

# ISLAMIC INDIA

Studies in History, Epigraphy, Onomastics and Numismatics

(Circa 13th - 18th Centuries)



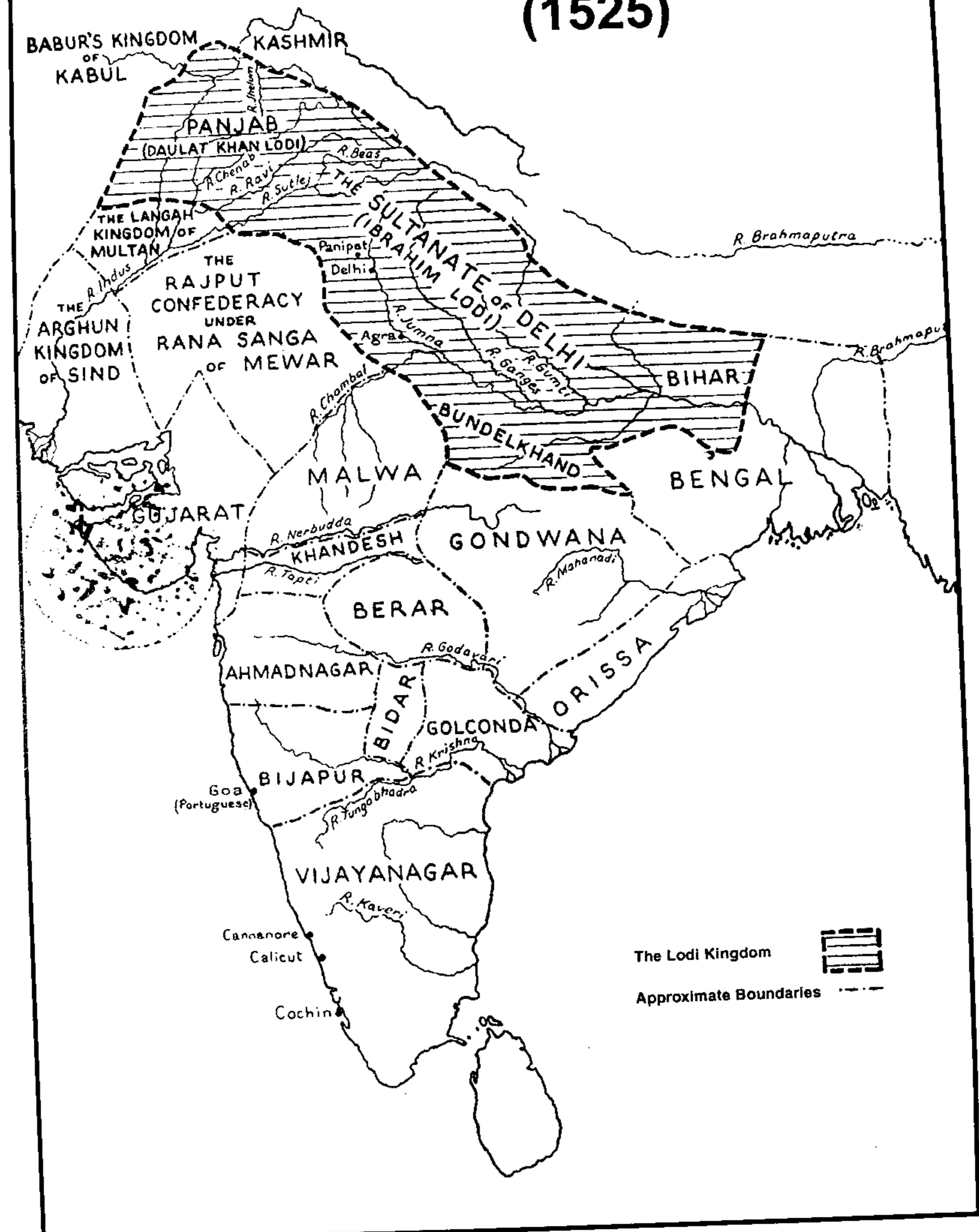
Adapted from Willam C. Brice,  
*An Historical Atlas of Islam*  
(Leiden, 1981) Page 52

By Dr. K.M. Girhe

MUHAMMAD ILYAS QUDDUSI



# INDIA ON THE EVE OF BABUR'S INVASION (1525)



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STUDIES IN HISTORY,  
EPIGRAPHY,  
ONOMASTICS  
AND  
NUMISMATICS



MUHAMMAD ILYAS QUDDUSI



ISLAMIC WONDERS BUREAU  
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To

**my dear and loved ones :**

Badrun Nisa, my wife, Shahla,

Sabah, Tanzila, my daughters

& Muhammad Aamir,

my son.







## FOREWORD

Islam has been an integral part of the Indian subcontinent's life for over a millennium. From the Arab rulers in Sindh and the Arab traders and travellers on the western and eastern coasts to the Turko-Afghan and Mughal rulers of India, their retainers and dependants, as well as innumerable Sufi saints, scholars, writers and poets, workers, artisans and peasants, the followers of Islam have left an indelible imprint on the history, polity, society and culture of this great country. *Islamic India* explores this impact in its varied dimensions. This book is a collection of 27 articles and research-papers authored by Dr. Mohammad Ilyas Quddusi over the last few decades. Dr. Quddusi is essentially an archaeologist. It is, therefore, natural that the larger number of these papers relate to epigraphy and archaeology. Of the 27 entries, 19 are devoted to inscriptions, 2 deal with coins, 4 with towns, their nomenclature and morphology, one with monuments and one with literary pursuits. Taken together, they cover a wide gamut, history, epigraphy, onomastics and numismatics.

