān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
Plate VI

(a) Inscription of Aḥmad Shāh I, dated A.H. 827, from Cambay (p. 18)

(b) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 831, from Cambay (p. 21)
INScriPtiONS OF THE GuJarat SultANS

(3) fyr him a house in paradise. This blessed mosque was reconstructed from its very foundation, after it had fallen down, by the king who is learned, just,

(4) bountiful, great, shadow of Allah in the world, reliant on Allah whose help is sought, Nāgiru’d-Dunya wa’d-Din Abūl-Fath Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muẓaffar

(5) Shāh, the sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and cause his kindness to last for ever—Amen, O Lord of the Universe! And this took place on the first Muḥarram, year (A.H.) seven and twenty and eight hundred from the Migration (1st Muḥarram A.H. 827-5th December 1423 A.D.).

XI. InscriptiOn Dated A. H. 828 FROM Wadhwan

This interesting and valuable inscription was published by Mr. R. S. Saksena from the rubbings supplied to him by the Curator, Watson Museum, Rajkot, in 1928 A.D. Due to the damaged nature of the writing, he could not decipher its date and stated that it was lost; also, he read the name of the builder as Malīk Thānī.1 These statements are incorrect.

The inscriptive tablet is fixed into the facade of the prayer-hall of the Pādā-Masjid at Wadhwan, capital of the erstwhile state of the same name in Saurashtra.2 It is also principal town of the region called Jhalawar whose chiefs occasionally defied the authority of the sultans during the early period of their rule.3 The slab is evidently not in situ as it is said to have been lying loose when its text was published by Mr. Saksena. Moreover, another inscription of Abhmad Shāh I, dated A. H. 840, which is now fixed by the side of the one under study and which was also lying loose some time back was reported to have been removed in the last century from the mosque within the Durbar’s enclosure (chief’s residence) as the monument was used for a granary.4 What is perhaps the inscription of the monument proper appears over its central mihrāb and is of the time of Muḥammad Shāh; it is dated A. H. 851. Both these records have been previously published.5

The slab is somewhat broken. In its present state, it measures 82 by 36 cm. About one-sixth of the slab on the right is missing, so that one hemistich in the first line and one hemistich and a half in the second are lost, which shows that the text, apart from Bismillah and the famous Quranic verse occurring in mosque inscriptions, consisted of a fragment of six verses. Unfortunately, the slab is badly damaged, and the letters have peeled off almost in every panel. The writing seems to have been slightly better preserved when Mr. Saksena wrote.

All the same, after some efforts, it has been possible to decipher sufficient portion of the text according to which a mosque was constructed in 1425 A.D. during the reign of Ahmad Shāh. The name of the builder is not contained in the surviving text, and the verse which Mr. Saksena deciphered as containing it gives nothing but the date. It was probably contained in the first two hemistiches of the second line, of which only half has survived, and it is also badly damaged. It is therefore difficult to name the builder. Needless to say, the name Malīk Thānī deciphered by Mr. Saksena—which does not exist on the stone—is even otherwise quite unusual for a nobleman.

* Indian Historical Quarterly (IHQ), vol. IV (1926), p. 771, plate no. 2.
* For the history of the city and its remains, sec. BD, vol. VIII, Kathiawar (Bombay, 1884), pp. 691-701.
* Ibid., p. 692.
* EIAPS, 1933 and 1954, pp. 56,166. These were also published by Mr. Saksena in IHQ, vA. IV, pp. 771-772, but his readings are incorrect.
This as well as the other two records referred to above furnish important evidence of the political status of Jhalawar at the period of their dates. Also, the present record provides the earliest verified inscription of Ahmad Shāh.

The style of writing is Nasha' of a fairly good order. The text of the record is deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
(2) [و ان لم تداولاً تدعوا مع الله احداً]
(3) شد مرتضي بفضل
(4) *هِيْصد و بِمستَهْت از هجرت
(5) بُود تاَيْرِح
(6) اندُرَ ایام شاه احمد شاه
(7) مالک تاج و تخت سلطان
(8) بُود بان
(9) آرد اندَرَین مسجد
(10) يِکَ ....... آرم ده مسلمان
(11) يا الیه کنگان اکن را در قیامت رحیم و رحمان

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
(2) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allah only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allah.'
(3) ............. was completed by the grace of God.

Eight hundred and twenty-eight from the Migration (of the Prophet) was the date............. of Ramadān (Ramadān A.H. 828=July-August 1425 A.D.),

in the time of the king Ahmad Shāh, the master of the royal crown and throne.

(4) ............. was the builder.

................. in this mosque may .......... one .......... out of religiousity.

O God! for the sin of that person, Thou art Merciful and Compassionate on the day of Resurrection.

---

1 Sahana, op. cit., P. 771, reads: 'ربيذي'.
2 Ibid. reads: 'معبد خاص است و بیت شرف بود بانی آن ملک تانی'.
3 Ibid. omits.
4 Ibid. reads: 'مهدبیان کن اندَرَین مسجد'.
5 Ibid. reads: 'یک دعا لازم از مسلمان'.
6 Ibid. reads: 'خفیف گردانی'.
7 Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
XII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 831 FROM CAMBAY

This unpublished inscription was first noticed by me in 1956. It occurs over the right mihrab in the west wall of the Furja-ki-Masjid situated on the road leading to the port at Cambay. The tablet measures 50 by 27 cm. and contains a record of four lines which are in Arabic with the exception of a phrase indicating the name of the builder. Its text is similar to some extent to that of another record from the same place (Inscription No. X). The similarity does not end here: the style of writing is also almost the same as in the inscription under reference.

It is stated in the record that the original structure of the mosque having completely fallen down, it was completely reconstructed by the orders of the king at the request of Malik-ul-Umarā Malik Marjān Sultanī in 1427 A.D. Among the quite few noblemen bearing the name Marjān, the nearest in time is Malik Marjān Sultanī the governor (burālādār), on behalf of Qutbuddin Ahmad Shāh II, of the fort of Broach who had successfully resisted the attack on the fort by Mahmūd Khālīji of Malwa in A. H. 855. Presumably he is the same Malik Marjān Sultanī who had built a mosque in Broach according to the inscription dated A. H. 862 in the time of Ahmad Shāh II. In that case, Malik-ul-Umarā Marjān Sultanī held charge of Cambay at the time of our record which would thus provide additional information about his career.

The text of the record reads as under:

TEXT

Plate VI(b)

(1) Bism Allah al-Rahim qal Allah Ta'ālā tanza'ū al-tasawwak wa allāhu wa an-nsajdīd dhū fîdīw a-lawād w-qal al-allām al-salam

(2) Min bii al-tasawwak w-ladīn al-mufassir qatā' bii Allah la btīna fi al-ja'ma' w-ummāh al-allām al-salam... wa la wālī bi al-dīr al-masjid tayyārīk

(3) Bīd idnhāmīn min as-salātan al-unsūm a-l-wasīm na'amīna al-tallāna 'alā al-dīr al-masjid tayyārīk... w-na'amīna al-tallāna

(4) Shāh 'ām Mīhmad 'ām Mīhmad Shāh al-salātan khalī Allah Malkātī 'āmīn

(5) Rub al-ulamā'īn w-ramāsīthār 'ām Mīhmad Malak al-nsajdīd Malak Marjān Sultanī yādīm Allah

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficient, the Merciful. Says Allāh the Blessed and Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.' And (the Prophet), peace be upon him, has said,

1 ARIE, 1956-37, No. D, 39. There is also a fragmentary epigraph on the central mihrāb which contains part of a Qur'anic verse (chapter LXIX, verse 23).

2 Sīkandar, op. cit., p. 70; Hājjī Dābir, op. cit., p. 4.


4 Qur’tan, chapter LXIX, verse 18.
EPGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(3) 'He who builds for Allah a mosque, even if it be like the nest of a sandgrouse, Allah builds for him a house in Paradise'. And (this saying is also) from him, peace be upon him: 'When Allah wishes good for (His) creature, He causes good to be done at his hands'. This blessed mosque was constructed,

(3) after it had fallen down from the foundation, by the great and magnificent king Nasiru’d-Dunya wa’d-Din Abu’l-Fatih Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muqaffar Shah, the sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom—Amen,

(4) O Lord of the Universe! And the suggestion for the work (i.e. construction) of this mosque was by Malik’l-Umar Malik Marjan Sultan, may Allah perpetuate his glories. And this was on the date, the first of the month of Muharram of the year (A.H.) thirtyone and eight hundred (1st Muharram A. H. 831=22nd October 1427 A.D.).

Muhammad Shah II

XIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 847 FROM BARODA

The pillar bearing this bilingual epigraph is reported to have been brought to the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery from Sathod situated in 22°05′ N. and 73°20′ E. in Baroda district.1 It is inscribed with fourteen and six lines of texts respectively in Persian and Sanskrit. On the top of the slab are engraved the figures of animals commonly found in inscriptions ending with imprecations.

Unfortunately the letters of the Persian version have been greatly disfigured due to the damaged condition of the pillar so much so that it is difficult to ascertain the purport of the record.

The Sanskrit version is also reported to be not clear due to the damaged nature of the writing, though it is in a slightly better preserved condition.2 However, from the date and the name of the king which have been deciphered beyond doubt, it appears that the pillar was set up in the reign of Muhammad Shah and that it bears some sort of royal order issued on the 15th Muharram A. H. 847 (15th May 1443 A.D.). It is unfortunate that this valuable inscription should thus be rendered useless resulting in the loss of some important information that could have thrown light on an administrative aspect of the government.

The style of writing of the version in Arabic letters is Naskh of an ordinary type, and the language is Persian.

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(1) بتاريخ يانزدهم ماه محرم الحرام سنه سبعم

(2) اربعين و ثمان مه در عبد سلطنت

(3) سلطن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن مظفر شاه

(4) تعبه

(5) 

1 ARIZ, 1949-50, No 2, 19.
2 1646.
(3) 'He who builds for Allah a mosque, even if it be like the nest of a sandgrouse, Allah builds for him a house in Paradise'. And (this saying is also) from him, peace be upon him: 'When Allah wishes good for (His) creature, He causes good to be done at his hands'. This blessed mosque was constructed,

(3) after it had fallen down from the foundation, by the great and magnificent king Nasirud-Dunya wa'd-Din Abu'l-Fath Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Mu'azzam Shah, the sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom—Amen,

(4) O Lord of the Universe! And the suggestion for the work (i.e., construction) of this mosque was by Matruk'l-Umar Malik Marjan Sultan, may Allah perpetuate his glories. And this was on the date, the first of the month of Muharram of the year (A.H.) thirty-one and eight hundred (1st Muharram A.H. 831=22nd October 1427 A.D.).

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The style of writing of the version in Arabic letters is Nash' of an ordinary type, and the language is Persian.

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(1) بتاريخ يانزدم ماه محرم الحرام سنه سبعمائج
(2) اربعين و ثمان مئه دير عهد سلطنت
(3) سلطان محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن مظفر شاه?
(4) تصبه

.......................... (5)

.......................... (6)

\(^1\) ABIZ, 1949-50, No. B, 60.
\(^2\) Ibid.
(b) An additional record of the same king, dated A.H. 816.
from Patan (p. 22)

(c) Inscription of Mahmud Shird, dated A.H. 807, from Mandala (p. 29)

(a) Inscription of Mahmud Shird, dated A.H. 807.
from Baroda (p. 22)
From the above reading, it appears that the epigraph contained an order of remission of certain taxes which were in existence for some years. It seems to mention in line 13 some person, in all probability an official, whose name reads like Sa’d son of Sharaf.

XIV. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 848 FROM PATAN

This epigraph is also one of the few versified records of the Gujarati sultans. It is engraved on a slab measuring 53 by 35 cm. which is fixed into the southern wall of the courtyard of the mosque in Khāṭṭiwarā at Patan and may not be in situ. It contains seven verses in Persian followed by an invocatory phrase inscribed in five lines, with three hemistiches a line. The quality of verse is mediocre, but the style of writing is Naṣīḥī of a fairly high order and recalls to mind the calligraphy of some inscriptions of Zafar Khān.

It refers to the construction of a mosque inside the mausoleum of Shaikh Muhammed Kāshghāri, with the sobriquet Turk, who is spoken of in the record as an eminent saint. The mosque was completed in 1444-45 A.D. The builder is not specified as such in the text but from the context it appears that Tāj, (son of) Šadr, son of Bihram, son of Zain, (son of) Šadr, a devotee of the saint, constructed the mosque. Neither the saint nor the disciple is known to us. Tāj was originally from Mecca according to the epigraph. The epigraph thus provides the name of a saint who was renowned in his time and who seems to have flourished in the middle of the first half of the 9th century Hijra.

The text of the record is quoted below:—

TEXT

Plate VII(b)

(1) در عبد بادشا جهان شاه کرمان شاه محمد شاهان اینجھان
کردم بنا مسجد آهن رونه آزان (2) شیخ زین جنید زمان کطب عارفان
شیخ محمد آتک ملقب پنکی هست مسجد او کیا ہیرست. درهم جهان

ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 61. The record was discovered by Mr. A. A. Kadiri.
(3) پر نور باد مرقد او فضل کردار امیدوار حمّت پروندگان دان
بد راجیا ی بخواجگی تاج صدر بن (م) بهرام زین صدر که مکی است - گمان
کشته تمام مسجد مذکور فضل حق تاریخ بود هیچ و جهل هشت اندوان
(۵) دز[حمت خدا ابر و که غزارد دران نماز داوود دعا]ی خیر ببین او روان
عاقبت بخیر باد آمین آمین

TRANSLATION

(1-2) In the reign of the king of the world, the successful monarch, Muḥammad Shāh, the king of the kings of this world,
(was constructed) the mosque within this tomb-enclosure of
the Shāikh of the world, Junaid of the time and the pole-star among the gnostics,

Shāikh Muḥammad, who is known by the title of Turk (and who) is known in the whole world
to have belonged to Kāshgar,

(3-4) may his grave be illuminated through the grace of the Creator! (As regards the builder)
know him to be the hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher,
the hopeful of the (favour of the saint viz.) Tāj, (son of) Ṣadr, son of
Bihram, (son of) Zain, (son of) Ṣadr who undoubtedly hails from Mecca.

(When) the mosque was completed by the grace of God, the reckoning (of the year A.H.)
was eight hundred and forty eight (A.H. 848=1444-45 A.D.).

(5) May God have mercy upon one who offers prayers in it (and) invokes blessings for the
well-being of the builder! May the end be good! Amen! Amen!

XV. INSCRIPTION FROM SOMNATH

The mosque to which this inscription originally belonged was situated near the Triveni- or
Chhotā-Darwāza at Somnath in the Junagadh district.¹ It was demolished in recent times,
and the epigraphical tablet is also missing. Fortunately an inked rubbing of its inscription which
was taken quite some time back was found in the old records of my office, and it is from the same
that the epigraph is edited here for the first time. The tablet seems to have measured 98 by 33
cm. It was badly weather-beaten even at the time when the rubbing was prepared, as a glance
at the plate will show. The writing is almost obliterated, with the result that only a small portion
of the text has survived.

An interesting aspect of the record is that the arrangement of its text bears striking resemblance
to that of the Mangrol Raḥmat mosque inscription of the time of Friz Tughluq.² The large rectangular panel in the middle of the tablet is inscribed with the famous Quranic text used in mosque
inscriptions. In the top border occur Bismi'llah and another Quranic verse. The inner vertical
borders on the left and right contain traditions of the Prophet, while from the outer vertical border
on the right, commences the historical text which is in Persian verse. It is continued in the lower
border and ends in the outer vertical border on the left. It appears that this text consisted of

² ETAPS, 1962, p. 28, plate VIIb.
(a) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 806, from Malan (p. 27)

(b) Inscription of Muhammad Shāh II, from Somnath (p. 25)
seven verses in all. It is unfortunate that the text has not survived in full. Anyway, from the religious texts, it is certain that the inscription referred to the construction of a mosque. The mosque was built during the reign of Muhammad Shāh II. The name of the builder and the date are lost.

The style of writing is Nasīḥa, and the record is deciphered as follows:

**TEXT**

Plate VIII(b)

(a) In the middle.

قال الله تعالى و أن المساعد الله فلنا تدعوا [مع الله] ابدا

(b) In the top border.

(i) Centre

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(ii) Sides

نصر من الله و نحن قريب و يبشر المؤمنين - فاتح خير حافزا و هو ارحم الراحرين

(e) In the inner right border.

قال عليه السلام الدنيا ساعة فجعلها طاعة

(d) In the inner left border.

(1) قال عليه السلام المؤمن في المسجد كالمستكفي في إطعام

(2) [الملتقى في] المسجد كالمقيم في الانتفاص

(e) In the outer right, lower and outer left borders.

1) كبار

2) ز آل مظفر شه نامدار

3) خدا رحمتي طن برن خواجه

4) خواجة كبار

5) كبار

6) ن

7)...

8)...

مرتب شه ذا فضل بروبدار

1 This hemistich probably contains the name of the builder.

2 The text in this and the following five hemistiches is completely lost.
Translation

(a) Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.

(b) (i) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(ii) 'Help is from Allāh and Victory near. And deliver the good news to the Believers'.

'And Allāh is the Best Keeper and He is the Most Merciful of the merciful ones.'

(c) The Prophet, may peace be upon him says, 'The world is (for) a moment, so spend it in devotion.'

(d) (1) (The Prophet), may peace be upon him, says, 'A believer in the mosque is like fish in water; (2) (and) a hypocrite in the mosque is like a bird in the cage.'

(1) ........................................ great.............................. crowned monarch.

(2) Muḥammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, is of the line of Muẓaffar Shāh the illustrious.