Inscriptions have rightly been called "the foot-prints of time in the sands of history". In the present work, Dr. Quddusi has used these inscriptions as a basic source for studying history, diplomacy, urban life, literary and cultural pursuits as well as the career and contributions of some individuals. Most of these inscriptions are in Persian – the official language of those days – but some are in Arabic too; some others are bi-lingual in the sense that they reproduce the Persian text either in Sanskrit or some local language too. Dr. Quddusi has selected a broad range of specimens from the above-mentioned categories, covering dynasties that ruled at the local, regional and subcontinental levels. Interestingly, some of these Persian inscriptions come from Hindu ruling houses such as the Scindias, Gaikwads and Holkars.

These inscriptions constitute an important source of history. The information that they provide on chronology, individuals (rulers, nobles, chiefs and officials) – their names, designations and contributions, and the light that they shed on administrative policies, diplomatic measures, constructional activities, literary and cultural pursuits often provide new insights into the past. It is also important to remember that the true potential of epigraphs as a source of history has not yet been adequately exploited by historians working on medieval India. The same can be said for coins. The abundance of literary sources has somehow relegated the inscriptions and coins to a secondary position. The present work is all the more welcome since it draws attention to some valuable though not fully utilized – sources of the history of medieval India.



Another fact deserves mention. Some of the examples cited by Dr. Quddusi highlight the glorious tradition of religious tolerance and harmony on the part of the rulers, both Muslim and Hindu, of medieval India; a fact that needs to be reiterated as often as possible. Similarly, some of the articles in this volume draw attention to the remarkable process of cultural synthesis that unfolded itself so conspicuously in medieval India. For both these reasons, this book assumes special significance. I consider it an important addition to the efforts at understanding the rich and positive heritage of medieval India. I hope the readers shall feel the same after going through its contents.

Patna, 1/10/2005

Imtiaz Ahmad  
Director,  
Khuda Bakhsh Library



This book is a professional epigraphist's labour of love, it being his study of numerous and mostly unknown Arabic and Persian inscriptions and coins of medieval India. It revives some facets of social, academic, political and cultural life in pre-modern times at places such as Nagpur, Khandesh, Punjab, Kerala, Orissa, Nagore in Tamil Nadu, Rohilkhand and parts of Uttar Pradesh.

With refreshing candour and rare objectivity, the author has treated such subjects as the influence of Persia on Indian culture, the communal harmony in medieval Indian society and the contribution of Hindus to Indo-Persian literature. New light has been thrown on some other themes : polity and statecraft of the Nawabs of Arcot in the second half of the 18th century, Muslim monuments in Nagpur erected by the Gond rulers, copper coins of Yavatmal district of Vidarbha and "Honorific Epithets and Renamed Places under Muslim Rule". The study of place names— Vidisha, Ustadabad, Natharnagar and Qadirnagar — is another important content of the book.

Extremely well documented, the work would serve as an indispensable but handy reference book for serious historical researchers. Lay readers would find the book engrossing reading, its themes being interesting, its style so simple and its presentation so lucid. The book has much to commend itself to the reading public.

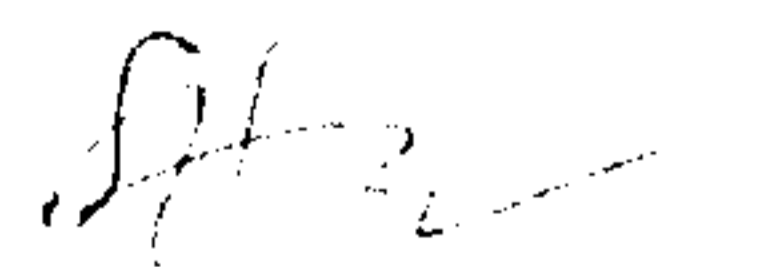
15 September 2005

**K. Mojumdar**

M. A. Ph. D. (I.S.I.S.), Ph. D. (London)  
Professor and Head, Dept. of History  
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Mr. Muhammad Ilyas Quddusi's *Islamic India* is a wonderful book of records of many inscriptions and epigraphs in Arabic, Persian & Sanskrit in different parts of India. The production of such a book must be a work of very assiduous and hard labour. It will be a reference book for other researchers in this field. No doubt, scholars all over the world will appreciate the work and benefit by it.

22 October 2005



**Syed Shamsul Huda**  
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## INTRODUCTION

*Islamic India* constitutes some snippets of the variegated life in medieval India. Glimpses of the life could be had from inscriptions, coins, artefacts and remains of monuments most of which I came across while on my official tours in regions far and wide. I wrote articles on these interesting evidences of great days in medieval India and got them published in well-known journals like *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India/Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, *Studies in Indian Place Names*, *Khuda Bakhsh Library Journal*, *Islamic Culture* and in various commemoration and felicitation volumes brought out in honour of learned and scholarly personalities in different fields. My studies are mainly based on Persian inscriptions and other primary and secondary literary sources in Persian. While preparing these articles, I drew on available sources besides suggestions from fellow scholars.

Inscriptional studies in Persian have great importance in bringing out various facets of medieval India. This conviction prompted Mr. Tanzim Raza Qureshi who brought out my first academic work *Khandesh under the Mughals* (A.D. 2002) to take up the publication of my articles in a book form for the benefit of scholars and researchers working on Islamic India.

The first article 'Cultural Gleanings from Perso-Arabic Epigraphy', highlights some of the new and rare cultural aspects culled from mostly Persian inscriptions. Originally, it was a lecture which I delivered at the International Centre for Cultural Studies, Nagpur, in October 2000. It was later published in *Archaeological Glimpses of Indian Culture* (ICCS, Nagpur, 2001, pp. 68-85).

'Indo-Iran Relations: An Epigraphical Study', is the second article which is an attempt to study Persian and Arabic inscriptions, found in West and South India, from the point of view of Indo-Iran cultural and civilizational relations. One of the important cultural aspects that can be gleaned from these epigraphs, is the preparation of a long list of Persian settlers in different parts of India, associated with different vocations in life who hailed from various parts of Iran and its vicinity, giving us an insight into the composition of present ethnic groups of local population in the country and pattern of their professions. According to the existing political map of Iran, comprising twenty two provinces, its two-third area (64%) covering 14 provinces, is represented by the Iranian places mentioned in the inscriptions under study. This article was presented in an international seminar on Indo-Iran Relations, held in Bombay University in March

2000 in collaboration with Culture House of the Islamic Republic of Iran and was later published by the said Culture House, in *Indo-Iran Relations-Civilizational and Cultural Co-operation* (Mumbai, 2002, pp. 57-107).

Article number three 'Study of Honorific Epithets and Renamed Places under Muslim Rule', was written at the benign gesture of Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Joint Director General (Rtd.), A. S. I., who wanted me to deliver Prof. D. Jaware Gowda Endowment Lecture in the XXIII Annual Conference of the Place Names Society of India at Mumbai in May 2003. At the same time, the prime motive behind the preparation of this article was that it was to be contributed to the internationally reputed English Quarterly *Islamic Culture*, published from Hyderabad. This study is mainly based on numismatic, epigraphic, historical and Persian literary sources, besides Mughal atlas. It shows how the honorific appellations are an integral part of the study and history of certain place-names, highlighting their political, economic, military, religious, administrative, commercial and urban status in the medieval days under the Muslims. The list of renamed places under Appendix III, is apparently suggestive of the fact that places were named after the Prophet Muhammad *Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallam*, kings, saints and savants, grandees and tutor. There have been places named after Islam and orthodox faith, good omen, auspicious meaning, symbolism of victory-events, etc. This article was first published, as it deserved, in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. LXXVIII, No. 1, January 2004 (pp. 29-69).

The next article, 'Important Discoveries of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions during the Post-Independence Period', was prepared for Dr. C. R. Srinivasan Commemoration Volume, *Sri Puspanjali*, Vol. II, Delhi, 2004 (pp. 408-14), highlighting some of the rare discoveries of great historical importance, representing both the central and provincial dynasties in the chronological order viz., Mamluks, Tughluqs, Sultans of Gujarat, Sultans of Bengal, Lodis, Surs, Adil Shahis, Mughals and the Nawwabs of Awadh, besides a miscellaneous earliest Arabic inscription in *Kufi* characters from Kerala in South India, indirectly corroborating the fact that Arab settlement existed in the coastal region of the south for commercial activities, even prior to the establishment of Muslim political power in India.

There are Arabic and Persian epigraphs which throw light on the noble examples set by people in the past, imparting Indians to learn precious principles of co-existence in a pluralistic society. Such an objective study is very necessary to the cause of national integration. In the article 'Examples of Communal Harmony and Religious Toleration as Gleaned from Perso-Arabic Inscriptions', such epigraphs have been studied which bespeak the spirit of co-operation that prevailed amongst the Hindus and Muslims in the past. On record there are more than two dozen such inscriptions, representing nineteen towns spread over nine states of India viz., Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. These lithic records range in their dates from the 13th to the 19th



centuries A.D. This paper was presented in the XII Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, held at Jabalpur (Bhedaghat session) in 1985 and was later published with revision in *Studies in Archaeology and History* (Commemoration Volume of Prof. S. Nurul Hasan), Rampur Raza Library, Rampur, 2003 (pp. 259-70).

IVth session of Greater Maharashtra Oriental Conference was held in Nagpur in collaboration with Kavi Kulguru Kalidasa Sanskrit University, Ramtek, in January 2002. At the invitation of its Vice Chancellor Dr. Pankaj Chande, I had an opportunity to present my paper 'Hindus' Contribution to Indo-Persian Literature' in a separate session (Arabic & Persian) in Sadar Muslim Library, Nagpur. This article No. 6, was contributed to *Triratna: Heritage, Governance and Equity* (Hon'ble Shri T. N. Chaturvedi Festschrift), Vol. II, Delhi, 2003 (pp. 457-62). Pertaining to Indo-Persian literature, worthy of mention is the fact that Hindus who started learning Persian under the Lodis regularly, became full-fledged Persian authors and literateurs under the Mughals in all the academic fields then in vogue.

Article number seven, 'Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Uttar Pradesh – a Bird's Eye-view', was originally composed for the South Asian Workshop on Epigraphy held in Mysore, in 1985 and was presented under the chairmanship of versatile epigraphist late Dr. Ziyaud Din Desai. Pieces of information we glean from epigraphical discoveries in Uttar Pradesh relate to foundation of *Gurudwara*, *Imambada*, garden, *sarai*, tomb, *khanqah*, cistern, *madrassa*, reservoir, *kachehri*, rest-house, gate, well, step-well, mosque, fort and *hazira*. There are inscriptions referring to the foundation of town, endowment of land, revenue, shop, rehabilitation of town, planting of fruit-bearing trees and excavation of canal, etc. There are epigraphs which provide terms and designations, posts and ranks of the officials with their places of fief or duty, besides bringing to light names of calligraphers, artisans, masons, literary men both known and unknown – thus throwing a welcome light on events unrecorded elsewhere. This valuable article was later on published in *Pura Prakasa* (Dr. Z. A. Desai Commemoration Volume), Vol. I, Delhi, 2003 (pp. 186-95).