(3) O God! have mercy on the Khwāja (master) who...........................the great Khwāja.

(4-6) ........................................................................

(7) ..........................................................was constructed by the grace of the Nourisher.

Maḥmūd Shāh I

XVI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 866 FROM MALAN

The credit of discovering this inscription occurring on the Jāmi’ mosque at Malan in Palanpur atulka of the Bamanpanthā district goes to the late-lamented scholar of repute, Maulānā Ābū Zafar Nadwāl of the Gujarāt Vīḍyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad, who published its purport in his work on the history of Gujarāt. Unfortunately, however, the Maulānā could not decipher the inscription completely or correctly, and having read heftisad (seven hundred) for bīsad (eight hundred), bist (twenty) for shast (sixty) and only the name Muḥammad Shāh in the royal genealogy, he assigned the epigraph to the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh. When I first came to know of it from the Maulānā’s work, I was naturally interested to be informed about one more epigraph to add to the list of the very few inscriptions of that monarch in the province and the only to be found in north Gujarāt. Consequently, I particularly desired Mr. A. A. Kadiri who toured some places in north Gujarāt in search of inscriptions to visit Malan and take its estampage. On examination, the epigraph turned out to be a new record of Maḥmūd Shāh I of Gujarāt.

This discovery, however, does not in the least detract from its importance since apart from being a new record of this king, which again, is found in the almost northernmost region of modern Gujarāt, the inscription is quite interesting. It is longer than most of the Perso-Arabic records of Gujarāt and seeks to give more particulars than are usually found in these inscriptions. It also shows that Malan—spelt in the text as Mālwān or Mālūn—at present an insignificant village, was the seat of a thāna5 and included in the fief of one of the eminent nobles of the state Ulūgh Khan.

Further it mentions the fort of the town. Lastly, it describes, somewhat clumsily no doubt,

1 Qur’ān, chapter LXIX, verse 18.
2 Ibid., chapter LXX, part of verse 13.
3 Ibid, chapter XII, part of verse 61.
4 ARIE, 1980-81, No. 1, p. 56.
6 Mānūn, thāna under Palanpur of ‘All Muḥammad Khān, op cit., p. 200, is a misprint for Mālan.
the structure and its building material of marble, of stones from demolished temples, the number of its pillars and domes, etc.

But in a way, the epigraph is extremely disappointing: its greatest drawback is the language of its text composed by Shaikh Mas'ūd. It is written in what seems to have been intended to be, but is a very bad example, of Persian verse, so much so that it is extremely difficult to satisfactorily determine where one hemistich ends and be perfectly sure about the meaning in some places. Broadly speaking, the purport seems to be that the order for the construction of the Jami' mosque was issued in the time of the late Qutb-ud-Din Ahmad Shāh, II; that in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I, the mosque in the billy fort of Mālūn (or Mālwan) was ultimately completed at the request of Kabir, son of Dīyā, the local idhānār, by Khān-i-A'zam Ulugh Khān who eradicated the mine of idolatory, demolished the temples and utilised their building material in its construction; and that Shaikh Mas'ūd was asked by the local official to compose the text. The completion of the mosque took place in 1462 A.D.

Ulugh Khān was the title conferred upon 'Alā'ud-Dīn Suhrāb, the governor of Sultanpur, in A. H. 855, in reward for the service rendered by him to the master Qutb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Shāh at the time of the invasion of Gujarat by Mahmūd Khalji of Malva.3 His son Bahān-ud-Dīn also held this title presumably after his father's death or retirement. Most probably, Khān-i-A'zam Ulugh Khān of the inscription is the father, because the son is said to have received the title of Ightiyār-ud-Mulk some time after the accession of Mahmūd I and held it at least until about A. H. 888.9 If so, the present epigraph would supply us with a later date in the career of 'Alā'ud-Dīn Ulugh Khān who is last heard of as having been sent to fetch Prince Fath Khān to be crowned as Mahmūd Shāh I in A. H. 862 or 863.4 It may be recalled here that an earlier date in the career of Malik 'Alā'ud-Dīn was also supplied by an inscription now stored in the Record Office at Mangrol in Junagadh district.5

The style of writing is Nasīḥ which, like its text, is of poor quality. The inscriptional tablet is fixed above the central mihrāb of the Jami' mosque situated on a small hill just outside the village and measures 80 by 44 cm. The text reads as follows:-

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

[Text in Arabic]

The way in which the hemistiches are determined in the quoted text seems to be the only possible way; it will be observed that some hemistiches are disproportionately larger.

1 Sikandar, op. cit., pp. 69, 70, 77, 93; Hajji Dahir, op. cit., pp. 4, 5, 10, etc.
2 Hajji Dahir, op. cit., pp. 17, 27. For further details of his career, see ibid., pp. 18, 19, 33, 34; Sikandar, op. cit., pp. 113, 146, etc.
4 BIA, 1903 and 1904, pp. 57-58.
(1) I seek refuge in Allāh from (the mischief of) the accursed Satan (and begin) in the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise be to Allāh!

(2) Allāh the Blessed and Exalted says: 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh.' (The Prophet), on him be peace, says: 'He who builds a mosque in the world, the Exalted Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise'.

(3) An order was issued in the time of the great sultan, Qutb ud-Dunya wa’d-Din, the pardoned and received into Lord’s mercy, Abu’l-Mugaffar Ahmad Shāh the sultan.

(4) In the auspicious time of the government and peaceful time of Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the sultan.

**Translation**

8  **EPIGRAPHIA INDICA—ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT**

(1) I seek refuge in Allāh from (the mischief of) the accursed Satan (and begin) in the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise be to Allāh!

(2) Allāh the Blessed and Exalted says: 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh.' (The Prophet), on him be peace, says: 'He who builds a mosque in the world, the Exalted Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise'.

(3) An order was issued in the time of the great sultan, Qutb ud-Dunya wa’d-Din, the pardoned and received into Lord’s mercy, Abu’l-Mugaffar Ahmad Shāh the sultan.

(4) In the auspicious time of the government and peaceful time of Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the sultan.

**Translation**

1 Thus in the epigraph.

2 Qur’ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
(5) the Jami' mosque was constructed on the hill of the fort of Mālūn (or Mālwan) by Khān-i-A'zam Ulugh Khān, may Allāh prolong his life for justice, generosity and benevolence,
(6) at the request of thānādār Kabir, (son of) Ḍiyā, the building was constructed by a servant of Ulugh Khān, (who is) magnanimous just, generous brave (and who) suppressed the wretched infidels.
(7) He eradicated the idol-houses and mine of infidelity, along with the idols in the enemy's country with the blow of the sword, and made ready this abode with different kinds of stone, marble, and marble?
(8) He made its walls and doors out of the stone of the idols; the back of every stone became the place for prostration of the believers.
(9) Its raised courtyard deserves to be like silver, precious stones and lots of pearls; the stone-carver made in it sixty pillars and twenty-five domes.
(10) When our thānādār said, 'O Shaikh Mas'ûd, write its date so that the same may remain as a memory to you in the world',
the date was Thursday, twelfth of the month of Rajab of the year eight hundred and sixty-six at that time (5th Rajab A.H. 866-5th April 1462 A.D.).
(11) You have not trodden the path nor you are shown the same. Otherwise ........... this door was not opened for him therein.
(12) 'And whatever of good send or before-hand for yourselves, you will find it with Allah—that is best and greatest in reward. And ask forgiveness of Allāh. Surely, Allāh is Forgiving, Merciful'.

XVII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 867 FROM MANDAL

Mandal is situated in 23°17' N. and 72°58' E. at a distance of about fourteen miles to the northwest of the taluka headquarters Viramgam in Ahmedabad district. The place is now reduced to a small village, but it seems to have been a bustling place and was the seat of a small principality: Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq Shāh is reported to have encamped in 1317 A.D. for one full rainy season at this place on his way to Surat. The Raja of Mandal put to death the followers of the rebel Malik Tughlif who had taken refuge with him and presented their heads to the Sultan. In 1395 A.D., Zafar Khān besieged it, and a few years later in 1411 A.D., the Mandal ruler participated in the revolt against Ahmad Shāh I. It was in 1530 A.D. that the principality was permanently made part of the crown domain. There is also to be found here an inscription of the reign of Ahmad Shāh.5

This epigraph fixed over the central mihrāb of the Sayyid's mosque is again an unpublished one and was copied by me in 1551.6 The mosque is a small stout structure of stone built in the architectural style of the period. The language of the record is Arabic except the

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1 Qur'an, chapter LXXIII, part of verse 20.
2 For the history of Mandal, see BG, vol. IV, Ahmedabad, (Bombay, 1870), pp. 344-46. Conings, op. cit., p. 86, has listed its buildings but not mentioned the inscriptions.
5 Epigraphia Indica, vol. II (1893), p. 27.
phrase designating the builder of the mosque. Running into four lines, it assigns the construction of the mosque to Nāṣīr, son of Shaikhū in 1462 A.D. during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I. Though nothing is known about Nāṣīr or his father Shaikhū, his association with the place in the capacity of a local official cannot be ruled out.

The tablet bearing the inscription measures 68 by 30 cm. The style of writing is Naskh.

The epigraph has been read as follows: —

TEXT

Plate VII (c)

(1) قال إِنَّا نَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ وَنَعُوذُ بِالسُّلَّامِ أَنْ يَنَعِدَنَا إِنَّهُ مَا يَنْعِدُ بِاللَّهِ وَبِالسُّلَّامِ

(2) من بِنَي مَسْجِد اِنْطَبَقُ بِنَيَّانِهِ لِي بَيْنَا مِلْحِي في الجَنَّةِ بعَضَدِ السُّلَّامِ أَمْرُ الدَّنْيَا وَالْدُّنْيَا

(3) أبو الفتح محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان

خُلَدَ إِيَّاهُ مَلِكَهُ

(4) وسُلَّمَاء بِنْ إِيَّاهُ إِنَّ مَسْجِد شَرِيفٍ بَنْدُهُ نُصْرُ شَيْخِيُّ في التَّارِيخِ الْأَفْرِهِ فِي المَجْرِمِ سَهْنُه

(5) سُبُعُو سَتِينَ وَثَمانِيَّهُ

TRANSLATION

(1) Says Allāh the Exalted, ‘And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh’. And the Prophet, may Allāh’s salutations and peace be upon him has said,

(2) ‘He who builds for the Exalted Allāh a mosque, Allāh builds for him a house like it in Paradise’. In the reign of the king of the kings Nāṣīr‘u’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn

(3) Abu’l-Fath Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muṣṭafā Shāh, the sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom.

(1) and sovereignty, the builder of this n.b.lc mosque is Nāṣīr, son of Shaikhū, on the date, the first of the month of Muḥarram, year (A.H.) seven and sixty and eight hundred (1st Muḥarram A.H. 867=26th September 1462 A.D.).

XVIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 877 FROM SOMNATH

The slab bearing this inscription is now stored in the Archaeological Museum at Somnath. When the inscription was noticed in the Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari, it was fixed on the structure locally known as Pānch-Bībī-Ka-Koṭhā. But in 1954, I could not trace it despite best efforts since the building along with a few more were demolished in the communal frenzy a few years ago, and I took it as lost. Then in the course of my subsequent visit to Somnath in 1959, on being

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1 Qurān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 ARTE, 1950-60, No. D. 94, where the date is inadvertently read as 29th instead of 19th Rajab.
3 Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari (Bhavnagar, 1889), p. 3. The text quoted there is fairly correct.
4 EIAP5, 1953 and 1954, p. 59. It was not then in the Museum.
(a) Inscription of Mahmud Shah I, dated A.H. 893, from Patan (p. 34)

(b) Another inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 877, from Somnath (p. 31)
informed about a new epigraphical acquisition of the Museum, I examined and found it to be the missing tablet.

The epigraph states that Budh bin Kamāl bin Shihāb bin Ladh bin Fatḥu’llāh, the aṣlaḥadār (arms-bearer) of Maḥmūd shāh I, constructed a mosque in 1472 A.D. The text was written by Jalāl, son of Ismā‘īl, son of Adam. This record is thus not without interest. It provides the name of a new official—royal arms-bearer Budh son of Kamāl, whose existence is otherwise unknown to history. Another interesting feature of the record is that it is one of the few records of Gujarat quoting the names of the scribes.

The text occupies a space of 60 by 20 cm. on the slab, is inscribed in ordinary Naskh and reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

Translation

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, ' And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.' And the Prophet, may Allāh’s salutations and peace be upon him, has said, ' He who builds a mosque, Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise '. Constructed was

(2) this mosque by the sinful creature of the Nourisher Lord, hopeful (of the grace) of Allāh, Budh, son of Kamāl, son of Shihāb, son of Ladh ?, son of Fath, who is emigrant to ? Gujarat, the aṣlaḥadār of the great and magnificent sultān, reliant

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* Qur’ān, chapter LX XII, verse 18.
* Thus clearly on the stone. The name Ladhā or Laddhā is current even now in Gujarat.
(3) upon Allāh the Obliger, Nāṣiru’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn Abū’l-Fath Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muḥaffar Shāh, the sultān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom.

(4) and strengthen his government. He who visits and sees (this mosque) should invoke prayers for the faith of this insignificant creature so that the merit and reward (for this act) be inscribed in his scroll of actions—Amen, O Lord of the universe! By His grace.

(5) and His perfect generosity. In the hand of (i.e. written by) the weak and feeble creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Generous Allāh, Jalāl, son of Ismā’īl, son of ʿAbd, may Allāh forgive him and his descendants, all of them! (On) Wednesday, the twenty-ninth of Rajab, may its dignity increase, of the year (A.H.) seven and seventy and eight hundred (19th Rajab A.H. 877=20th December 1472 A.D.)

XIX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 883 FROM CAMBAY

This epigraph is from the mosque of Hāji Maḥmūd-i-Nuqta, popularly called Bill-Masjid, situated in the Qāżwīā Mcalla at Cambay. Through the present structure has undergone extensive repairs and restorations at subsequent dates, the monument dates back to the early fourteenth century as is proved by an inscription dated 1326 A.D. carved on the left miḥrāb in the west wall. According to yet another epigraph in the mosque, Malīk Mufrarrāh, royal dawūdār, constructed a mosque in 1360 A.D., but it may or may not be in situ. In addition, a fragmentary door-frame of finely chiselled black basalt lying loose in the compound contains Bismillah in Kūfi characters.

It is difficult to say if the inscription under study which is fixed in the west wall above the pulpit was intended for this mosque. It was first noticed by Mr. R. D. Banerji in 1919. Its text is modelled on the style of the inscription of Malīk Mufrarrāh referred to above. The language is a mixture of Arabic and Persian with a repetition of the phrase ‘this mosque was constructed’ occurring once in Persian and once in Arabic and the omission of the name of Muḥammad Shāh I in the genealogy of the king which is quite unusual. These defects do not speak well of the author or the writer of the text, the former of whom seems to have compiled it by piecing together sentences from two or more earlier records. But the inscription is not without importance. It records the complete reconstruction of a mosque, after it had fallen down from its very foundation, by Nākhudā Yahyā, son of Tandel Nānyā, son of Nāṣiru’d-Dīn Sālih, a servant (mutaʿalīq) of Kāhān-i-Aʿīm Kamāl Kāhān in 1478 A.D. during the governorship of Malīk Aman, the muqta of the īgtā of Cambay.

No officer of the name Malīk Aman is met with in the annals of the period. However, among the nobles of Maḥmūd Shāh I there was one Aminu’l-Mulk through whose efforts the king became a disciple of the saint Shāikh Sirāj. There was also one Malīk Amin Nāsīn Fārūqī called by Haḍī Dabīr Malīk Nāṣīn (variant Mināsī—Amin Naṣī Turkīj, who from A.H. 930 onwards figured prominently in the events of the reign of Bahādur Shāh and ultimately died with the latter at Diu in A.H. 943. None of these two seems to be identical with Malīk Aman. Again, a Nāgari record.

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2 For these inscriptions, see *ibid.*, Nos. D, 49, 50, 52.
3 *PBWC*, 1919-20, pp. 59 (No. 29), 58. The details given by Mr. Banerji are not free from mistakes.
4 For want of diacritical marks, it is difficult to determine the exact pronunciation of this name. It can be pronounced as Aman, Amn, Amman, etc.
5 *Sikandar*, op. cit., pp. 106-09.
from Wadhwan refers to one Malik Aman as the local governor in V. S. 1572 (1516 A.D.). It is difficult to say if he is identical with Malik Aman of our record. Anyway, the epigraph provides the name of one more official of Cambay. Likewise, it has preserved the name of Khan-i-A'zam Kamal Khan, no doubt a noble of importance, who is also completely ignored by historians. His servant Nakhudâ Yalâyâ, the builder of the mosque, evidently cannot claim better recognition than his master. However, it is interesting to note that he hailed from a family of sea-farers if not shipmasters, as the sobriquets Nakhudâ and Tandel used respectively in respect of him and his father tend to suggest. It is quite likely that he managed the vessels privately owned by the Khan. Or he may have been connected with the management of the state vessels in case the Khan was in their overall charge, but the text does not give any such details regarding the latter. In this connexion, it may be worthwhile to point out that Cambay was one of the ports at which a regular naval fleet was maintained and vessels built.