In the next article, number eight, a general survey of inscriptions copied from Kerala is given with their contents, with special reference to an epitaph from Baliapatam in Cannanore district, a chance-discovery by me in October 1990. It is interesting to note that the epitaph dated A.H. 471 (1078-79) was set up at a time when India was still alien to Muslim rule. It indicates the extent of the permeation of the Muslims with peaceful pursuits and engaged in commercial activities in Kerala, corroborating the statements of the early Arab travellers about the existence of Muslim settlements in various towns, besides indirectly providing evidence of the relations between western India and other Islamic countries. This article was read in the XXIV Annual Congress of Epigraphical Society of India, held at Thrissur in 1998 and was later published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. XXV, 1999 (pp. 29-36).

Article number nine, 'Mughal Khandesh : An Epigraphical Survey', was mainly contributed for *Puraratna*, Vol. II, Delhi, 2002 (pp. 477-82), brought out in honour of the former Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, Dr. Jagatpati Joshi. It is the study of about half a century inscriptions from different parts of Khandesh, shedding light on various aspects of Mughal Khandesh, including history of architecture.

XXII All India Persian Teachers' Conference, International Session, was held at Patiala in Oct-Nov. 2000, where I had an honour to preside over one of the sessions. For this occasion, I prepared the article No. 10, 'Epigraphical Contribution of Punjab to Persian Language & Literature', mainly highlighting the epigraphical contribution of the Eastern Punjab on the Indian side. Through mainly Persian epigraphical data of the Punjab, come to the fore local or regional officials of different cadres, ministers, calligraphers, composers, builders, etc. The epigraphs in prose being short, the Persian language employed in them is bereft of literary flavour. Later on, this paper was published in *Khuda Bakhsh Library Journal* (Quarterly Journal, Patna), Issue 133, July-Sep., 2003 (pp. 1-13).

'Rohilkhand : An Epigraphical Study', article No. 11, was presented at an International Seminar held at Rampur Raza Library, Rampur, in July 1998 and later published in *Khuda Bakhsh Library Journal*, Issue 134, Oct.-Dec. 2003 (pp. 1-15). This article is an attempt to give a bird's eye-view of the Persian and Arabic inscriptions, pertaining to the well-known historical tract Rohilkhand. It is the study of 230 inscriptions from forty seven places belonging to Budaun, Moradabad, Bijnor, Rampur, Shahjahanpur, Bareilly and Pilibhit districts, bringing to light various aspects of history and culture, language and literature, art and architecture of the Rohilkhand region between the 13th and the 19th centuries.

Next article, No. 12, 'A Bahmani Inscription from Chillergi', was presented in the XXI Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, held at Dharwar in 1995 and published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. XXII, 1996 (pp. 56-60). An important Bahmani official, Hasan (alias) Salar Mahmud, comes to light only through this metrical Persian record, supplying a definite date in his career, his place of posting as a military commander and the royal court he was associated with and his engagement in building activities. Besides this, the name of the Bahmani monarch is recorded with a new epithet as Muhammad Jahangir Shah and his father's name as Mahmud Khan, thus brushing aside the wrong assumption that the full name of this Bahmani ruler was Muhammad or Mahmud Shah Bahmani, as upheld by Firishta.

Article No. 13, 'Inscription of the Mughal Physician Nawwab Muqarrab Khan', had been presented in the XXV Silver Jubilee Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, held at Udipi in 1999 and published under the title 'An Inscription from Panipat', in *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. XXVI, 2000 (pp. 35-44). Muqarrab Khan enjoyed a multi-faceted personality. The importance of the



epigraph lies in the fact that it provides the specific date of the construction of the tomb of Muqarrab Khan at Panipat, supplementing and complementing historical sources like *Dhakhiratul Khawanin* and *Maathirul Umara* which do not specify date of its construction.

'A Mughal Inscription from Biloli', article No. 14, highlights the building activities of Sar Afraz Khan at Biloli where he erected a mosque, a reservoir and a garden. Sar Afraz Khan was a famous noble under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Because of his building activities and adornment, Biloli became famous in the Deccan. By his laudable services, he endeared himself to Shah Jahan. As regards the calligrapher of the inscription, it was Muhammad Sharif son of Shaikh Lad Muhammad who comes to light, adding a new name to the list of calligraphers under Shah Jahan. This article had been presented in the XX Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India at Bangalore session in 1994 and later published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. XXI, 1995 (pp. 50-55).

In the XXIX Annual Congress of Epigraphical Society of India, held at Mumbai in 2003, was presented the paper 'Inscription of Khairat Khan from Orissa' highlighting a new aspect of the career of Khairat Khan in Ganjam district of Orissa where he carried out his building activities both in public and commercial interest during the regime of Abdullah Qutb Shah. The construction of a *sarai* at Khairabad i.e. Ganjam hints towards the fact that as earlier, it had been a commercial centre under Qutb Shahis also. It is also apparent that Khairabad was the name given to Ganjam after the builder of the above-mentioned *sarai*, Khairat Khan. This article, No. 15, was published in *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. XXX, 2004 (pp. 121-26).

With rare pieces of information is the article, No. 16, 'Three Bilingual Inscriptions of Keladi Chiefs from Uttar Pradesh', earlier published in *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1977 (pp. 79-86), under the title 'Three Bilingual Inscriptions from Kapildhara'. The importance of these lithic records is manifold. It is clear from these inscriptions that the Keladi chiefs of the south undertook the pilgrimage to Varanasi in the north for the fulfilment of their religious obligations. This also proves that there were no restrictions of men and rulers of one faith, going to the territories of other rulers, for the performance of their religious rituals or meritorious acts. These valuable epigraphical evidences also illustrate extra-territorial integration and spirit of religious tolerance that prevailed between the Hindus and Muslims in the past.

Next article, No. 17, 'A Bilingual Inscription from Nagore in Tamil Nadu', read in the XXIII Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, held at Thanjavur in 1997 and published in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. XXIV, 1998 (pp. 66-70), throws a welcome light on the builder Daud Khan Tajir son of Ismail Khan who originally hailed from Shahjahanpur in the vicinity of

Delhi and later settled in Mahmud Bandar (Porto Novo) and built a lofty tower in A.H. 1137 (1724) in the Dargah-complex of Sayyid Abdul Qadir Manikpuri at Nagore. The builder-merchant was a faithful follower of the saint. Most probably, the erection of an excellent tower near the holy shrine, was an outcome in fulfilment of some specific vow regarding his commercial advancement and prosperity, apart from seeking spiritual blessings and succour of the holy saint.

In the XVII Annual Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India, held at Thanjavur in 1991, was presented the paper, No. 18, entitled 'A Persian Inscription of the Maratha Ruler Pratap Singh from Nagore'. Pratap Singh was tolerant towards other religions and the record studied here is an epigraphical evidence of his policy of religious toleration and extension of royal patronage to the venerated Dargah of Hadrat Qadir Sahib at Nagore. It was out of respect and reverence that the Maratha ruler as an humble offering ordered the construction of a tower in eleven stages in the premises of the said holy shrine in A.H. 1166 (1753). The motive behind this construction was that of seeking the spiritual blessings and succour of the saint against his political rivals. This article has been contributed to *Dr. V. V. Krishna Sastry Felicitation Volume : Krishnabhinandan* to be brought out by School of History, Culture & Archaeology Potti Sreeramulu Telugu University, Srisailam Campus, Andhra Pradesh.

'Inscriptions of Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah', article No. 19, is the study of eight Persian inscriptions from six different places, located in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, which record the construction of both the religious and secular structures during the period A.H. 1173-1210 (1759-95). It had been prepared for the XIX Annual Congress of Epigraphical Society of India, held at Trichchirappalli in 1993 and published in the Epigraphical Society's journal, Vol. XX, 1994 (pp. 73-76).

Article No. 20 again pertains to the Dargah of Hadrat Qadir Wali at Nagore in Tamil Nadu, presented in XXVI Annual Congress of Epigraphical Society of India, held at Erode in 2000, and later published in *Studies in Indian Epigraphy* Vol. XXVII, 2001 (pp. 130-35). This study is very important as it brings to light one more example of building activities (two unspecified edifices) at the holy shrine under the superintendence of Haji Abdul Qadir, the local ship-master of Nagore by way of offering and showing thereby his profound faith and spiritual attachment with the most famous shrine of his namesake.

Next article, No. 21, pertaining to the inscription of Nawwab Amir Mahal from Bara Banki is extremely important in the history of Awadh. In the light of this precious Persian metrical record from a mosque, the fact is established that even after her divorce in 1856 from the Awadh ruler, relation between Wajid 'Ali Shah, then at Calcutta, and Amir Mahal away from him at Bara Banki having been remarried to Qadi Ashgar Ali, remained cordial; and both were in touch with each other through correspondence. Personal involvement of Wajid Ali Shah as the



composer of the epigraphical text, shows warm love and affection in his heart for his ex-consort Amir Mahal who had started her career as a melodious singer and bewitching dancer in the *Pari Khana* of Wajid Ali Shah in Lucknow. Later in the evening period of her career, the record under reference reflects her religious sentiments in building activities at Bara Banki and elsewhere for her own merit in the next world. This valuable study was presented in the XXII Annual Congress of Epigraphical Society of India at Mysore in 1996 and later published in the journal of the said society, Vol. XXIII, 1997 (pp. 58-65).

Gogi is an old town in Shahpur taluk of Gulbarga district in Karnataka. Many important saints and scholars flourished there, carrying out literary and academic activities since the days of Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51). Since the Tughluq period, Gogi came to be known as Ustadabad, as evidenced by a local Tughluq lexicographical work *Dasturul Afadil*, compiled at Gogi i.e. Ustadabad, by Hajib-i-Khairat Dehlawi. Muhammad bin Tughluq divided the *vilayet* of the Marathas into four provincial divisions for the sake of administrative convenience and Malikush Sharq Qiwamud Daulat wad Din entitled Qutluq Khan, the *Ustad* (tutor) of the Sultan was entrusted with the overall charge of the four divisions. It is with the help of the two contemporary Tughluq sources, mentioned above, we come to know that one of the four administrative divisions was given the name *Khitta-i-Ustadabad* and a fort was constructed to serve as the administrative headquarters of the division, known as *Hisar-i-Khitta-i-Ustadabad*. Thus, this region with its provincial headquarters at Gogi renamed Ustadabad after the said tutor of the Sultan, has been historically of vital importance under the Tughluqs. This study is contained in article No. 22, presented in the XX Annual Conference of the Place Names Society of India, held at Erode in 2000, and published in the following year in *Studies in Indian Place Names*, Vol. XXI, 2001 (pp. 56-63). Here, it may be added that it was here i.e. Ustadabad Gogi, that the lexicon *Dasturul Afadil* was compiled by Hajib-i-Khairat in 1342 under the patronage of Shamsud Din Muhammad, the governor under Qutluq Khan, with its headquarters at Ustadabad. It is the second Persian dictionary produced in India, being more detailed than the first one *Farhang-i-Qawwas* compiled under the Khaljis.