The text, engraved in ordinary Naskh in relief, occupies a space of 1 m. by 38 cm. on the slab and reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate X (c)*

1(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و أن المساجد فلا تدعو مع الله احدا و قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد الله ولا

2(2) كنفس قطان بني الله بن يحيى في الجنة بارية جل و علا برکت حضرت رسالت عليه السلام عمار كرد أي مسجد مبارك في عهد همايون سلطان اعظم مالک و رئاپ الامام ناصر الدنيا و الدين

3(3) اب الفتح محمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن [محمد شاه ابن] مظفر شاه السلطان خدای الله ملكه و سلطانه و فاطم على العالمين بذله و احسانه به كهفنة ملكه امن مقطع اقطاع كهفنة بني ايمي المسجد المبارك بعد

4(4) انهداءه من اساسه من خالص ماله مما اتى الله من فضله و كفره بنده امديوار برمح برودگار ناخدا يحيى ابن تندي نانا ابن نصر الدين سیلانی متعلق خان اعظم خاقان معظم كمال خان عظم الله تقره و كان ذلك في

5(5) التاريخ الفخر من شهر المبارك رمضان معظم قدره من ثلاثين و ثمانين و ثمانايه الهجري الألف يبوه حامدا الله و مصلايا على رسوله

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2 The name Nāyā of the father is also not without interest.
3 Cf. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 271.
4 Thus on the stone.
TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, ‘And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh’. And the Prophet, may Allāh’s salutations and peace be upon him, has said, ‘He who builds a mosque for Allāh, even if it be

(2) like the nest of a sandgrouse, Allāh builds for him a house in Paradise’. (Through the grace of) God, may He be glorified and Exalted (and through) the blessing of the repository of Prophethood (i.e. the Prophet), may peace be upon him, this auspicious mosque was built during the blessed reign of the great sultan, master of the necks of nations, Nāṣiru’d-Dunya wa’d-Dīn

(3) Abu’l-Fath Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Alīmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and shower on the world his munificence and favour, (and) during the governorship (kūkāmat) of Malik Aman, wazīr of the iqṭā of Cambay, this auspicious mosque was built, after

(4) it had fallen down from the very foundation, out of his personal money that Allāh gave him through His bounty and favour, by the creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Nākhdā Yahyā, son of Tandel Nānā—son of Nāṣiru’d-Dīn Sallānī, a servant (muta’alīq) of Khān-i-A’zam Khāqān-i-Mu’azzam Kamāl Khān, may Allāh magnify his dignity! And this was on

(5) the date, the first of the blessed month of Ramadan of great dignity, of the year three and eighty and eight hundred from the Migration of the Prophet (1st Ramadan A.H. 883=26th November 1478 A.D.). Praise be to Allāh and salutations upon His Prophet!

XX. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 895 FROM PATAN

The name of yet another state official and a kotwāl of Patan occurs in this epigraph. He is Malik Sirāj Sulṭān who also does not find mention in historical works. He must be different from the aforesaid saint Shaikh Sirāj who resided at Ahmadabad and had for reasons of secrecy acted as an official during the period he initiated Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh in discipleship.1

The epigraphical tablet measures 43 by 25 cm. and is fixed above the central mihrāb of the Bāzār-ki-Masjid.2 It was first noticed by me in 1954. The text of the record comprising two lines of writing in a mixture of Arabic and Persian is inscribed in exquisite Nasīḥī characters. It will be seen that the lower line containing the historical text in Persian is minutely and closely written, with one word over another, and the lettering is also slightly damaged. As a result, the reading of the last few words containing the date is not certain. The epigraph records the construction of the mosque in 1490 A.D. by Malik Sirāj Sulṭān, the kotwāl of the city of Nahrwārā (i.e. Patan). It reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate IX (a)

(1) قال الله تبارك و تعالى والإمام محمد بن علي تدعوا مع الله إحدا

1 Qur’ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 Sikandar, op. cit., pp. 100-09; All Muhammad Khān, op. cit. pp. 06-07.
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(3) Bnaka kardh, msjed mlck sraj Sultan Ko thumbal shhr nhrwra dr umd Sultan Slatns.

al-zaman abl alfdh mhmd nd Sultan f elntls n mLshk m mlb khe sllb

5
tsqn w nsm cancell

TRANSLATION

(1) Allah the Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allah only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allah.'

(2) Malik Siraj Sultan, kotei ul of the city of Nahrwara, constructed the mosque in the reign of the sultan among the sultans of the time, Abu'l-Fadl Mahmud Shah sultan, on the twenty-third of the month of Rajab, may its dignity increase, of the year (A.H.) five and ninety and eight hundred (23rd Rajab A.H. 895=12th June 1490 A.D.).

XXI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 901 FROM THE SAME PLACE

The mosque in the enclosure of the tomb of Makhjum Shaikh Husamu'd-Din, a disciple of Ha'drat Nizamud-Din of Delhi, has an inscription fixed over its left mihrab, which represents a new record of Mahmud Shih I. Comprising four lines of writing engraved in Naskh script with Tughra flourishes on a slab measuring 43 by 50 cm., it states that the saint had died in 1336 A.D. and that the mosque was constructed in 1495 A.D. in the reign of Mahmud Shih I. The name of the builder is not given. It will be observed that the text does not describe the full genealogy of the king as is usual in the case of the Sultanate inscriptions. Also, the epigraph is important in that it quotes the full name of the saint as Shaikh Husamu'd-Din, son of Uthman, son of Daud al-Multan. The author of the Mir'at-i-Ahmadi gives his name as Husamud-Din Uthman, son of Daud Multani, which is incorrect.

The slab seems to have been plastered over and again, and the writing is not only very close but slightly damaged. My reading of the text is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate X (a)

(1) Bism Allah arham rahim

(2) Tal Allah tabarak w taalai w an almsad Allah khalo tadewa ma Allah hadha fa la w

hoer arham rahim

1 The reading of the underlined words is tentative.
2 Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
3 For an account of the saint, see Gulam Sarwar, Khazinatul-Ashghad, vol. I (Kanpur, 1902), p. 343; 'Ali Ahmad Khan, op.cit., p. 113; 'Abdul-Jabbar Khan, Tashkira-i-Auliya-d-i-Dakun (Hyderabad), pp. 278-80.
5 According to ibid., No. C, 92, the mosque was renovated by the celebrated Sayyid Qasim, son of Sayyid Mahmud Bariha, in 1588 A.D.
6 'Ali Muhammad Khan, op. cit. 'Abdul-Jabbar Khan, op. cit., also wrongly gives his name as Uthman and makes him a son of Daud.
XXII. EPITAPH DATED A.H. 904 FROM CAMBAY

This interesting epitaph was also first discovered in 1919 A.D. by Mr. R. B. Banerji, but it has not been published. Mr. Banerji thus quoted its contents in his report: 'On Tombstone of Jamāl-ibn Fath-ulla bin Miyan (alias Mamālak Muḥammad), the companion of Sultan Mahmūd Shāh (Sultan Mahmūd Shāh II of Gujarat) died Friday, 6th Jamādī-ul-ʿAḥir, 904 A.H.'

It is hoped that the inaccuracies in this statement will be rectified by the reading quoted below.

The arch-shaped tablet measuring 43 cm. from apex to bottom and 30 cm. in width is fixed, first from the right side, into the west wall of the tomb of Shaikh ʿAli Jaulaqī locally known as Parwar Shāh or Parwāz Shāh situated to the north of the town of Cambay. The tomb may be rightly called a gallery of inscribed tombstones; as many as twenty-five tombstones are preserved there. Some of these have been published while all of them are listed.

The language of the inscription is Arabic. The text runs into seven lines and records that Jamāl, son of Fathu’llāh, son of Jamāl, son of Miyan, commonly known as Malik Makhduhm, died as a martyr in 1498 A.D. The interesting feature of this record is that it speaks of the late Malik Makhdūm as the boon-companion or favourite courtier (nādim) of Mahmūd Shāh I. Unfortunately

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1 Qur’ān, chapter LXII, verse 18.
2 Ibid., chapter XII, verse 64.
3 Ghulam Sarwar, op. cit., wrongly puts the death of the saint in A.H. 735.
4 BRWC, 1919-20, pp. 49 (App. Q, No. 10). Mahmūd Shāh II is a mistake for Mahmūd I which has been corrected in ibid., p. 88.
(a) Inscription of Mamluk al-Walid, dated AH 901,
from Patai (p. 59).

(b) Another record of the same monument, dated AH 901,
from Patai (p. 59).

(c) A third record of the same monument, dated AH 903,
from Patai (p. 59).
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no particulars of Malik Makhdūm are available in historical works. However, they mention one Jamāl whose son Tāj was given the title of Wajhu’ll-Mulk by Bahādur Shāh in about A.H. 932, but whether he is identical with the deceased it is difficult to say.

The style of writing of the epigraph is Thulūṭum-ṣaṣa of a fairly good order. The epitaph reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate X (b)

(1) لا الله الا لله محمد رسول الله
(2) بيشهربم رحمه منه و رضوان
(3) و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالدين
(4) فيهما ابدا هذا قبر المرحوم المفقور الراجح إلى رحمة الله
(5) الكريم جان بن فتح الله بن جمال بن ميان الدعو بملك معدوم تدبيم
(6) سلطان الزمان محمود شاه السلطان و دن في ليلة الجمعة السادس
(7) من جمادى الأولى سنة اربعو تسعامائه

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.
(2) ‘Their Lord gives them good news of mercy from Himself and
(3) (His) good pleasure and garden, wherein lasting pleasure will be theirs;
(4) abiding therein for ever.” This is the grave of the one who is taken into Allāh’s mercy,
the pardoned, the martyr, the hopeful of the mercy of Allāh
(5) the generous, Jamāl, son of Fathu’llāh, son of Jamāl, son of Miyan, commonly called
Malik Makhdūm, the nādīm (boon-companion) of
(6) the sultān of the time, Maḥmūd Shāh the sultān, who was buried on the night of Friday
the sixth
(7) of Jumādā First, year (A.H.) four and nine hundred (6th Jumādā I A. H. 904 = 20th
December 1498 A.D.).

XXIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 905 FROM RAYANIA

Rayania, situated in 23°25’ N. and 73°35’ E., is a small village in the Rampur tāluka of the
Panchmahal district. There was in the village until very recently a beautiful brick mosque which
bore this epigraph. It is now reported to be lying in ruins which is a great pity since the monu-
ment, whose photograph I have seen, could easily rate among the few surviving brick monuments

*Sikandar, op. cit., p. 259;
*Qur’ān, chapter 1Y, verse 21 and part of verse *2.
of the Sultanate period. The inscription seems to have been first discovered and reported by his Exploration Assistant to the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda, who forwarded its ink rubbing to me for examination. After the mosque was demolished, the tablet was kept in the house of a teacher of the local school, but in 1962 it was removed by the Assistant Director of Archaeology, Government of Gujarat, Rajkot, to be preserved there in the Watson Museum.

The tablet measures 50 by 38 cm. and appears to be whole. But since the text begins rather abruptly without the customary religious formulae or even the usual phrase referring to the reign of the king, it is quite likely that there was another tablet which contained these texts. This hitherto unpublished record states that Malik Sārang Sultān, entitled Qiwāmu'l-Mulk, constructed a mosque and a fort in 1499-1500 A.D. during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I.

Malik Sārang Qiwāmu'l-Mulk is too well-known a figure of the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I to need any detailed mention here. He lived to serve Bahādur Shāh, grandson of the latter. He not only founded the quarter called Sāranapur in the city of Ahmadabad but also constructed at least two mosques there as recorded in their inscriptions. It was as early as in A.H. 875 that his rank was raised and his title Mukhlisul-Mulk substituted by a higher title Qiwāmu'l-Mulk. In the same year he was granted the thān of Godhra which is now the headquarters of the district in which the present epigraph was found. The fact that Rayania was provided by a fort as stated in the inscription shows that it was a place of strategic importance in this border region.

The style of writing is beautiful Thuluth with Nush'ā flourishes, and the text reads as under:

**TEXT**

Plate IX (c)

(1) الأواق باباه المنان ناصر الدنيا و الدين اوب الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

(2) خُلُد الامك ملكه و سلطانه بانكرود حصار بامسجد مبارك سارگک المختار بمصر

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The reliefs on Allāh the Obliger. Nāṣiru’d-Dunya wa’d-Dīn Abūl-Fath Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Abūl-Fath Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh the sultān.

(2) May Allāh preserve his kingdom and sovereignty! The fort along with the auspicious mosque was constructed by Malik Sārang, entitled by the exalted presence (i.e. king) Qiwāmu'l-Mulk, in the year A.H. 875, five and nine hundred A.D. (A.H. 905=1499-1500 A.D.).

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1 It is worth-bide to remember that almost all the architecturally important brick structures of the Sultanate period were constructed in the reign of Mahmūd Shāh I.
4 Chadhaī, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 61.
(a) Inscription of Mazaffar Shāh II, dated A.H. 918, from Cambay (p. 40)

(b) Another record of the same king, dated PLATE XI A.H. 921, from Cambay (p. 42)

(c) Inscription of Muhumad Shāh I, dated A.H. 905, from Rayasia (p. 38)
XXIV. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 917 FROM JAMBUSAR

Jambusar is a ṭābūk or headquarters in the Broach district. The only monument worth notice in this old town is the Jāni mosque, of brick, situated in the Qādwāli quarter. Though the building seems to have undergone considerable repairs from time to time, the structure retains to a certain extent, particularly in its buttress-like tapering minarets, some of the original architectural features. Over its central mihrāb is fixed this epigraph which seems to have been discovered some time back by an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, when its headquarters was at Poona.¹

The tablet bearing this beautifully executed record measures 92 by 38 cm, and contains two lines in Arabic purporting that the mosque was ordered to be built by Muẓaffar Shāh II and completed in 1511-12 A.D. It will be seen that not only the king’s name is not accompanied by the usual genealogy but his title and kānyā which were Shams-ur-Din Ʌ-m, Wāl-Allāh Ʌ-mu-Ʌm, and also absent.

The style of writing of the record is Thuluth of a high order and testifies to the calligraphic skill of its scribe whose name is unfortunately not mentioned. Its text reads as follows:

Plate XII (b)

٣٠٨

قد ثم عمرو هذه الحديقة بأمر سلطان الأعظم مظفر ناهج بن محمود شاه السلطان مدافع

عمرو في سنة سبع عشر و تسعمائة

TRANSLATION

The building of this mosque was completed by the order of the great king Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh the sultan, may Allāh prolong his life, in the year (A.H.) seventeen and nine hundred (A.H. 917-1511-12 A.D.).

XXV. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 918 FROM CAMBAY

A building in the Puran-Mandi now housing the Gujarati Mukhya Kanyā-shāhī—Girls’ Primary Main School contains two epigraphs both of which are very interesting. One of these dated 1387 A.D., reports the construction of public water-room in the Manjari premises.² The other is the record under study. Both these inscriptions were briefly described by Mr. R. D. Banerji who was the first to notice them. But Mr. Banerji seems to have been misinformed about the true purport of the record, which according to him records some grants of land and supplies us with two different reignal years of this monarch: the Suh-i-Julūs 6 and Suh-i-imānsāh 2.³ This is not correct as we shall presently see.

The inscriprational tablet measures 50 cm. by 1.22 m. and is fixed on the wall of the water-room of the school.⁴ It is inscribed in fairly good Naṣīḥ with seventeen lines in Persian which form the

¹ ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 57, where due to oversight the date was given as A.H. 914 (1508-09 A.D.).
³ PWIC, 1919-20, pp. 50, No. 39, 58.
⁴ ARIE, 1956-57, No. D, 63.
text of an order issued by Muzaffar Sháh II in his second regnal year corresponding to A.H. 315 (1512 A.D.) to announce the remission of certain imposts then current in the district (khüla) of Khánbáyat i.e. Cambay with a view to ensure the prosperity and well-being of the people of the region and also of the travellers. The schedule of these imposts is given in lines 8-15 of the text. The epigraph is thus an extremely valuable record furnishing information not to be found in historical works about the taxes and imposts. In view of the fact that the chroniclers of the period pass over the administrative and financial matters, any direct information on the subject, however meagre, supplied by such orders is always welcome. Therefore, it is regrettable that owing to the absence of diacritical marks in the text and also some Tughrá tendencies displayed by the scribe, it has not been possible for me to satisfactorily decipher the portion containing the schedule of imposts in full, and that, I am conscious, detracts not less from the utility of this epigraph. Nevertheless it is hoped that scholars better qualified than myself might be able to utilise the epigraph in a more fruitful way.

Another important aspect of this record lies in the fact that it is dated in the regnal year in addition to the Hijra era. Quite a few records of this king have been found to bear this type of dating i.e. the regnal year, called Shamsiyya after his title Shamsu'd-Din.¹ This type of dating to the best of my knowledge is found only in the inscriptions of Muzaffar Sháh II in the whole range of the pre-Mughal epigraphs of not only Gujarat but also of the other provincial and central dynasties—a fact to which I have already drawn attention elsewhere.²

The text of the order is as under:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XI (a)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) اعلاء الله تعالى شانه و توالي احسانه ساعه معدلت حضرت سلطنة

(3) پناهی طل البیک شمس الانتیا و الدین ابو النصر مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه

(4) بن محمد شاه بن أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السادات خان الله

(5) ملكه برادرق اهل اسلام پایانه و مستعمر دارد بنا بر وفايت

(6) حال و فراح بال سکته و سفاران خطه كهنیا بعضاً ابوب كه

(7) در خطة مذكور دستور شده بود و مقر رگنیا معاذ و مسلم فروده انده

(8) بدین تفصیل قیمت غیر عدل در فرضه و ملته رده و دهابت و خدهتی بیجنها

(9) که از فرضه بخاطر بیب و طادر دیگر میرند و حاسی؟ هندیه و دودو؟

(10) و پنیداری؟ امیر بحیره و هندیه داخل نوبتره و ساخته دیوانه و فروغی

¹ The present record has in addition the designation (after his hamd Abu'n-Nagr) Shamsu-Mansur literally meaning “victorious year.”