Article No. 23, 'Vidisha : A Place Name', was prepared and presented in XVIII Annual Conference of the Place Names Society of India at Thrissur in 1998 and later published in the same year in *Studies in Indian Place Names*, Vol. XIX (pp. 42-56). Vidisha, a town and a district headquarters in Madhya Pradesh, occupies an important place in the history of the country and archaeologically considered to be one of the richest regions in Madhya Pradesh. Its historical grandeur motivated me to delve deep into its origin and currency under different names in various historical periods and its existing currency 'Vidisha' as a place name. At first Besnagar (later identified with ancient Vidisha) the place was later named Bhilsa, Bhaila, Bhelsa, Bhaillesa, Bhaylasan, Bahabalistan, Mahabalistan, Bhaillassvamipura, etc. after the name

of Bhillaswamin Temple. During the Muslim period, the place was generally known as Bhilsa with certain variations in its spelling. Under the Mughals, Bhilsa was renamed Alamgirpur. Nevertheless, the name Bhilsa came to stay till 1956 when it was changed to Vidisha in view of the discovery of important archaeological objects and certain copper coins bearing Brahmi letters read as *Vedisa* or *Veddasa* (Sanskrit *Vidisa*), datable to the third or second century BC.

Next article, No. 24, is an attempt to study a couple of place names (Natharnagar and Qadirnagar) during the period of Walajahi Nawwabs of Arcot. Particularly, Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah took interest in renaming towns and places, a trend then in vogue, following the healthy examples of erstwhile Muslim rulers in other parts of the country. Under him, Trichinopoly (now Tiruchchirappalli) and Thanjavur had been named Natharnagar and Qadirnagar, after the two prominent saints Hadrat Nathar Shah Wali and Hadrat Sayyid Abdul Qadir Manikpuri, respectively, both in veneration and due to great popularity of these two versatile spiritual figures. This place name study was presented in the XVII Conference of the Place Names Society of India, held at Thanjavur in 1997 and published in the following year in *Studies in Indian Place Names*, Vol. XVIII, 1998, (pp. 35-42).

A copper-coin hoard from Kalamb has been dealt with in article No. 25, specially written for the 5th International Colloquium on Medieval Indian Coinages, held at Anjaneri, District Nashik, in 2001. It was published in *Medieval Indian Coinages : A Historical And Economic Perspective*, ed. Amiteshwar Jha, IIRNS Publications, Anjaneri (pp. 179-86). This numismatic study is based on a hoard of 963 medieval copper coins, discovered at Kalamb in Yavatmal District of Maharashtra, representing the issues of four— one central and three provincial— dynasties viz., Sultans of Gujarat, Great Mughals, Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar and Qutb Shahis of Golconda. Majority of the coins (650 constituting 67%) are that of the Great Mughals, while 304 issues, forming 32% of the hoard belong to the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar. Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Shah III and Abdullah Qutb Shah are represented by a solitary coin, each. The presence of Nizam Shahi and Mughal coins in such large numbers in this hoard is corroborative of the fact that Kalamb was a part and parcel of the two dynasties successively.

Adam in Kuhi Taluk in Nagpur District, is an old historical site, representing the cultural milieu of the Vidarbha region. The excavations were conducted here during 1988-92 under the expert guidance of Dr. Amarendra Nath, now Director (Planning), Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. At the site, during the excavation, in all 263 coins were recovered. Of 167 copper coins, 78 issues in Arabic script, were submitted to me for decipherment and this forms the subject matter of the article No. 26 here. These coins bearing Perso-Arabic legends represent five dynasties both central and provincial, covering a period over five centuries (first decade of the 14th century to the second decade of the 19th century). Among the



78 copper coins, 70 issues belong to the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda, representing two of its last rulers Abdullah Qutb Shah and Abul Hasan Qutb Shah. Among the rest eight coins, there are the issues of the Khalji monarch Alaud Din Muhammad Shah, Bahmani ruler Alaud Din Ahmad Shah II, Mughal emperors Aurangzeb, Shah Alam Bahadur Shah I and Muhammad Shah, and Bhonsla Raja Parsoji II, one coin remaining unidentified.