² *RIAPS*, 1963 and 1964, p. 68.
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(11) و تهانئه و رشد و عدد و فضله و رضیه
(12) و خدمتی تعود فرضه و مروارید و بر فرظه مثل گزر و جانز که پرسته
(13) آزند و دوشی زاده سودآگران و نو بهره تنقد ازآن یخی روزناره تکبرند
(14) و خدمتی صرافان در منهد و دغ دعاش و خدمتی پوندزان
(15) محلها و خدمتی کندولیک که دا یخی ریاست است فن بلده بعد ماسمه
(16) فاکیا ایته علی الذین بیبلوته و دلک اکده و العترین من وین
(17) الآخر تمام تمامی عشیر و تعمیعی سنی منصور تمام جالسه شمسه

TRANSLATION

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

(2) May Allah whose dignity is Exalted and whose favours are continuous, keep the shadow of the justice of His Majesty.

(3) a-sylum of sovereignty. shadow of god. Shamsu‘d-Dunyā wa‘Dīn Abu‘n-Naṣr Muṣaffar Shāh. son of Mahmūd Shāh

(4) son of Muḥammad Shāh. son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muṣaffar Shāh, the sultan, may Allah perpetuate

(5) his kingdom, permanently and for ever over the foreheads of the followers of Islām! With a view to (ensure) the prosperity of

(6) the condition and well-being of the inhabitants of and travellers to the district (khiyya) of Khanbāyat (i.e., Cambay); some imposts which

(7) were ordered and fixed in the said district have been remitted and removed,

(8) according to this schedule: 1 the unfair price in the harbour- and land-custom-house; 2 monthly rent? (qārārat) and service-tax of the boxes

(9) which are carried from the harbour to the district of Dīb (Dīu) and other ports and the accountancy! (kāhpī) of exchange-bill? (kuṇīga) and dawādaw,

(10) treasurer-ship (had-ūrī) of the admiralty. and the exchange-bill? (kuṇīga) of the produce of new agricultural lands (nawbā;ī) and superintendence of the office (shāhna i-dīrāni) and its subsidiaries.

(11) and the superintendence of the office of the tūnudār and loval, and the like. And in the harbour- and the land-custom-house

(12) the service-tax on the coins? (mīqāl) and pearls and sale of fruits like carrot? (gazar) which should not be taken into account

(13) and one third of the provisions of the trader and new share of coins thereof? i.e. gold and silver. should not be taken.

1 Thus on the stone. In view of the text in lines 8 and 14, one "' " may be redundant.
2 As stated above, the text giving the schedule could not be satisfactorily deciphered and hence, its translation should also be considered tentative.
3 For the definition of tūna and mūsulā carnal, see 'Ali Muḥammad Khān. op. cit., p. 194.
(14) and (also) the service-tax on the shroffs, in the market and the brand of animals and service-tax on the treasurers of (different)
(15) departments and service-tax on the kando'i which are within the state. ‘Then whoever alters it after he had heard of it,
(16) the sin of it is only upon those who alter it.’ And this (order) was issued on the
24th Rabii’.
(17) uʿl-Ākhār in the year (A.H.) eighteen and nine hundred, the victorious year (sana Mangûr) second of the Shamsiyya regnal year (24th Rabii’ II A.H. 918-9th July 1312 A.D.).

XXVI. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 921 FROM CAMBAY

This epigraph is engraved on a slab measuring 40 by 50 cm. which is fixed in the west wall to the left of the central mihrāb in the Husein-Masjid situated in the Bhule-kâ-Mahalla at Cambay. It records the fact that Khwāja Sandal, a servant of Khwāja ‘Ali Khān, son of Nīgām Gilānī, constructed a mosque in 1515 A.D. during the reign of Ṭāhir Shāh II. In this epigraph too, the king’s title and kingly as well as his genealogy are conspicuous by their absence. The identity of Khwāja Sandal, the builder, is difficult to establish, and so is that of his master Khwāja ‘Ali Khān Gilānī.

It was the late Mr. R.D. Banerji who discovered this epigraph in 1919. But he was wrong to assign the construction of the mosque to Khwāja ‘Ali Khān.

The script employed in inscribing the text is Naskh, and the text reads as under:

TEXT

Plate XI (b)

(1) Bismi’llah al-Rahman al-Rahim wa yuṣṣallī
(2) wa l-masjidī Allāh wālī, Thāli ṭadī[a] wa bi Allāh akhār
(3) Allāhi al-wālī wa sallīm bi-nai Allāh mṣjadi wa la-ka mḥṣṣ ad qaṭā
(4) bi-nai Allāhi la-qṣari ni al-jinni wa al-lā al-qinā, wa qaul
(5) qīn yuṣṣalī, mṭqal bi-marza il-hār wā bi-mṣṣal Qaṭa il-hār
(6) ṭūr wā bi-nilāhsī al-mṣṣalā bi-marza il-hār, bi-nilāhsī al-qinā wa huwa bi-nilāhsī al-qinā
(7) li al-qinās mḥṣṣ al-ṭulwān bi-lṭulwān, bi-nilāhsī al-mḥṣṣ al-lātīn wa dīli li al-qinā
(8) mṭqal bi-nilāhsī al-mḥṣṣ al-lātīn wa bi-nilāhsī al-qinā.

1 Could this be the vernacular word kandāl which in Gujarati means a confectioner?
2 Qurʾān, chapter II, part of verse 181.
3 ARIE, 1956-57, No. D, 60.
4 In about A.H. 905, a noble Sayyid Barānāhār entitled ‘Ali Khān Mandwālī fled to Gujrat from Malās and received Broach in fief. His son also held this title (Hājji Dabīr, op. cit., pp. 118, 211, 214, etc.). But he seems to be a different person.
5 PRWC, 1919-20, pp. 50 (No. 38), 58.
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TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And of Him we seek aid.

(2) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.'

(3) And the Prophet, may salutations

(4) And peace of Allāh be upon him, says, 'He who builds for Allāh a mosque, even if it be like

(5) Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise.' And Allāh the Blessed and Exalted has said,

(6) 'So he who does an atom's weight of good shall see it. And he who does an atom's weight

(7) of evil shall see it.'

(8) This blessed mosque was built and constructed by the servant of Khwāja 'Ali Khān, son

(9) of Nizām Gīlānī, and he is Khwāja Sandal,

(10) in the time of the great sultan Muẓaffar Shāh the sultan, may Allāh perpetuate his

(11) kingdom. And this was on the first

(12) of Muharram, year (A.H.) twentyone and nine hundred (1st Muharram A.H. 921=15th

(13) February 1515 A.D.).

XXVII. INSCRIPTION DATED A.H. 921 FROM SANKHEDA

This bilingual inscription was first brought to light by the Archaeological department of the

erstwhile Baroda state. However, no details of its text except the date were made available in

the report of that department in which it was noticed. It was copied by me in 1962.

The tablet on which this epigraph is engraved is now built into the right bastion of the south
gate of the fort at Sankheda, a taluka headquarters in the Baroda district. Situated in 22°9'N,
and 73°37' E. on the left bank of the Orsang river, Sankheda figures frequently in the annals
of the Sultanate period. The only object of interest in the town is the old fort.

The epigraphical tablet measuring 45 by 53 cm is inscribed with writing in Persian and Sanskrit. The
Persian version consists of six lines inscribed in letters of uneven size. The letters in the
first four lines are larger than those in the last two lines. The Sanskrit counterpart which runs
into nine lines is written in an even hand. The slab seems to have been subjected to neglect and
exposure to sun and rain for its letters have been considerably damaged. The Persian version
which is inscribed on the top begins abruptly with the titles of the king. The slab is also damaged
in parts; particularly, it has cracked from just above the middle portion and in the top corner.
It is therefore quite likely that a portion of the slab is missing. Even if it be so, the missing text was
not of much consequence, as the purport of the record can be fully made out from the surviving
lines. The epigraph states that during the reign of Abu'n-Naṣr Muẓaffar Shāh, a well and a mosque
were constructed by Fath Khān, son of Rājān Khān, son of Asad Khān, in 1515 A.D. This
inscription also, like the other two inscriptions of Muẓaffar Shāh studied in this article (Nos.
XXV and XXVIII), bears the regnal year with its usual designation 'Shamsiyya'.

According to the information furnished by the Government Epigraphist for India who was
requested to examine it, the Nāgari inscription contains the date Vikrama Samvat 1572, Saka

1 Qur'ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
2 Ibid., chapter XCV, verses 7-8.
3 Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, for the year ending 31st March, 1939 (Baroda,
1940), pp. 3, 37.
5 For the history of the town, see BO. vol. VII, Baroda (Bombay, 1883), pp. 556-67.
1437. Dakshinayana, Varsha-ritu, Bhadrapada 15th Friday, Lunar eclipse. But since the writing is damaged, apart from the name Fat Khan, son of Rajan Khan, son of Asad Khan, no other details could be made out.

The Persian version is incised on the slab in Nasta’liq characters, which are of a fairly good order. But since the text is carelessly written without proper attention to the straightness of lines and evenness of the size of letters, the calligraphic effect on the whole is not as pleasing as it should be, more so because the incised letters have been somewhat disfigured due to damage.

The Persian text reads as under:—

**TEXT**

**Plate XIV (a)**

(I) [الواقع بِثَّائِيد] الرحمان أبو النصر محمد ناصر دا"\n(2) Sultan bin Muhammad Shane Sultan bin Mughal Shane Sultan \n(3) Ibn Ahmad Shane Sultan bin Mughal Shane Sultan \n(4) Ibn Mughal Shane Sultan, and Mughal Shane Sultan \n(5) Ibn Raja Khan, and Mughal Shane Sultan, Raja Raja Mughal Shane Sultan \n(6) Ibn Mughal Shane Sultan, well and mosque were constructed by Fath Khan, Raja Khan, and Mughal Shane Sultan, who is taken into the mercy (of God), on the date thirteenth of the month of Rajab, may God increase its dignity, of the year (A.H.) twenty-one and nine hundred, Shamsiyya (i.e. regnal) year five (15th Rajab A.H. 921=23rd August 1515 A.D.).

It is not possible to identify Fath Khan, the builder, but very likely he was the official in charge of the town and the neighbouring region.

**XXVIII. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 928 FROM HIMATNAGAR**

Himatnagar, the capital of the erstwhile Idar State in north Gujarat is now the headquarters of the Sabarkantha district. The antiquity of the city goes back to the year A.H. 830 in which Ahmad Shah I founded and named it Ahmadnagar after his own name. The original name of the town was in recent times changed by a ruling chief after his name Himatsinhji.

---

1 The lunar eclipse had occurred on the previous puranam (i.e.) of Sravana.
2 This word is repeated in the next line.
3 For historical account of the place and description of its buildings, see BC, Vol. V, pp. 430-32.
4 Sikandar, op. cit., p. 37.
5 The ground for changing the name of the town was to prevent its being confused, for postal purposes, with Ahmadnagar in Maharashtra.
(a) Inscription of Muzaffar Shah I, dated A.H. 928, from Himatnagar (p. 45)

Scale: 1:18

(b) Inscription of Muzaffar Shah II, dated A.H. 917, from Jambusar (p. 39)

Scale: 1:13
The epigraph consists of ten lines in Persian and represents a new record of Muẓaffar Shāh II. It seems to have been noticed by an officer of the Survey some years back; its inked rubbing was found along with other old rubbings in my office. But the record has not been edited so far.

The slab measuring 59° by 65 cm. is fixed into the side of the first landing of the step-well called Ḍā'ī’s Vāḍālī which is a very handsome structure in the architectural tradition of the Gujarat step-wells. Another slab fixed into the opposite wall contains a Sanskrit version of the record. Both these inscriptions were first noticed in the District Gazetteer, but unfortunately the statements made therein are incorrect and misleading. For example, the Persian version is stated to bear the date A.H. 820 (1417 A.D.) while the correct year is A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.). The Gazetteer also quotes the tradition that Shamsīrul-Mulk, the builder, was a son of Ḍair Shāh I. This was probably suggested by the wrong reading of the date but according to the text, the step-well was constructed by Shams, son of Mubārak Sultānī entitled Malikūsh Shāh Shamsīrul-Mulk in the twelfth year of a date equivalent to A.H. 928 (1522 A.D.). This epigraph also quotes and redesignate the year as Shamsiya. The style of writing is ordinary Nūḥi style in grace and elegance which is a high watermark of the Sultanate inscriptions. The text is incised on the slab.

No noble bearing the title Shamsīrul-Mulk figures in the events of the reign of Muẓaffar II. But since we hear of one Shamsīrul-Mulk in connexion with the events that took place immediately after the death of the latter it is reasonable to hold that he enjoyed this title in his reign also. This Shamsīrul-Mulk was sent in A.H. 339 by Muẓaffar Shāh’s son Bahādur Shāh against Ajmer of which he was governor until at least A.H. 911. He is also mentioned by Ḥājjī Dābir among the foremost nobles of Bahādur Shāh. He is evidently identical with Shamsīrul-Mulk Sultānī who was in A.H. 956 made the governor of Junagadh with practically whole of Saurashtra under his authority.

The text of this record reads as follows:

\[\text{Text}

\begin{align*}
\text{(1) } & \text{Bism Allāh al-rāhīm wa bih nastēn} \\
\text{(2) } & \text{Dīr 'Abū Sālāt al-Lāti'n al-zāman} \\
\text{(3) } & \text{al-'Abī Bīnāni'd al-rāhīm 'Allāha wa al-dīn} \\
\text{(4) } & \text{Abu 'Abīl Māźra' Mūsān wa al-sālaṭān 'Allāhārūm} \\
\text{(5) } & \text{Shams Mūsārūk sālaṭat al-mulkā bi' smā'ī} \\
\end{align*}

\[^1\text{ARIPE, 1960-61, No. D, 74.}\]
\[^2\text{BG, Vol. V, pp. 430-31. It is surprising that the discrepancy between the two dates, A.H. 820 (1417 A.D.) and V.S. 1578 (1522 A.D.) of the two versions of the same epigraph did not occur to the compiler. The correct date of the Persian version corresponds to that of its counterpart. Commendat, op. cit., p. 84, also follows the gazetteer.}\]
\[^3\text{Firūshtā, op. cit., p. 215; Niẓāmī'd-Dīn Āḥmad, op. cit., p. 490.}\]
\[^4\text{Sīkānār, op. cit., pp. 283, 318; Ḥājjī Dābir, op. cit., pp. 227, 236, 254, 298. Both these authors append the sub epithet Nuḥī to his name.}\]
\[^5\text{Ḥājjī Dābir, op. cit., pp. 324, 399.}\]
In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And of Him we seek aid.

In the reign of the king of the kings of the time,

one who is supported by the help of the Beneficent; Shamsu’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn

Abu’u-Nasr Muqaffar Shāh, the sultān, (this step-well) was constructed

by Shams, (son of) Mubārak Sulṭānī entitled Malik-

u’th-Sharq Shaghbiru’l-Mulk, may Allah prolong his life!

In the months of the year twelve Shamsiyya, on the twenty second

of the month of Dhī’l-Qa’da, year (A.H.) twentyeighth

and one hundred, Monday (22nd Dhī’l-Qa’da A.H.928-13th October 1523 A.D.),

it was inscribed.

Whosoever reads (this) may remember (the builder) with prayers for (his) faith.

Bāḥādur Shāh

XXIX. INScriPTION DATED A. H. 936 FROM BHAMER

The only epigraph of Bāḥādur Shāh in the present study is fixed over the central miḥrāb of a mosque at Bhamer in the Sakri tāluka of the Dhulia district of Maharashtra. This inscription was also discovered by an officer of the Survey in the past. But it has not been noticed so far. The epigraphical tablet measures 78 by 21 cm.

Bhamer, situated in 21°N and 74°20’ E., at the foot of a fortified hill at a distance of four miles to the south of Nizampur, seems to have been a place of strategic importance in the Sultānate period. It lay on the regular route from Gujarat to Deccan. It was at this town that the army sent by Aḥmad Shāh to the help of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmani who had declared hostilities against Vijayanagara received the news of the latter's death and returned to Gujarat. Again, in A. H. 867, when Maḥmūd Khaljī of Malwa had invaded Deccan, Nizām Shāh Bahmani sought help from Maḥmūd Shāh I who himself marched towards Deccan, but when he was at Bhamer, he was informed by the envoy of the Bahmani king that Maḥmūd Khaljī had retreated. Also, when Maḥmūd Shāh was returning to Gujarat after this march to Khandesh in A. H. 901, he ordered his army to proceed, while himself went to see the forts of Bhamer and Dīrmāl which were conquered by Imādul-Mulk Isan. It appears that Bhamer continued to be part of the kingdom until the time of Bāḥādur Shāh.

2 Bg, Vol. XII, Khandesh (Bombay, 1889), p. 434.
3 Sikandar, op. cit., p. 69; Hājjī Dābir, op. cit., p. 162.
4 Hājjī Dābir, op. cit., pp. 15, 166. Sikandar, op. cit., p. 113, has Nandagarh inscr. of Bhamer.
5 Ibid., p. 147. This conquest is also referred to in another record from Bhamer, recently brought to light (ARIE, 1963-64, No. D, 183).
The record consists of two lines in Persian written in crude Nasîh letters in relief. It assigns the construction of the mosque to the mother (name not specified) of Dilawar Khan in 1529-30 A.D. during the reign of Qutbuddin wa’d-Din Bahadur Shâh. The text does not quote the kunya of Bahadur Shâh which was Abûl-Faḍl as we know from his coins as well as from one of the epigraphs to be studied next. The inscription also mentions Dilawar Khan as a martyr which may indicate that he was slain in one of the battles of the day. The builder is stated to be a daughter of Malik Ghiyathu’d-Din Khatri married to Alp Khan. One more person Fathullâh is mentioned in the text after the latter, but the word between the two names is not very clear in the rubbing. I have tentatively read it as nabasa (grandson). It is difficult to say if Alp Khan of the inscription is identical with a prominent noble of Bahadur Shâh’s time, Alp Khan Khatri, whose caste-name Khatri is also borne by the former’s father-in-law.

The epigraph reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(1) یا مسجدنا بنت اتّه منتهی به هم جنگه باّن این مسجد والده دلاور خان شهید
بلک ملک غیاث الدين كهتری ملکوحه البخان نبیه

(2) فتح اتّه در عهد قلب الدنيا و الدين بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه سلطان
رحمه الله عليهم في سنة ست و ثلاثين و تسعمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) ‘He who builds for Allah a mosque, Allah builds a like thereof in Paradise.’ The builder of the mosque (is) the mother of the martyr Dilawar Khan, daughter of Malik Ghiyathu’d-Din Khatri (and) wife of Alp Khan, grandson of

(2) Fathullah, in the reign of Qutbuddin wa’d-Din Bahadur Shâh, son of Muṣaffar Shâh, son of Mahmûd Shâh, may Allah’s mercy be upon them, in the year (A.H.) six and thirty and nine hundred (A.H. 1529-30 A.D.).

Mahmûd Shâh III

XXX. INSCRIPTION DATED A. H. 946 FROM AHMADABAD

It is rather surprising that this beautiful record to be found on a step-well inside the Bohra cemetery in Saraspur quarter of Ahmadabad, should have escaped the notice of Dr. M. A. Chaghtai who has published almost all the historical inscriptions of Ahmadabad in his monograph. I came to be apprised of its existence through the keen interest shown in cultural affairs by my friend Mr. J. B. Kadri, a well-known lawyer and social worker of Ahmadabad, who not only informed me about it but also used his good offices with the local head-priest of the Bohra community for getting it copied. I am grateful to both of them.

The epigraph is engraved on a slab measuring 47 by 68 cm. which is fixed into the right side of the first landing of the beautiful step-well.1 When I first saw the tablet in 1957, the well

1 His full name was Alp Khan son of Muhammad Khatri according to an inscription from Broach (SIM, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 30.).

2 ARIE, 1956-57, No. D, 16.
was uncovered but on my subsequent visit five years later I found that it was covered up, probably to avoid mishap to any of the large number of pilgrims and visitors including children who all round the year throng the tombs of the Bohra saints situated in the cemetery. As is usual in the case of step-wells, this structure has also a Sanskritic epigraph fixed into the opposite side.\(^1\)

The present record comprises eleven lines of chaste Arabic inscribed in Naskh characters of an equally good order. It purports that the excavation of the step-well started in 1534 A.D. during the reign of Qutbuddin Abu'l-Faḍl Bahādūr Shāh and completed in 1539 A.D. during the rule of Mḥmūd Shāh III by Shaikhā, son of ‘Īsā, entitled Munjāl. The text constitutes in a way a deed of endowment, for Munjāl not only constructed the step-well for the use of the public and travellers but also endowed for their use the buildings and fruit-bearing trees nearby which were presumably, like the well, inside a garden enclosure.

The epigraph is important in that it records the full titles of Bahādūr Shāh which are the same as quoted in his coins.\(^2\) His inscriptions so far published did not quote his titles. Among the historians, Ḥājji Dābīr calls him Abu'l-Muzaffar Ghāzi Samsānūl-Dīn, which is thus proved incorrect beyond any doubt. About Shaikhā, entitled Munjāl, nothing is known from other sources. Munjāl does not seem to have been the title of this individual only but a sort of family name. For, in the above cemetery near the step-well, there are at least two inscribed graves which contain the remains of Miyān Ḥāshim, son of the builder and of Shaikh Jīn, son of Shaikhā, son of Mānījī, both of whom are mentioned with the sobriquet Munjāl.\(^3\)

The text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

\begin{quote}
Plate XIII (a)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) قد ابتدى حفر هذّ الابيض المذوء ماؤه عذباً زلالاً و وف به لاستفاع

(3) المخل و لين جاء به وفقاً حلالاً مع عمارةه المعمورة و أشجاره المزروعة المشرة إتباع

(4) موجه الله المعظم و رجاء اشفاءه و رول اللہ جل و علُم المكرم في عمر السلطان المشرف

(5) بتصرف الرحمن تنبل الدنيا و الدین أبو الفضل هادئ بن مظفر شاب

(6) مست. يمن ي شعبان و ابنا في عهد سلطان سلطان الزمان الواثق

(7) ين ابنا في النجاح الرحمن ناصر الدنيا و الدین أبو الفتح محمد شاه ابن

(8) لطيف شاه ابنا [دج شاه] ابن مظفر شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن

(9) محمد شاه ابن أحمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه

(10) السلطان خان الله ملكه و سلطانه شيخا ين عيسى الطخب

(11) بني نجال جعل الله له هذه الخير مقبوله جارية و مناء من حوض الكوتر شره بعده بحاتيد

سنة 956
\end{quote}

\(^1\) ARIE, 1957-58, No. B, 141.

\(^2\) His coins have the legend Qutbuddin-Dawla wa'l-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl. For references, see EAPs, 1933 and 1954, p. 79 and fn.3.

\(^3\) ARIE, 1956-57, No. D, 13-14. The same Munjāl was borne by the celebrated minister of the famous Chaulukya king of Gujarati Siddharji Jayasimha. Also, the name of one Vohra Munjāl of Modh race occurs in an inscription dated 1222 A.D. from Wadhwan (HQ, vol. 1V, p. 766, fn.3).
(a) Inscription of Mahmūd Shāh III, dated A.H. 946, from Ahmedabad (p. 48)

(b) Inscription of Bahādur Shāh, dated A.H. 936, from Shaher (p. 47)
(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Commenced the digging of this well whose water is sweet with pure sweetness, and it was endowed for the benefit

(3) of the public and of those who come there, by way of lawful trust, along with its prospering buildings and planted fruit-bearing trees, with a view to obtain

(4) the Face of the Magnificent Lord and hoping for the intercession of His noble Prophet, may Allah’s salutations and peace be upon him, in the reign of the sultan who is favoured

(5) with the robe of honour of the Beneficent, Quthu’d-Dunya wa’d-Din Abul’-Fadl Bahadar Shah, son of Mughaffar Shah,

(6) in Sha’ban of the year (A.H.) 940 (February-March 1531 A.D.), and it was finished in the reign of the king of the kings of the time, the reliant

(7) on the help of the Beneficent, Nasiru’d-Dunya wa’d-Din Abul’-Fath Mahmud Shah, son of

(8) Latif Shah, brother of Bahadar Shah, son of Mughaffar Shah, son of Mahmud Shah, son of

(9) Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Mughaffar Shah,

(10) the sultan, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by Shaikh, son of Isma, entitled

(11) Munjil, may Allah make for him this bounty acceptable and ever-running, and give him pure drink from the reservoir of Kauthar. (In the year A.H.) 946 (1539 A.D.).

XXXI. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM CAMBAY

I found the loose fragmentary slab containing this inscription in 1859 in a small mosque near the Lal-Mahal at Cambay. The slab being fragmentary, a considerable portion of the text is lost. The surviving two lines only contain the usual genealogy of the king Mahmud Shah III. It is therefore difficult to determine the purport of the record nor does the lack of information about the original find-spot of the tablet help us in the matter. The tablet in its present state measures 40 by 15. cm., and the style of writing is Nasha of a fairly good type.

The surviving text is quoted below:

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(1) و كان ذلك في عهد السلطان الأعظم ناصر الدين و الدین ابو [الفتح]
(2) محمود شاه [بن] لطيف شاه اخ بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه
بن أحمد شاه بن محمود شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

1 The Sanskrit version referred to above bears the date equivalent to 72th October 1530 A.D.
(1) And this took place in the reign of the great king Nāṣiru’d-Dunyā wa’d-Din Abūl-ʾFath] Mahmūd Shāh, [son of] Latif Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, son of Mahmūd Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the sūltān...

XXXII. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM SOMNATH

The fragmentary slab bearing this record is to be found in the Archaeological Museum at Somnath. Whatever little writing has survived is also badly damaged with the result that it is difficult to establish the purport of the record except that it refers to the construction of a mosque. Palaeographically it can be safely assigned to the sultanate period, and though there is no absolute proof, it seems to have been set up in the reign of one of the early sultans, and is therefore included in the present study. The style of writing is Nāṣīḥah, and the language Arabic and Persian. The tablet measures 37 by 26 cm.

The surviving text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XIV (c)

(a) Vertical writing on the right side.

(1) لا إنه إلا [الله] محمد رسول الله
(2) تبارك و تعالى
(3) ...................................

(b) Horizontal writing.

(1) بفرمان؟
(2) قال [نَبِيَّ]:
(3) ابن مسجد نياكرد...

TRANSLATION

(a) (1) First Creed.
(2) Blessed and Exalted..........
(3) .........................

(b) (1) At the orders of? ............
(2) The Prophet says.............
(3) This mosque was constructed....

1 ARIE, 1934-55, No. C, 166.
4 The reading of this portion is tentative.
SOME MUGHAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM VIDARBHA

By S. A. Rahim

The Vidarbha or Berar region comprises, strictly speaking, of four districts of Akoia, Buldana, Amraoti and Yeotmal which are now included in Maharashtra. Of the twelve inscriptions included in this article, five are from Karanja, two each from Mangulpur and Balapur and one each from Patur, Akot and Lakhanwada.

The earliest of these records is to be seen at Mangulpur, headquarters of the tāluka of the same name in Akola district. The town of Mangul lying between 24°1' and 26°50' N. and 77°9' and 77°12' E. is suffixed by the epithet Pir, referring to the saint Ḥayāt Qalandar or other saints who lie buried there, to distinguish it from other places of the same name. The epigraph is engraved on a slab measuring 75 by 18 cm. fixed on the entrance of the tomb of Shāh Amānūllāh who is situated in the same enclosure along with that of his disciple Shāh Amanu'llah Nāsir. Of the two tombs, that of the former is a monument of architectural merit. According to Brown, the disciple is contemporary with the Mughal emperor Shāh Jashān, which is in conformity with the evidence of the inscription making the spiritual guide Shāh Amānūllāh a contemporary of Akbar.

The text of the record consists of four verses in Persian inscribed horizontally side by side; in addition a line is written on the left side from bottom to top. There seems to be nothing wrong with the composition of the record. On the contrary, from whatever has been possible to read, the quality of verse appears to be fairly good. But unfortunately the stone carver or the designer has made a mess of the whole text. A cursory glance at the plate is sufficient to illustrate the crude execution of the letters. It is only this crudeness of the style of writing, which was evidently intended to be Nastaʿlīq, that is responsible for the fact that despite several attempts the record could not be satisfactorily deciphered. But from the portion it has been possible to read, it appears that the construction of the tomb of the saint Shāh Amānūllāh was ordered by Shāh Murād, son of Jalāl ud-Dīn Mūhammad. This Shāh Murād is none other than Prince Murād, son of emperor Akbar, who was stationed in Berar during the last years of his life, and who ultimately breathed his last at Jālpāpur in Berar on the 15th of Shabāb 1007 A. H. The record is thus important for showing that the saint was a contemporary of Akbar and that he must have been held in veneration by the Prince.

The date given in the last hemistich appears to be A. H. 1006 in words but the figures at two places indicate A. H. 1007. It is possible that the work was started in A. H. 1006 when the text was composed but the tablet was put up in A. H. 1007 only. This would mean, as it appears very likely, that the date and month quoted in the left side portion of the slab also formed part of the text when it was composed. In that case, Monday, the 25th Jamādā II relates to the year A. H. 1006. This is corroborated by the fact that 25th Jamādā II A. H. 1006 corresponding to 23rd January 1598 A. D. was Monday, while 25th Jamādā II A. H. 1007 corresponding to 13th January 1599 A. D. fell on Saturday. The name of the writer is not legible.

2 Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARE), 1900-01, No. D, 200. The inscription has been referred to in Brown, op. cit., p. 356, but its purport is not given.
3 Ibid.
4 It is written as igo or igo which obviously stands for 1007. For a date quoted in a like way, see Epigraphia Indica-Musulica (EIM), 1935-36, p. 57, pl. XXXVII.
TEXT

Plate XV (c)

On the left side.

بتاريخ ستُبُنِّيُ السُّمَرْح جمِّيد إثنين دفَّ شِينُه كُتبَه

TRANSLATION

(1) He whose heart from among all the hearts is awake with (Divine) knowledge is the pole-star of the pole-stars of the world, Shāh Amān-Allāh.

A wonderful manifestation in the extreme ....... its walls.

(2) Like Ka'ba has come the tomb? ................. its face.

Its edifice, through respect, is so high that on account of its height, the revolving heaven touches its head at its feet (?)..

(3) It was constructed by the order of Shāh Murād, son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad (Akbar). In the year One hundred and six? the mason decorated it in green? Year 1007.

On the left side.

............ On the twentyfifth of the month of Jamād II, Monday. Written by ............

The second inscription of this group noticed for the first time belongs to Karanja town situated in 22°29' N. and 77°32' E. in the Murtazapur taluka of the Akola district. The report that the town was once known as Karanja Bīb is also corroborated by the present record. The reason for this nomenclature is reported to be that the town was part of the dowry given to Daulat Shāh Begam, daughter of Daryā Īmād Shāh of Berār when she was married to Husain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. Her tomb is said to have existed in a delapidated condition at the turn of the present century. The town contains in all eight inscriptions of which four are included in this article. These were copied by me in 1960.

The slab bearing the epigraph measures 60 by 21 cm. and is fixed on the facade of the Āstāna-Masjīd. It records the construction, evidently of the mosque, in the first regnal year of Aurangzeb or 1659 A. D., by one whose name appears to read as Piran. The date is contained in figures and the regnal year in words. Unfortunately, the Nasta'liq script employed by the scribe, though better than the one used in the previous epigraph, is not up to the mark.

1 ARIE, 1900-01, No. D, 203.

(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1061, from Lakhanwada (p. 55)

(b) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1069, from Karanja (p. 53)

(c) Inscription of Akbar, dated A.H. 1007, from Mangalpir (p. 52)
The text of the record comprising three lines of Persian verse and one in prose reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XV (b)*

1. در عصر پادشاه ملکه قدر جم شکوه اورنگ زئه آناکه جهانپائیش سرا
2. جم سبیل که بیست طلا بخشت که چه فردوس خوش فزا آمد ندا و گفت ز ’موجود جورپا’
3. تاریخ از خرد طلیب[M] ز هاتنه (تحریر فی التاریخ سلیم ساله 1069 ساله ایند م جلیس)

**TRANSLATION**

1. In the time of the king of angel-like stature and Jam-like dignity Aurang Shāh (Aurangzeb), whom kingship fully befits,
2. a mosque was completed through the good fortune of the king; Piran constructed this paradise-like pleasant edifice with brick.
3. I asked Wisdom about its date. From the invisible angel, the voice came to say, ‘Seek the pleasure from the Ever Living (Allāh).’
4. Written on the last day of the year A. H. 1069, the first regnal year (29th Dhi’l-Hijja A. H. 1069=7th September 1659 A. D.).

I am not satisfied with the reading of the name of the builder. An alternative reading is Bisan but I prefer Piran.

The third inscription is copied from the Jāmi’ mosque at Akot lying between 20°55’ and 26°15’N. and 76°47’ and 77°15’ E. in the *tāluka* of the same name in Akola district. The inscription is fixed above the central *mihrāb* of the mosque and comprises six lines in Persian verse written in beautiful *Nasta’līq* characters in relief. The tablet measures 76 by 43 cm., and the lettering has been subjected to damage as will be seen from the illustration. The record assigns the construction of the mosque to Muhammad Ashraf on the site of a temple demolished by him in A. H. 1078 (1667-88 A. D.) during Aurangzeb’s reign. The date is provided by a chronogram, while between the last two lines it is also incised in words, perhaps at a subsequent date, in an inegal hand.

The text has been read as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XVI (a)*

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله حقة
2. در رمان عدل عالم بیکش دین پناه آناکه نورد جود عامل پحوکان باشد خجل

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1 The letter ‘ 추진’ seems to have been omitted by the sculptor.
(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god except Allah.

Muhammad is His Prophet, verily, verily.

(2) In the just reign of 'Alamgir, the king who is the asylum of Faith (and) whose universal generosity makes the sea and mine shame-striken,

(3) one of his devoted servants, Muhammad Ashraf of good faith, saw a place where there was a temple.

(4) Like Khalil (Prophet Abraham), he broke the temple at the command of God, and arranged for the construction of a very steadfast mosque.

(5) Year (A. H.) one thousand and seventy-eight (A. H. 1078=1667 A. D.).

(6) The date of this edifice of happy end was obtained in the words: (it is) the desire-giving Ka'ba and place of worship for men of hearts.

Muhammad Ashraf who is clearly mentioned in the text as a devoted official of the emperor is untraceable in historical records at my disposal.

The fourth inscription belongs to Ghāṭ-Darwāza situated on the top of the hill at a distance of about 2 miles to the south of the village Lakhanwada in the Khamgaon tāluka of Buldana district. The epigraph was listed by Cousens who merely described it as containing 'five lines of inscription in Persian'. That is not surprising because due to constant exposure to elements of nature, the slab has become quite weather-beaten, and the letters have partly abraded.