Of the 70 Qutb Shahi coins, 69 issues on the basis of their dates represent Abdullah Qutb Shah and one represents Abul Hasan Qutb Shah. These coins do not record the names of the two rulers. The content of the legends in the obverse is indicative of the fact that the Qutb Shahi rulers had accepted the Mughal suzerainty and hence did not dare issue coins bearing their names, after 1656. The date A.H. 1068 (1657) in the coins of Abdullah Qutb Shah is quite significant when Hyderabad was occupied by the Mughal army and the Qutb Shahi Sultan was forced to give his daughter in marriage to Aurangzeb's son Muhammad Sultan and declare him heir to the throne. Thus, Abdullah Qutb Shah foresaw the speedy downfall of his kingdom, which came to an end with his successor and son-in-law Abul Hasan Qutb Shah, and rightly predicted it on his coins in a legend *Khatama Bil Khair was-Saadah* i.e. 'may it come to a happy and auspicious end', and the same legend was continued after him by his successor. This numismatic study was also presented at the XIV Annual Conference of South Indian Numismatic Society, held at Trivandrum in 2004 and was thereafter published in *Numismatic Digest*, Vols. 27-28 (2003-2004), IIRNS Publications, Anjaneri, District Nashik (pp. 83-93). Here, it may be added that between 1981 and 1993, over a thousand copper coins were discovered in Amravati and Yavatmal districts of Vidarbha, representing the same two Qutb Shahi rulers, bearing the same legend, referred to above. Discovery of these Qutb Shahi coins in such a large number corroborates the assertion that these copper issues were current for some time chiefly as *dams* of Emperor Aurangzeb.

'Historical Muslim Monuments of Nagpur', is the last article No. 27 in this anthology, specially written for students of architecture who needed material on Muslim monuments of Nagpur, in English. It has been published in *Puramanthana*, Number 1, 2003, Nagpur (pp. 64-69). Besides the Gond Rajas, under the Bhonsla patronage, the Muslim nobles and officials carried out certain building activities, both secular and religious in nature, in and around Nagpur, which was the capital of the Gonds and the Bhonslas. Among such constructions are included Shahi Masjid, Juma Darwaza, Jumma Talab, Juma Masjid (Gadi Khana), Masjid Patthar Phod, Masjid Alifuddin, Chhoti Masjid (Bhaldarpura), Chhoti Masjid or Jami Masjid Ahl-i-Hadith, Naqqar Khana and other monuments. An important piece of information provided by a Persian inscription from Sitabuldi, Nagpur, is the name of Taj Muhammad *Mimar* (architect) who had been a famous architect of his time under the Bhonslas and appears to have played prominent role in building activities under the patronage of the Bhonslas, so also under their nobles and *mansabdars*.

Except in article Nos. 6, 9 and 27, transliteration system used in the rest is as under :  
**th** for ث , **kh** for خ , **dh** for ذ , **d** for ض , **t** for ط , **gh** for غ. No diacritical marks have been used in the book.

Forty six plates have been provided to illustrate the facts narrated in the book, besides a map adapted from William C. Brice's, *An Historical Atlas of Islam* (Leiden, 1981, page 52), showing a good number of places mentioned in the book, diligently prepared by my esteemed colleague Dr. K. M. Girhe.



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I am deeply indebted to the authorities and staff of the Archaeological Survey of India Library and the Epigraphy Branch of the Survey, Nagpur, where I had full liberty to have access to rare books, original Persian sources, European travelogues, standard works on medieval Indian history, art and architecture; Persian literature and *tazkirahs*, archaeological reports, reports on Indian epigraphy, Perso-Arabic inscriptions and research periodicals of various descriptions in English, Persian, Urdu and Marathi.

My thanks are also due to the authorities and staff of the Nagpur University Library, Nagpur; Central Museum, Nagpur; Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai; Idara-i-Adabiyat-i-Urdu, Hyderabad; Central Archaeological Library, New Delhi and Raza Library, Rampur.

A number of individual scholars and professional colleagues and well-wishers have extended unstinted help and advice at various stages of my academic activities.

To begin with, I owe a deep sense of gratitude to Dr. K. Mojumdar, former Professor and Head, Department of History, Nagpur University, for his invaluable scholarly guidance and advice during the preparation and publication of this work. He has stayed in constant touch with me, inquiring about the progress of the publication work at every stage. He has been kind enough to fulfil the desire of the publisher by writing his succinct views about the book. Among other scholars and well-wishers encouraging me in my academic activities, mention may be made of Dr. Riazul Islam, Professor Emeritus, Karachi University, T. C. A. Raghavan, Deputy High Commissioner, Islamabad, Pakistan; Maulana Abdur Rahman Rahi, Abdur Rashid Bhati, connoisseurs Master Hifzur Rahman and my cousin Jamil Ahmad.

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Both Sarvashri Yadav Rao Bhoyar and S. Q. Zaman deserve special mention; they have great regard and affection for me; they showed keen interest and encouragement in my academic and research activities; they have been deeply impressed with my work on *Khandesh*. Shri Bhoyar is an Ex. MLA and founder President of Sadashivrao Patil Shikshan Sanstha, Kamptee, which runs sixteen prestigious colleges and other institutions, in various fields like education, pharmacy, polytechnic, physical education and hospital management in Nagpur and Bhandara districts of the Vidabha region. He is a man of literary taste who organised (April 2005) an Indo-Fak *Mushaira* for the cause of extra-territorial integration between the two countries. Mr. Zaman is a widely travelled messiah of the mine-workers; he is the Secretary General of the Indian National Mineworkers' Federation (INTUC), Kolkata; Secretary, Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee (I), Mumbai and Central INTUC, New Delhi, and Managing Editor: *Naya Urdu Samachar* (first ever Urdu Daily from Central India), Nagpur. Despite his extremely busy schedule and pre-occupation with the cause of labour and trade union activities, he finds time for his literary-cum-academic pursuits.