The inscriptive tablet is fixed over the gate. The record which runs into five lines of Persian prose is quite interesting. It states that the construction of the gate on the hill-pass of Dhadham took place in the 24th regnal year of Aurangzeb (1680-81 A. D.) by the orders of the famous Mughal governor of Deccan, Khān-i-Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāgh, a foster-brother of the emperor. Khān-i-Jahān Kokaltāgh is too well-known to require any detailed mention here. His first term as governor of Deccan was from the 10th to 20th regnal year of the emperor. It was probably towards the close of the 20th regnal year that he was dismissed from service but was reinstated shortly, though he was not given charge of Deccan until the 23rd regnal year. It is possible that Khān-i-Jahān had ordered the construction of the gate on the mountain pass during one of his marches in the region. It may be interesting to note that Khān Jahān is mentioned in the text with the title Tājul-Mulk. The text also calls the hill as Dhadham, which is evidently the Dhadham of the maps.

1 This should be "موضعی"
2 ARIE, 1960-61, No. D, 214. The hill belongs to the Ajanta range.
3 Cousens, op. cit., p. 72.
4 For an account of his career, see Shah Nawīz Khān, Ma'ādgar'ul-Ummārā, vol. I (Calcutta, 1894), pp. 798-813.
5 Ibid., pp. 801-02.
6 There does exist a village Dhadham at a distance of about two or three furlongs from the hill.
(a) Inscription of Aurangzeb, dated A.H. 1078, from Akot (p. 53)

Scale: 0.17

(b) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 1109, from Karanja (p. 55)

Scale: 0.18

(c) A third inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 1110, same place (p. 56)

Scale: 0.23
The epigraph is inscribed in Nasta’liq of a fairly high order. The text has been deciphered as follows:

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(2) در عهد خل سبجای اورنگ زیب پادشاه

(3) عالم کبیر حسب انفراد تاج الملک خان جهان بهادر

(4) کو کتکش در سال سیست و چهارم جلوس دروازه

(5) بر گذر کو هی دهدهم پی آنکاد نیترفت

TRANSLATION

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

(2) In the reign of the shadow of the Glorious Lord, Aurangzêb Bâdhâh

(3) Ālamgîr, by the order of Tâj-ul-Mulk Khân-i-Jâhân Bâhâdûr

(1) Kokaltâsh, in the 21st regnal year (A. H. 1091-92-1680-81 A. D.), (this) gate

(5) on the pass of the hill Dhadham was constructed.

The next inscription of the study again comes from Karanja. Its tablet measuring 1.2 m. by 22 cm. is fixed on the right side of the Dârwa gate of the city-wall.1 Comprising three lines of writing in Persian, it places the construction of Mâhûr gate in the 42nd regnal year (1693-94 A. D.) of Aurangzeb when the qâdî of Kârañja-Bîbi was included in the sief of Rustam Khân and the faujdâr of the place was Qûdî Basîrûllâh.

It is difficult to say if Rustam Khân whose name occurs as the jâgîndâr of Kârañja in our record is identical with Sayyid Rustam Khân who was appointed his deputy in Berar by Firûz Jâng in about the 33rd regnal year of the emperor; he is stated to have held Bâlâpur and other places in his sief.2 The epigraph is also important in that it provides the name of the faujdâr, viz. Qûdî Bashîrûllâh, but no further particulars about him are forthcoming. It is also to be noted that the gate is designated in the text as ‘Mâhûr gate’.

The script employed in the epigraph which, it will be noticed, is incised on the stone and not carved in relief, is Nasta’liq of a fairly good order. The text reads as under:

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(1) اللّه أکرِم

(2) اورنگ زیب رستم خان جاگیردار خصیص بر میرم

(3) ستھ جھل دو جلوس والا عمل فاصل انکھ بچھد رودوار دوھور مور مرت میرہ نال خیبر

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1 ARIE, 1950–51, No. 1, 201.
2 Shab Nawâz Khân, op. cit., pp. 505–04.
(1) Allāh is Great.

(2) The Glorified God. (In the reign of) Shāh Aurangzeb (and during the time of) Rustam Khān, the jāgirdār of the qaṣba of Kāranja-Bībī

(3) (in) the year fortytwo of the auspicious accession (A. H. 1109-10=1698-99 A. D) (during) the time of Qāḍī Bāshīru’l-lāh, the faujdār, the Māhūr gate was completed. (May it end) with safety!

The sixth inscription, fixed on the right side of Māngrul gate of the same town, 1 comprises five lines in Persian incised in ordinary Nastalīq on a rectangular slab measuring 77 by 23 cm. The text opens with an attribute of God followed by the first two verses from Jāmī’s famous Yūsuf Za‘līm. The remaining two lines in prose place the construction of the Dakhān gate in the 43rd year (A. H. 1110-11=1699-1700 A. D.) of Aurangzeb’s reign. Other particulars given in the inscription are same as in the previous inscription except that it further records the name of the writer as Shyāmjī Bābā Rāi.

The text is read as follows:—

**TEXT**

*Plate XVI (c)*

(1) هو القادر
(2) إلى غنجه امید بخشائی کلی از روزنھ جاوید بنمان
(3) وزن کل [عطر] برور خک دماغم
(4) در عهد سلطنت شاه اورنگزب غرب عالمگیر جاکیر رستم خان قاضی بیشیر اللہ
(5) فوجدار قصبه کارنجه سے دریاہو دکھن در سیم ہے سہ مرتبہ شد

On the left side.

رافیم شیامجی بابوروا

**TRANSLATION**

(1) He is Powerful.

(2) Ó God! Open the bud of desire and show a rose from the eternal garden!

(3) From the lip of that bud, make my garden full of smile, and with that rose make my mind scented!

(4) In the period of the reign of Shāh Aurangzeb ʿAlamgīr and (when) the jāgīr was held by Rustam Khān, (in the time of) Qāḍī Bāshīru’l-lāh,

(5) the faujdār of the qaṣba of Kāranja-Bībī, the Dakhān gate was constructed in the (regual) year 43, fortythree (A. H. 1110-11=1699-1700 A.D.).

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(a) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh, dated A.H. 1139, from Karanja (p. 58)

(b) Inscription of Farrukh Siyar, dated A.H. 1126, from Patur (p. 57)

(c) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh, dated A.H. 1139, from Karanja (p. 58)
On the left side.

The writer (of the lines is) Shyāmji Bābū Rāi.

The seventh inscription belongs to Patur situated in 20°27' N. and 76°39' E. in the Balapur tahuka of the Akola District.1 Noticed here for the first time, it is inscribed on the third gate of the dargāh of Shaikh 'Abdul-'Azīz commonly known as Shāh Bābū or Shaikh Bābū after whose name the village is called Pāṭār Shaikh Bābū. Tradition asserts that the saint arrived at Patur during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh who also paid a visit to him on his way to Daulatabad. He was a disciple of Naṣru'd-Dīn Chirāg-i-Dīlāī and died in A. H. 791.2

The present epigraph is dated A. H. 1126 (1714 A. D.) in the reign of the Mughal emperor Farrukh Siyar. It records the construction of the gate of the dargāh. It is difficult to name the builder since the text, an example of mediocre versification is vague on the point. The inscriptive slab measures 77 by 27 cm.

The text comprising two couplets in Persian is inscribed in ordinary Naṣī'īq characters in relief and reads as follows:—

**TEXT**

Plate XII (b)

(1) Shad bāna dīr Zaman nīż shāh, yāb rūznāh shirāf yābūshāw
(2) Shad mūnār helāl āqīn bīdar az sādīl wā kerm rūznāh Allāh

**TRANSLATION**

(1) The gate of the noble tomb of Bābū Shāh was built in the time of Farrukh Shāh.

(2) By the grace and help of the Prophet of Allāh (i.e. Mūsā I) the crescent (Hilāl) became resplendent (Munawwar) like full-moon (thabīq).

(3) Year A. H. 1126 (1714 A. D.).

The slab containing the next inscription is set on a niche in the facade of the mosque situated on the eastern bank of the river at Balapur in Akola district. The town was a place of importance in the time of the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty of Bārā and during the reign of Akbar and later Mughal emperors.3

The text of the epigraph comprises three compartments. Persian inscribed vertically in two lines in relief in pleasant and beautiful Naṣī'īq. Dated A. H. 1120 (1717-18 A. D.), the record assigns the construction of a mosque to Amin Quli Khān in the reign of Farrukh Siyar at the time when Muḥammad Amin Khān held the seat. The Ṭabādard Muḥammad Amin Khān as well as the builder Amin Quli Khān are not mentioned in historical works but the former is spoken of in the text as a learned and accomplished nobleman, 'a man of sword and pen'.

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1 ARIJ, No. D, 196.
2 'Abdul-Jabbar Khān Malikpūrī, Tegālwāzi Amīr. 3 Polār vol. 1 (Hyderabad). pp. 527-30. A biography of the saint in Urdu, entitled Sūrāqab-i-Estiḥlāl by 1 Jamāl Jālāl Khān was published in 1933 A. D.
3 ARIJ, 1900-61, No. D, 194.
4 For particulars about the town, see Brown, op. cit., pp. 309-11.
The inscriptive tablet measures 77 by 25 cm., and the text reads as follows. —

**TEXT**

*Plate XVIII (b)*

(1) يا وهاب

(2-3) بعهد فرح سيد شيء عادل

كه خاكبيس جنايش. عرج كبيوانت

بدور صاحب جاكنة اهل سيف و قلم

امير عامم و فاضل محمد امين خان است

دا ز روى كرم دد هزار و يكصد و سي

يکر که باني مسجد امين قلي خان است

1130

**TRANSLATION**

(1) O Bestower!

(2-3) (This mosque was built) in the auspicious reign of Farrukh Siyar, the just king, kissing the dust of whose threshold is the highest honour for Saturn,

(and) in the time of the holder of the fiel (jāgīr), the master of sword and pen, learned and accomplished nobleman, who is Muḥammad Amin Khān.

Oh heart! By way of kindness—(and it was) in one thousand one hundred and thirty—say that the builder of the mosque is Amin Quli Khān. (Year A.H.) 1130, 1130 (1717-18 A.D.).

The ninth record is inscribed on the left side of the Delhi gate at Karanja.1 There is another inscription on the right side of the gate, the text of which is identical except that it does not contain the date (pl. XVII (a)).2 The text contains two Persian couplets assigning the reconstruction of the gate to the efforts of ‘Abdu’l-Wāḥid in A.H. 1139 (1726-27 A.D.) in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. The figure 9 at the end of the text evidently represents the regnal year. No particulars are available in records at my disposal about the career of ‘Abdu’l-Wāḥid. But he must be identical with Shaikh ‘Abdu’l-Wāḥid, son of Saifu’lāh, the faujdār, who constructed some edifice seven years later in the tomb of Dādā Ḥayāt Qalandar at Mangrulpir which is situated at a distance of 18 miles from Karanja (p. 59). In other words, ‘Abdu’l-Wāḥid may have been associated with Karanja in the same official capacity in A.H. 1139.

The text is incised in Nasta’līq characters of a fairly good type on a slab measuring 95 by 24 cm. and reads as under: —

**TEXT**

*Plate XVII (c)*

(1) بعهد ولي عالم محمد شام دين بور

ز عبد الواحد ساعي بنای باب شد تازه

(2) چو تاريخ تمام او زعفل خویشتین جسم

بگوش جان ندا آمد زمي بانیش دروژه

1139

(a) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh, dated A.H. 1156, from Mangalpur (p. 59)

(b) Inscription of Farrukh Siyar, dated A.H. 1130, from Balapur (p. 58)

(c) Inscription of Shāh 'Ālam II, dated A.H. 1187, from Balapur (p. 60)
TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the exalted king, Muhammad Shāh, the supporter of the Faith, the gate was constructed afresh through the efforts of 'Abdul-Wahid.

(2) When I sought the date of its completion from my Intellect, a voice came into the ear of my soul (saying), 'What an excellent gate endowed with favour!' (Regnal year) 9, (A.H.) 1139 (1726-27 A.D.).

The tenth inscription of the group is engraved on a stone fixed into the northern wall of the verandah of the dargāh of Dādā Ḥayāt Qalāndār at Mangulpir. The inscription is briefly noticed by Cousins, while Hiralal giving some more but not full particulars describes the construction of an 'Idgah as its purport. The epigraph contains four lines inscribed in ordinary Nasta’liq characters. The language is Persian. It records the building of the dālān (verandah) in the 15th year of the reign of MAHAMMAD Shāh in A.H. 1146 (1733-34 A.D.), when the place was included in the fief of Niẓāmu’l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. It names Shaikh 'Abdul-Wahid, son of Saiful-lāh, the faujdār, as the builder. Niẓāmu’l-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, the celebrated founder of the Āṣaf Jāh dynasty of Hyderabad, needs no description. Reference has already been made to the builder in the preceding lines.

The text covers a space of 78 by 46 cm. on the stone and reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

(1) در عبد مبارک محمد بن بادشاه و جاکر نواب نظام الملك
(2) آصف جاه تاریخ باندزهم شهر رمضان المبارک سنه
(3) یکهزار و یکم و چهل و شش هجری میلادی سنه شانزده جلوی ان دالان
(4) از دست شیخ عبد الواحد این سیف اللہ فوجدار ترتیب یافت

TRANSLATION

(1) In the auspicious reign of Muhammad Shāh Bādshāh (and in) the jāgīr of Nawwāb Niẓāmu’l-Mulk

(2) Āṣaf Jāh, on the fifteenth of the month of the blessed Ramaḍān of the year

(3) one thousand one hundred and forty-six from the Migration corresponding to the sixteenth year of accession (15th Ramaḍān A.H. 1146-33-34 A.D.), this dālān

(4) was constructed by Shaikh 'Abdul-Wahid, son of Saiful-lāh, the faujdār.

The last inscription is to be seen on the facade above the arches in the Bādshāhpūre-ki-Masjid at Balapur. Noted here for the first time, it records the construction of the mosque in A.H. 1187 (1773 A.D.) during the reign of Shāh 'Alam II and in the time of Āṣaf Jāh II, by Ḥadrat

2 Hiralal, op. cit., p. 137.
5 For Āṣaf Jāh II, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 888-75.
Sayyid Jalāl *alias* Shāh Sāhib. The name of the builder so occurs in the versified text as to indicate that Jalāl and Shāh Sāhib are two persons, but the verb being in the singular, it is just possible that these two names are of the same person. The date of the record is given in a chronogram as well as in figures and words. The text is inscribed in fairly good Nastaʿlīq on three slabs jointly measuring 43 by 28 cm.

**TEXT**

*Plate XVIII (c)*

(a) *Right slab.*

(1) این مكان تعمیر شد در دور آسف جاه حال

(2) حامی دین شاه عالم بود سلطان الملک

(b) *Middle slab.*

(1) حضرت سید جلال و شاه صاحب در صغر

(2) کرد این مسجد بتا در چشم حاسد پاد دوک

(c) *Left slab.*

(1) در هزار و یکصد و هشتاد و یک سال پنا

(2) سجادات حق پرستان معبد اهل سلک

سنہ 1186 هجري

**TRANSLATION**

(a) (1) This building (mosque) was constructed in the time of the present Āṣaf Jāh (i.e. II),

(2) (when) the defender of the Faith, Shāh ʿĀlam (II) was the king of the kings.

(b) (1) Ḥadrat Sayyid Jalāl and (alias ?) Shāh Sāhib, in the month of Safar,

(2) built this mosque. May the eye of the enemy be blinded by a spindle!

(c) (1) In the year (A.H.) one thousand and eightyseven was constructed

(2) a place of prostration for the worshippers of Truth and place of worship for the men of the Path.

(3) Year A.H. 1187 (Ṣafar A.H. 1187 = April-May 1773 A.D.).

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1 This hemistich forms the chronogram.
ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR

By A. A. KADIRI

My study of the eight inscriptions of the Bahmani kings from Raichur district in Mysore State, which appeared in the last issue of this Series, 1 was prefaced with a brief recapitulation of the struggle for supremacy over the Raichur doṭb between the Bahmani kings and the Rāyas of Vijayānagara, in which I had stated that in the final stage, the struggle was carried on by the ‘Adil Shāhī rulers of Bijapur as successors to the Bahmani authority in that region. It would not therefore be out of place to recount in brief the history of the doṭb in the light of epigraphical and other evidences during the period 1530-1565 A.D.

It has been asserted that on the death of Ismā‘īl ‘Adil Khān in 1534 A.D., Krishna deva Rāya’s successor Achyutadeva Rāya lost no time in invading the doṭb and subdued the Bijapur territories as far north as Krishna, forcing Mallī Khān, the Bijapur king, to sue for peace. 2 But no authority has been quoted for this assertion. According to another account, some time in 1635-36 A.D., the armies of Achyutadeva and Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh I, moved towards Raichur, the former to conquer and the latter to defend the doṭb, and Ibrāhīm apprehensive of the designs of Asad Khān, the famous ‘Adil Shāhī general, made peace with Achyutadeva by surrendering the doṭb. 3 According to some, the surrendered territory did not include Raichur city. 4 But the Muslim chroniclers do not mention at all these events. According to them, after 1530 A.D., the invasion of the doṭb did not take place until A.H. 950 (1543-44 A.D.) in the reign of Ibrāhīm I, when the allied forces of Burhān Nīgām Shāh I and Rām Rāya marched on to recover Sholapur and the doṭb respectively. 5 Moreover, in 1536 A.D., the doṭb or at least a part thereof was in ‘Adil Shāhī possession as is indicated by a Persian inscription from Mudgal. 6 It would appear that except for, if at all, a temporary vacation, the doṭb was under the continued hold of the ‘Adil Shāhī kings from 1530 A.D. till 1552 A.D. despite the desperate efforts of the kings of Vijayanagara to wrest it from them. 7 It was only in 1552 A.D. 8 that the allied forces of Rām Rāya and Burhān Nīgām Shāh were able to conquer the doṭb and annex it to the Vijayanagara kingdom not to be recovered by the Bijapur king ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh I until the defeat of the Vijayanagara king at the battle of Rakṣatagadi in 1565 A.D. 9

The sixteen ‘Adil Shāhī inscriptions of Raichur studied below range in their dates from 1546-47 A.D. to 1573-74 A.D. One of them has been already published by Mr. E. Rehatsek without facsimile, 10 while the eye-copies of all, accompanied by a photographic illustration of only one,

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1 Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS), 1962, pp. 53-66.
3 Hayavadana Rao, Mysore Gazetteer, vol. II, part III (Bangalore, 1930), pp. 1992-93. This would mean that Achyutarāya’s reported capture of the doṭb in 1534 A.D. must have been vacated, since he was required to conquer it in 1535-36 A.D.
8 Firuẓ, op. cit., p. 32; Joshi, op. cit., p. 382.

(61)
were published by Bashiru'd-Din Ahmad in his Urdu work. These records mention five 'Ādil Shāh kings: Nos. 1-4 represent Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, Nos. 5-6 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I and Nos. 7-14, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, while Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh are represented by one inscription each, Nos. 15 and 16 of this group. The first thing that strikes one about most of these epigraphs is their poor style both in calligraphy and composition of the text. In a few epigraphs orthographical mistakes also occur.

The first inscription is carved on a broken slab measuring 1.5 m. by 60 cm., now lying loose at the Ta'llim-Burj bastion near the Andherī-Bāoli inside the fort. The right portion of the slab is missing so that the right half of the first and second lines and some words of the third line are lost. But the tablet was intact or almost so until about 1915 A.D. when Bashiru'd-Din Ahmad published its eye-copy.

The record consists of three lines in Persian verse—the first two in a different meter and rhyme than the third—carved in relief in ordinary Nastaʿlīq characters and mentions the construction of the bastion through the efforts of Ahmad Ḥājī Gūnābādī in 1546-47 A.D. during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I. The date is contained in a chronogram. In the text of the epigraph quoted below the missing words are supplied in brackets from the eye-copy of Bashiru'd-Din Ahmad. However his reading including that of the missing portion is not free from mistakes.

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

(1) [مدور فضا جو هست] در حسن عمل
باین بهنی که نیلگون برخ حمل

(2) [تاریخ بناتین] از حل آمد است برخ
فکه دوالت و ابیل ازل

(3) [بدور خسرو عادل] گ زخم ارو سپاس
پسی احمد حاجی گوتبادی مرتب شد

TRANSLATION

(1) Since the architect of destiny with beautiful workmanship has laid the foundation of the azure-coloured Burj-i-Ḥamal (constellation Aries),

(2) The date of its construction has turned out to be matchless: (it is) the bastion of the sky of eternal prosperity and good fortune.

(3) In the reign of the just king, on account of whom the day of the enemy is turned into night, (this bastion) was constructed through the efforts of Ahmad Ḥājī Gūnābādī.

The chronogram is contained in the second hemistich of the second verse and yields on calculation the year A.H. 953 (A.D. 1546-47) which falls in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I. The builder Ahmad Ḥājī of Gūnābād, obviously an official, is unknown to history.

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3 Bashiru'd-Din, op. cit., p. 332.
4 Cf. Ibid.
(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm ʿAdil Shāh I, dated A.H. 953, Plate XIX
from Raichur (p. 62)

Scale: 07

(b) Inscription of ʿAll ʿAdil Shāh I, dated A.H. 978,
same place (p. 65)

Scale: 07

(c) Inscription of Ibrāhīm ʿAdil Shāh I, dated A.H. 958, same place (p. 64)

Scale: 09
The second inscription of the reign of Ibrāhīm I is fixed on the facade of the bastion near the Khusraw Burj. The inscriptive tablet measures 1.82 m. by 90 cm. and contains four lines of Persian poetry executed in ordinary nastāq characters in relief placing the construction of the bastion in the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh I. The date is 1548-49 A.D. according to the chronogram occurring in the last line.

The text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

(1) بقسم دری که کوئن است ازو دست اهل غدر
بساند ز روئی مرتبه چون بر سهیر بدر
آن عادل که باخشه جا بر سریر مدر
تاریخ أو ست برج رفع بلند قدّر

TRANSLATION

(1) Through the guidance of the Creator, I have built in this fort a bastion which is beyond the reach of the treacherous.

(2) Since the face of the crescent makes its appearance from its horizon (i.e. since the flag containing the emblem of the crescent flutters above the bastion), in status it is like the full-moon in the sky.

(3) It was completed in the reign of the king, ‘Ādil (lit. just) of the age, the ‘Ādil (Shāh) who has established his seat on the throne of chiefship.

(4) Since the relation of exaltedness is not novel in regard to its position, its date is (found in the words:) exalted bastion of high position.

The chronogram contained in the last hemistich yields the year A.H. 955 (A.D. 1548-49).

The third inscription of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh I, fixed on the facade of the Kāṭf gate of the fort, measures 3.65 m. by 60 cm. and contains two lines of writing in Arabic and Persian prose executed in relief in nastāq characters. A major portion of the epigraph consists of religious text with the scant historical information that the gate was constructed by Shamshīr’l-Mulk in the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh I in 1550 A.D. It will be seen that two dates are mentioned in the text: one in figures occurring at the end of the first line and the other in words at the end of second. The first is evidently the Hijra year while the other is its Shuhūr equivalent.

Shamshīr’l-Mulk, as his title suggests, must have been the governor of the doṣb in the stormy days (1530-31 A.D.), when the struggle for supremacy over the doṣb was at its height. He is also mentioned in a record from Mudgal dated A.H. 943 (1536-37 A.D.) as the official of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh I. However, contemporary Persian works do not mention his name.

1 ARIE, 1938-59, No. D, 132; Basghir’u’d-Din, op. cit., p. 333.
2 ARIE, 1962-63, No. D, 179. The reading of Basghir’u’d-Din, op. cit., p. 333, is as usual not free from mistakes.
The text has been read as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XX (b)*

(1) نعَرُم منْ الله وفتح قريب وبشر المومنين لِلهِ إِنَّ اللَّهِ محمد رسول الله على وقَنِيَ الله (sir.)*

(2) الاسم صلى الله مصطفى وعُلِّي الرخضي وحسن وحسن على العباد والباقر وصدق القادح وآخر الخدوع والناصر ونساء السكرت وملك ذي عهد همایون سلطان

Brahim عدلهاه باکرده شمشیر الملك غربه ماه رمضان سنه خسین وسعماه

**TRANSLATION**

(1) 'Help is from Allah and victory near: and deliver good news to the believers.'* 1 Shi'ite Creed. 'And Allah is the best keeper. And he is the most Merciful of the merciful ones.'* 2 In the year (A.H.) 957.

(2) Shiite *Durād*. In the August reign of sultan Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, (this gate) was constructed by Shamshīrul-Mulk on the 1st of the month of Ramaḍān of the (Shuhūr) year nine hundred and fifty (1st Ramaḍān A.H. 957, Shuhūr 950=13th September 1550 A.D.).

The slab containing the fourth inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I is fixed on the inner side of the gate of the lake near Andheri-Bāoli, 3 near the inscription dated A.H. 953, mentioned above. It measures 1.45 m. by 40 cm. The text consists of three Persian couplets carved in relief in *Nasta’liq* characters and recorded in a chronogram 1551 A.D. as the date of the construction of the gate. The name of the builder is not mentioned.

The text reads as follows:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIX (c)*

(1) نشوره باد بشاده ـ هشته این درکه بحق اشهد و ان لَا إله إلَّهِ (sir.)

(2) این عمارت بهد عادلها، شد مبا بخير و نسیاه

(3) بخرج تاريخ این با کویند قنح شد پاب مدها کویه

**TRANSLATION**

(1) May this threshold (gate) ever remain open in happiness, by the grace of (the text) ' I bear witness that there is no god but Allah '.

(2) This building was completed with goodness and beauty in the reign of (Ibrāhīm) 'Ādil Shāh I.

(3) For the date of this construction it is said, 'you may say that the door of wishes has opened .' 4

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1 Qur'an, chapter LXI, part of verse 13.
2 *Ibid.*, chapter XI, part of verse 64.
3 *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 180; Bashir'ud-Din, op. cit., p. 332. His reading is correct except in two places.
(a) Inscription of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, dated A.H. 955, from Raichur (p. 63)

Scale: .09

(b) Another inscription of the same king, same place, dated A.H. 957 (p. 61)

Scale: .05
The last hemistich forms the chronogram yielding A.H. 958 (1551 A.D.).

The fifth inscription is dated in the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh I. It is carved on a slab measuring 1.3 m. by 85 cm. which is fixed in the southern wall of the mosque inside the Naurang Darwāza of the fort. The record is not in situ, since according to Rehmati who published its reading in 1882 A.D., it belonged to the bastion of the northern wall of the outer tier of fortification. But the slab was fixed in its present place some time before Bashiruddin Ahmad wrote his book in 1915 A.D.

The text of the epigraph consists of four lines of writing in Arabic except for a phrase in Persian. The style of writing is ordinary Naskh. The record mentions Tahir Khan as the builder and refers itself to the reign of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh. The object constructed is not specified in the text but in view of Rehmati's information, it must be a bastion. The text quotes two dates: 971 in words and 978 in figures. It is apparent that the former indicates Shuhur year of which the latter is the Hijra equivalent. Thus the date of the epigraph is Shuhur 971 or A.H. 978 (1570-71 A.D.).

Historical records available to me do not contain any indication regarding the identity, leave alone, career of Tahir Khan, the builder of the bastion. But that he may have been an 'Adil Shāh official of rank is a reasonable guess.

The text of the epigraph reads as under:

**TEXT**

*Plate XIX (b)*

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم نصر من الله و فتح قريب و بشر المومنين
(2) في عهد السلطان الاعظم خلیفہ الاقربین
(3) أبو المظفر علي عادلشاه غازی خان [١]الله ملكه و سلطاته
(4) تناكرده طاهر خان سنه احده مسين و تسع مايه سنه ١٩٨

**TRANSLATION**

(1) In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. ‘Help is from Allah and victory near; and deliver good news to the believers.’

(2) In the reign of the magnificent king, the shadow of Allah on the whole earth

(3) Abul-Muzaffar 'Ali 'Adil Shāh Ghāzi, may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty,

(4) (this bastion) was constructed by Tahir Khan in the (Shuhur) year nine-hundred and seventyone, (A.H.) year 978 (Shuhur 971, A.H. 978=1570-71 A.D.).
The second epigraph belonging to the reign of ‘Ali Ādil Shāh I is fixed into the right mihrāb in the west wall of the Jāmi’ mosque inside the fort.¹ There are a few more inscriptions in the mosque which will be studied in the following lines. The arch-shaped tablet bearing this inscription measures 93 cm. by 1.5 m. and is elaborately carved with Shi‘ite Creed and Durūd in panels around the border, anticlock-wise, beginning from the point of the arch, and with Bismillāh above the inner arch. At the bottom is inscribed the historical content of the inscription which mentions the construction of the mosque in the reign of ‘Ali Ādil Shāh in 1577-78 A.D.² The text in the central portion comprises Quranic verses carved in relief in Nashk characters with Ṭughrā flourishes, arranged in some cases in geometrical design, thus imparting to the whole a somewhat unusual calligraphical pattern.

Its text reads as follows:

TEXT

Plate XXI (b)

(a) Border.

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله على الله اللهم صل على محمد المصطفى وعلى المرتضى وعلى الحسن والحسين والعباد والباقر والصادق والكاظم وموسى الرضا وعلي النبي وعلى النبي وعلى المهدي

(b) Central portion.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
و ان المساجد فلا تدعوا مع الله احداً انا انزلنا في ليلة القدر وما أدريكم ما ليلة القدر ليلة القدر خير من ألف شهر تنزل الملكة و الروح فيها يابذن ربهم من كل امر سلام هي حتى مطلع الفجر كل من عليها فان و بني و جه ربيك ذو الجلال والآكرام

(c) Bottom.

ذر زمان دولت شاه عالمينباء جميعا علي عادالشاه سنة 985

TRANSLATION

(a) Shi‘ite Creed and Durūd.

(b) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. ‘And surely, the mosques are for Allāh; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh.’⁴ Qur‘ān, chapter XCVIII and chapter LV, verses 26-27.

(c) In the period of the reign of the king, the refuge of the world, possessing the dignity of Jam, ‘Ali Ādil Shāh (in) A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.).

¹ ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 134; Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit. p. 325, with a plate.
² Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit., p. 324, is wrong to read the date as A.H. 908 instead of A.H. 985 (1577-78 A.D.).
³ Thus on the stone.
⁴ Qur‘ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
(a) Inscription of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, dated A.H. 991, from Raichur (p. 69)

(b) Another record of the same king, from Raichur, dated A.H. 990 (p. 68)

(c) A third record of the same king, from Raichur, dated A.H. 990 (p. 67)
ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUK

The next three epigraphs are to be found on the diddi (small gate) and the bastion of the parkota above it which are situated near the Banqâ-Bâol within the rampart of the fort on the side of the Makki gate. They refer to the construction of the diddi and a well and also to the completion of the work of the parkota and the city-wall by an official.

The first of these three epigraphs is fixed on the southern façade of the diddi. The huge slab measuring 3.5 m. by 28 cm. contains only two lines of writing in Persian verse executed in relief in Naskh characters. The text which is carelessly composed records the construction of the diddi (small gate) and the ditch near the precipice by Yûsuf 'Ali qandîlâr, in the first year of the reign of İbrâhîm Âdî Shâh (II) i.e. in 1582 A.D. Incidentally this epigraph is the earliest among the hitherto published records of İbrâhîm Âdî Shâh II, his earliest inscriptions being dated A.H. 991.

The builder Yûsuf 'Ali qandîlâr does not find mention in contemporary records. He was an official of the court of İbrâhîm Âdî Shâh II. The sobriquet qandîlâr appended to his name in all the three records indicates that he was in charge of the lighting arrangements in the royal court or household.

The text of the record reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXII (c)

1) شام عالم پناه ابراهیم کو نسته بچے عادل شان

2) دولت او همیشه افزون یاد بر سیر سهر و حشت و جان

کرده اندز زمان او پنیاد مسند او همیشه قائم یاد

این عمارت کو کس تدارد یاد

خط ز آب حیات او زندگی

(2) دوستانش بفت و فیروزی دشتی بیشتر حق

هرکه کرده بنده این خندق

اندران وقت باعث این کار

بود یوسف عل قندردوار

سال تاريخ این آخر خواهی

یافت در نیصد و نود امام

سنیٰ

2 Nasîm, op. cit., pp. 27, 51, 66.
3 Of Bashîrû’d-Din, op. cit., p. 317.
4 The word کرجه is probably कृपा of Marathi meaning a precipice.
5 The figure engraved is Zero, which generally indicates the number five, but here and in other epigraphs of this article it indicates zero. Also cf. Epigraphia Indo-Modenica (11 M), 1939-40, plate Xa.
TRANSLATION

(1) The refuge of the world is king Ikhnah (Ikhnah II) who has succeeded ‘Adil Shāh (i.e. ‘Ali I), may his government be ever on the increase, on the throne of the sky and dignity and pomp.

May his throne remain for ever through the favour of ‘Ali and the benevolence of Allāh!

In his reign, this building (the like of) which no one remembers was constructed.

The ditch has been dug up to the precipice; many creatures owe their lives to its life-giving water.

(2) May his (i.e. the king’s) friends be always victorious and fortunate! May his enemies be always ruined!

He who has dug up this ditch, expects the fulfilment of his hopes from God.

At that time, Yūsuf ‘Ali gandīdūr (i.e. the lantern-keeper) was responsible for this work.

If you desire its date, it was completed in (the year A.H.) nine hundred and ninety. Year (A.H.) 990 (1582 A.D.).

The second of the three inscriptions is fixed on the northern facade of the same didī. It records that the didī (small gate) and the (nearby) well, begun in the reign of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh I, were completed along with the parkota and the rampart in 1282 A.D. in the reign of Ibrāhim ‘Adil Shāh II by Yūsuf ‘Ali gandīdūr. As in the case of two of the previous epigraphs, the record bears two dates: 990 in figures indicating the Hijra year and its Shī‘ihīr equivalent 983 given in words.

The inscriptive slab measuring 54 by 49 cm. contains four lines of Persian verse and prose, carved in relief in Nashk characters, which have been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate XXII (b)

(1) در زمان علی عادلشاه
كرد بنياد ددي و اين چاه
(2) سط در عهد شاه ابراهيم
كار پروکته و حصار اتمام
(3) كرد يونس على قنديداد
اندر اينجا مشقت بيار
(4) في سلم شهر رمضان المبارک سنة ثلاث و كمانين و تسمايه سنة 999

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shāh (I) the foundation of the didī and this well was laid.

(2) The construction of the parkota and the rampart was completed in the reign of Shāh Ibrāhim (I ‘Adil Shāh II).


2 Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit., reads the portion containing the date purposely as “سعماه يسعمن” obviously to suit the date in figures, since he was confused by the date 983 in words and 990 in figures.
ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR

(3) Yusuf 'Ali qandādār exerted greatly in this place.

(4) On the last day of the month of Ramadān, (Shuhūr) year nine hundred and eightythree, (A.H.) 990 (30th Ramadān A.H. 990, Shuhūr 983=18th October 1582 A.D.).

The third of these epigraphs is carved on a slab fixed on the bastion of the Parkoṭa-Darwāza mentioned above. Its tablet measuring 85 by 55 cm. contains six Persian couplets carved in four lines in Nasḵ characters in relief. It records that since due to the lack of any passage much hardship was experienced by the public in coming and going, Yusuf 'Ali Khān the servant of the king, constructed the didḏī after cutting out the rock in 1583 A.D. during the reign of Ibāhīm 'Ādi Shāh II. This epigraph also discloses the fact that the small gate was designated Tawakkul-Didḏī.

The text reads as follows:

TEXT

- Plate XXII (a)

(1) بدور شاه ابراهیم عادل
که شد از عدل او عالم گشتان
درینجا بود کوهدی بس عجویه
که در پیDropdown of page

(2) جو نام این ددی کرد او توکل
پنمون خدا و شاه مدردان
مرتب ساخته از فضل یزدان
拜ی کوشتید در این کار ز اخلاص
(3) غلام شاه دین يوسف علیخان
بتاربخش "نظم" آمد برو خوان
چو کار قلمه از وی پایت رونق

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of Shāh Ibrāhīm 'Ādi (II) by whose justice the world has become (like) a garden, there was at this place a very huge rock (on account of)

(2) which people found it very difficult to go (up the mountain).

He got the rock cut out and constructed a didḏī in its place through the guidance of God and Shāh-i-Mardān (i.e. 'Ali).

(3-4) Since he constructed it through the favours of God, he named it Tawakkul-Diddī.

In this work Yusuf 'Ali Khān, the slave of the king of the Faith, put in great efforts out of sincere devotion.

Since the work of the fort progressed on account of him, for its date, recite to him the word '(good) arrangement'.

The chronogram contained in the word nīṭām in the last hemistich yields the year A.H. 991 (1583 A.D.).

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2 Of Bashiru'd-Din, op. cit.
The Dāru'l-Muṭṭal'a or the Reading Room situated inside the Kāṭi gate of the town bears two inscriptions of the same purport. The tablet containing one of them is fixed into a niche. It is arch-shaped measuring 63 by 81 cm. and contains seven lines of text in Arabic prose and Persian verse which are carved in relief in ordinary Nashī characters. The versified text of this epigraph, like many other ‘Ādil Shāhī inscriptions which betray ill-feigned attempts at poetry, is utterly hopeless, so much so that it is difficult in one or two places to catch the drift of the exact purport. The record assigns the construction of nine mihrābs and a room above it (a nine-arched hall?) to ‘Abdu'l-Muḥammad, the governor. It is dated 1622-23 A.D. in the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II.

‘Abdu'l-Muḥammad of this inscription is Malīk ‘Abdu'l-Muḥammad, son of Mālik Raḥšān, a notable grandee. Persian chronicles including the Banītūn's Sālaṭūn of Mūrza Ibrāhīm Zūbarsī are silent about him. But he is mentioned in an inscription from Sirugoppa as the sarhawāladār of the fort of Amōni, the district of Raichūr and the city of Muḥammad Nūr. He is also mentioned in a Telugu manuscript as having led an attack on Kurnool, now in Andhra Pradesh, where he is reported to be buried.

The text of the inscription reads as follows:

(a) Around the border.

Plate XXIII (b)

(1) الله كفى

(2) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(3) زفضل ذو الجلال شد عمارت اين كمال

(4) ددر عهد شهساو ابراهيم عادل با نكردنه عبد امحمد امير عامل

(5) مزين كش به محرابها تام با فوق كشلك نور عل نور مقام

(6) ترمي يافته اين عمارت زين سادات روا بطرف باب النجح با جنوب علامة

(7) فرشت وتاريخ حال از هجرت بمرتبه يکهزار اثني تلخین عر ت

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2. For details and references, see EIAPS, 1953 and 1954, pp. 41-44.
(a) Inscription of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, dated A.H. 1032, from Raichur (p. 74)

(b) Another record from the same place (p. 70)

(c) A third record from the same place (p. 71)
(a) Qur'ān, chapter III, verses 25-26.

(b) (1) Allāh is Sufficient.
(2) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(3) Through the grace of the Lord of Glory, this building reached perfection (i.e. was completed); by the sanctity of (the Prophet) Muḥammad, (its) beauty is resplendent.

(4) In the reign of the champion Ibrāhīm Ḍādī (Shāh II), it was founded by the governor ‘Abdu’ll-Muḥammad.

(5) The nine arches were completely decorated. With a pavilion on the top (it has become) a place with light upon light (i.e. it further added to the beauty of the place).

(6) This building attained ascendance on account of this good fortune that it faces the Bābu’l-Fatḥ (lit. the gate of victory) facing south.

(7) Its auspicious date according to the Hijra year has the dignity and honour of being one thousand and thirtytwo.

The other record in the Dāru’l-Mustāla’a is carved on a rectangular tablet measuring 32 by 83 cm. which is fixed in another niche.¹ Its text comprises ten lines of writing in Persian verse and prose carved in relief in Nashī characters. It contains the same purport as in above, but here the building is spoken of as ‘a lofty palace’ and the date is given in figure as well as in chronogram, the numerical value of each letter of which is also inscribed. The record further states that the building was newly founded, there having been no previous construction on the site except the fort-wall. It may be noted that the poetry of this epigraph is much better than that of the previous record.

Its text² has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (c)

(1) بناء ف قصر عالى مشيد

(2) 2 - 6 - 3 - 1 - 1 - 9 - 0 - 0 - 3 - 0 - 0 - 6 - 0 - 3

1 - 0 - 0 - 0 - 1 - 2 - 3 - 3 - سنه 132

(3) بدام جون طاق آرود مؤید

(4) بدور برهم عادل شهشه

(5) مهابا شد از طب عبد المحمد

(6) چه خواهي بتاریخ ابن پی ابری

(7) بکن عد مصارع اول چو ابید

¹ ARIE, 1958-59, No. D, 130; Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit., p. 334.

² Cf. Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit.
(8) بر ضمار بلا نظائر منعاقبان إهل نزمه معروه ياد كه اين عماوت وا
(9) اساس و بنياد نباد، بناء معال ساخته انند و بيش ازین عمارت
(10) محفل ضباو حصار بود هریج عماوت نبود و السلام

TRANSLATION

(1) May the building of such a lofty (and) strong palace—

2 + 50 + 1 + 1 + 10 + 3 + 50 + 10 + 50 + 100 + 90 + 200 + 70 + 1 + 30 + 10 + 40 + 300 + 10 + 4 =

Year (A. H.) 1032 (1622-23 A. D.)—

(3) endure for ever just like the revolving vault (of the sky)!

(4) In the reign of İbrahim 'Adil, the emperor,

(5) it came into existence through the genius of 'Abdu'l-Muhammad.

(6) If you desire to find out its date,

(7) count (the values of letters in) the first hemistich according to the ʿAbjad system.

(8) May it be known to the incomparable minds of the coming generations of the people of the time that this edifice

(9) is founded and built and a lofty building is constructed, while prior to this, the building

(on this site)

(10) consisted only of the rampart of the fort, and there was no other building. And peace!

The Jami’ mosque inside the fort of the town contains two epigraphs of which one is fixed

into its left mihrab.1 It belongs to the reign of İbrahim ʿAdil Shāh II. The arch-shaped slab on

which it is engraved in ordinary Nasḵa letters in relief measures 88 cm. by 1.4 m. Apart from

religious texts, the epigraph contains two chronograms in Persian verse, which again furnish

example of hopeless versification. According to one of the chronograms, the construction

began in 1620-21 A. D. and according to the other, it ended in 1622-23 A.D. It is also stated

that the Jami’ mosque was constructed within a period of two years during the reign of İbrahim

by ‘Abdu’l-Muhammad. The epigraph also names Rājā as the mason who carried out the job.

The text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXI (c)

(a) Border around.

References:
(b) Main portion.

(1) اللہ کالمی
(2) بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
(3) بحق لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله
(4) و ان المساجد تفضل تدعوا مع اللہ احدا
(5) جرخ و مسجد و محراب و منبر
(6) ابن بكر و عمر عثمان [و] حیدر
(7) بنا گوشہ مسجد بلطف اللہ
(8) ابی ابراهیم عادلی شاه
(9) ز هجرت هزار و سی دو دویں
(10) ہزار عبد المحمد همین
(11) سنت 1331

(12) چھ خوش کرده بناء مسجد جامع
(13) بود بانی گلام شاه عبد المحمد
(14) پہلوی خدا و سعی کامل
(15) نواہ جاری و حسنات حاصل
(16) ازان رو گوشہ تاریخ آن عل
(17) سنت 1330

(18) ساخت راجہ کار مسجد را تمام
(19) تا باشند جای او جنت مقام

TRANSLATION

(a) Qur‘ān, chapter II, verses 255-56.

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

(2) For the sake of 'There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh.'

(3) ‘And surely, the mosque are for Allāh; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh.’

(4) Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Ḥādīr (i.e. 'Ali) are (like unto) the lamp, mosque, prayer-niche and pulpit.

1 Qur‘ān, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
(5) The mosque was constructed by the grace of God in the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādíl Shāh.

(6) The year was one thousand and thirty-two of Hijra. Year (A.H.) 1032 (1622-23 A.D.). This is a memento of 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad.

(7) What a beautiful Jāmi' mosque has been constructed in the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādíl Shāh!

(8) The slave of the king (namely), 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad is its builder (who constructed it) through the guidance of God and with great efforts.

(9) He built the Jāmi' mosque within two years. Its meritorious service has now started, and the good deeds are being achieved (by offering prayers therein).

(10) It (i.e. the date of the foundation) was the year one thousand and thirty more; hence its date is found (in the word) ghīl.1 Year (A.H.) 1030 (1620-21 A.D.).

(11) Rājā has brought to completion the work of the mosque in the hope that his abode (after death) would be Paradise.

The other inscription in the same mosque is also dated in the time of Ibrāhīm Ādíl Shāh II. It comprises two couples each in Persian and Arabic and is executed in Nastūf characters on a rectangular tablet measuring 36 by 24 cm. which is fixed into the niche above the left miṣrāb.2 The Persian fragment which is yet another example of poor verification records that Malik 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, son of Raiḥān, constructed the Jāmi' mosque as his everlasting memento. The date according to the chronogram in the last hemistich is 1622-23 A.D. The Arabic text comprises two well-known verses on the transitoriness of human life.

The full text reads as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

(1) ملك عبد المعهد ابن وريان
شام ابراهيم عادل

(2) ساعت جامع تا این باند نشان
كه بلغ بود سال تاريخ آن

(3) نزنانا هاها ثم ار تحلنا
کد الدنيا نزول و ارتحال

(4) خروذ الرمع في الدنيا خلف رد (6)

TRANSLATION

(1) Malik 'Abdu'l-Muḥammad, son of Raiḥān, in the reign of Ibrāhīm Ādíl Shāh

1 The word 'ghīl' means 'secret hatred, malice, enmity, envy,' etc. The use of this word for a chronogram reflects the ignorance of the composer.

(2) constructed the Jāmi’ mosque so that it may remain as a memento (for him) till eternity (and) the date of (its) construction is (contained in the word:) Balligh. (A. H. 1032=1622-23 A.D.).

(3) We alighted here (in this world) and again we departed. Such is the world: To arrive and to depart.

(4) Man thinks of perpetuity in the world, (but) the perpetuity of man in the world is impossible.

Yet another inscription of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II is to be found over the entrance of the dargah of Shāh Mir Husain and Mir Hasan situated near the above Jāmi’ mosque.¹ The record does not appear to be in situ as it records the construction of an ambār-khāna (granary) by the same ‘Abdul-Muḥammad in 1622-23 A. D. The tablet bearing the epigraph measures 34 by 58 cm. The language is Persian verse of mediocre quality, and the style of writing is Naṣkh.

Its text reads as under:

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(۱) الله كافٰی
(۲) ز فیض ذو الجلال شد انبار خانه
(۳) خ م من في السماء رزقكم پیمانه
(۴) در عهد شهنشاه ابراهیم عادل
(۵) منور شد مقام زرق کامل
(۶) كه بلغ بود سال الف و الیف ثلثین
(۷) بنا كردنده عبد المعتمد دران حسن

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh is sufficient.
(2) Through the favour of the Lord of Glory, (this) granary was constructed.
(3) whose measure is ‘whatever is in the heaven is your sustenance’²
(4) In the reign of the king of kings Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil.
(5) this place of complete sustenance (i.e. the granary) was decorated (i.e. built).
(6) It was the year (whose chronogram is given by the word:) Balligh (yielding A. H.) 1032 (1622-23 A. D.).
(7) At that time it was constructed by ‘Abdul-Muḥammad.

¹ AEIE, 1958-59, No. D, 183 ; Bashiru’d-Din, op. cit., p. 329.
² The Arabic phrase is adapted from the Quranic text, chapter LTI, verse 22.
The only inscription of Muhammad 'Adil Shâh in the present group is fixed over the main gate of the Jâmi' mosque in Sarrâf Bazâr outside the fort. The inscriptive slab measuring 1.18 m. by 63 cm. contains religious texts in Arabic and a poetical fragment in Persian which are executed in relief in Nasîhî characters. The record assigns the construction of the mosque to the same 'Abdul-Muhammad.

The work was started during the reign of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh II and completed in A. H. 1038 (1628-29 A.D.) during the reign of Abu'n-Nâsr Sul'tân Mahâmûd by whom evidently Muâammad 'Adil Shâh is intended. This may be a mistake of the composer or the scribe. It will be observed that the date quoted in words in the left side of the slab is prefixed by the phrase shuhûr sana which should here be taken literally and not in the sense of Shubûr year, since in the text the same year is quoted in words as of Hijra era.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below:

**TEXT**

*Plate XXIV (a)*

(a) *Border around the arch.*

(1) ya 'ayba al-dîn amnu aza 'adwa al-suwa, min yom al-juma fasa'alâ dârk allâh w zâr (sic.) al-bîyân
dâlakhm xirxâkum an kāntum ta'mûlon

(b) *Main portion.*

(2) bism allâh al-rahman al-rahîm - la allâ âl' [âl] allâh muhammad dâlakh allâh
(3) w âl' al-masjid qâlî tâdawwa mu allâh âhâda
(4) bâna, shad masjid ber dîn ahmad shohu bâni 'aw 'ahmad
(5) bâd ma shân 'ahram shad 'âdâl râwân shad kâr 'aw bi'ash 'aw w 'âdâl
(6) z Ôhert yekha'ar wûs w 'âshâs 'ast kâ shad masjid mørèt wqît, 'âsad
(7) bûwct bo munisir su'llân mûhmûd z bûher mûmânâ thôbâ bûd

(c) *Right side.*

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(d) *Left side.*

shuh rèn shânîn w tân w allûf

(a) Inscription of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh, dated A.H. 1038, from Raichur (p. 76)

Scale: 1:1

(b) Inscription of Sikandar 'Adil Shāh, dated A.H. 1081, from Raichur (p. 77)

Scale: 1:8
ADIL SHAHI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR

TRANSLATION

(a) Qur'an, chapter LXII, verse 9.

(b) (1) Allāh is sufficient.

(2) In the name of God the Beneficent, the Merciful. There is no god but Allāh; Muḥammad is the prophet of Allāh.

(3) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh; hence, invoke not anyone else with Allāh.'

(4) The mosque is constructed in accordance with the religion of Ahmad (Prophet Muḥammad); its builder is 'Ābdūl Muḥammad.

(5) In the reign of the king Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, its construction was commenced without any restriction or impediment.

(6) Now the year is one thousand and thirty-eight from the Migration (of the Prophet) when the mosque is completed at a most auspicious time.

(7) during the reign of Bu'ūn-Nāsr sultān Mahmūd (recte, Muḥammad) (to ensure) unlimited reward for the believers.

(c) Year (A. H.) 1038 (1623-29 A. D.).

(d) In the months of the year one thousand and thirty-eight.

The last inscription of the present study pertains to the reign of Sikandar the last 'Ādil Shāh ruler. It is fixed on the facade of the Sikandarī gate of the fort, situated near the dargāh of Sayyid Abdūl Husain. The huge inscriptional slab measuring 2.85 m. by 35 cm. contains three Persian couples arranged in a single line and carved in relief in Nashḵ characters of perfect workmanship. The calligraphy seems to have been designed by an expert, whose name unfortunately is not quoted. In fact, it is the only record in the group which is calligraphically so pleasing. The text records that the gate was constructed in the reign of sultān Sikandar Qādirī by Āqā Khusraw, the slave of the king in the year 1673-74 A. D. This record is important in that it is the one of the only three known records of this king. The other two records dated A. H. 1081 and A. H. 1096 were found at Gulbarga and Miraj respectively.

The builder Āqā Khusraw, who also mention in an earlier record from Raichur, played an important role during the reigns of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh II and Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh. In the reign of the former the unsuccessful rebellion of Sīd Jauhar entitled Ṣalābat Khān was followed by the revolt of the qa'adār of Raichur, a partisan of the latter. But by the time 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh reached Raichur, the loyal garrison arrested the qa'adār and surrendered the fort to the king. 'Ali 'Ādil then appointed Āqā Khusraw as the qa'adār in A. H. 1072. Āqā Khusraw seems to have held this post at least till A. H. 1088. He ultimately rose to occupy the post of the prime-minister in March 1634 A. D., but died after about seven months.

The text has been read as follows:

Plate XXIV (b)

References:

1 Qur'an, chapter LXXII, verse 18.
4 EIM, 1938-40, p. 22.
5 For particulars, see Zubairi, op. cit., pp. 386, 464-67, 524, etc.
In the reign of the king, Sultan Sikandar Qadir, the work of this gate (lit. threshold) was completed with artistic skill.

When I thought over its date, Wisdom said, 'Say, (it is) the suspicious gate and find in this, the date of its completion'.

O Lord! On the day of Resurrection, through your kindness, help the builder of this work Aqa Khosrow, the slave of the king.

The chronogram yields A.H. 1084 (1673-74 A.D.).
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