Before I conclude, I express my deep sense of gratitude to Dr. Intiaz Ahmad, Director, Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, for his **Foreword**, to Professor Shamsul Huda (Guwahati) for having written his impression about the book, and to my esteemed friend and well wisher Mr. Tanzim Raza Qureshi, Proprietor Islamic Wonders Bureau, Darya Ganj, New Delhi, for having published this work in a magnificent way, showing great care and responsibility for the job he undertook.

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# ISLAMIC INDIA

(Circa 13th - 18th Centuries)



Adapted from Willam C. Brice,  
*An Historical Atlas of Islam*  
(Leiden, 1981) Page 52

By Dr. K.M. Girhe





## CULTURAL GLEANINGS FROM PERSO-ARABIC EPIGRAPHY

The present paper comprises two sections. Section I introduces Indo-Islamic epigraphy or more appropriately Arabic and Persian inscriptions to the august and learned scholars and Section II deals with some of the cultural aspects of Perso-Arabic epigraphs.

### I

Indian Islamic inscriptions date from the last decade of the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD (to be exact AH 587/ AD 1192 when Muhammad Ghauri conquered Delhi and established his kingdom there), with the exception of about a dozen, bearing earlier dates, found in Haryana, Gujarat and Kerala. Being comparatively recent, Perso-Arabic epigraphs do not play the same role as their Sanskrit and Dravidian counterparts. There are reasons for this limited scope. First, unlike the ancient Indian, Indo-Islamic inscriptions do not constitute the main and perhaps the only source of the Indian history. Second, simultaneously with the appearance of Muslim epigraphy in India, we get written chronicles and annals dealing with the country's history.

Perso-Arabic epigraphs are usually found on sectarian buildings like mosques and tombs, or secular edifices like forts, palaces, gateways, tanks, wells, gardens, bridges, *sarais*, etc. Certain movable objects like arms, seals, signets, vases, utensils and precious stones bear inscriptions. Mosques and tombs account for majority of inscriptions, next followed by forts. The language of the records of the early period of the Delhi Sultanat is Arabic. Majority of epigraphical records is in Persian in view of the fact that Persian had been the state or official language in the Indo-Pak-Bangladesh sub-continent at the central as well as provincial centres of power, right from the beginning of the Muslim rule, i.e. AD 1206 upto 1857, spanning six centuries and a half. Apart from Arabic, Persian and Urdu inscriptions, there are bilingual inscriptions, i.e. Arabic with regional languages like Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil and Malayalam, and Persian with the provincial languages like Kannada, Telugu, Oriya, Tamil, Gujarati and Marathi. Besides these regional or provincial languages with Persian and Arabic, mention may be made of other bilingual inscriptions like Arabic with Sanskrit or local dialect, or Persian with local dialect, Sanskrit, Hindi, English, Portuguese and Arminian. There are trilingual (Arabic, Persian and Bengali; Persian, Kannada and English; Persian, Marathi and Kannada, and Persian, Arminian and Hebrew) and quadrilingual records as well (Arabic, Urdu, Hindi and English, and Persian,

Marathi, Telugu and English). Persian played an important role in the educational and cultural life of various regions of the sub-continent in varying degrees, depending upon local factors. Majority of the Perso-Arabic inscriptions are dated in Hijri year. Individual towns with large number of Perso- Arabic epigraphs include Delhi, Agra, Ahmadabad, Bijapur, Hyderabad, Gulbarga, Ajmer, Nagaur and Ellichpur.

These epigraphs not infrequently fill up lacuna or unconfirmed gaps in our knowledge of India's past. Being strictly contemporary and perfectly genuine records, they constitute first hand source-material and provide valuable and definite data for the varied aspects of the history of different periods in different regions. In a few cases, they proved to be the only source to supply the missing link in the dynastic lists for which written historical records are available. They also act as a touchstone for assaying the authenticity of other source material. They correct incongruity or mis-statements, supply correct dates of events about which information from other sources is available but is confusing or vague, corroborate or contradict statements of historians or supply details left out by them and provide correct spellings of names and places. They provide much more data for the local history and the political status of a particular region at a given time.

Of greater importance is the information supplied by these inscriptions on other aspects of contemporary life, including administration, levy or remission of unlawful duties or imposts of different nature, prohibiting undesirable practices, etc.

These inscriptions constitute the most primary and contemporary source for exact date of monuments of various description and provide much needed definite time-factor and sure chronology, thus forming a sound and secure base for evaluation of the monuments in the context of art and architecture and thereby bringing out a correct concept of the origin and development of monumental styles.

The conquest of India by the Muslims made an effective and distinct impact on the indigenous manifestation of life and culture. The new culture manifested itself no less in architecture than in other expressions of art. There are three classes of Indo-Islamic architecture: monuments erected by Sultans of Delhi, Provincial monuments and the Mughal monuments.

There are inscriptions which give information about the relations between different communities and also instances of religious toleration. These inscriptions again furnish in some cases, the history of repairs, extension or addition to monuments.

Another art-form of Indian Islamic monumental art, best served by Perso-Arabic inscriptions, is calligraphy. Islamic world has long regarded calligraphy as the highest form of artistic expression. The bewildering variety of artistically executed calligraphical specimens in diverse scripts provide a rich fare to the eyes. Calligraphic inscriptions constitute the most important decorative element in Indian Islamic architecture which attained a high level of perfection in Qutb Minar at Delhi, Adina Mosque at Pandua (in Bengal), Jami mosques at Ahmadabad, Golconda and Hyderabad, Akbar's tomb at Sikandra and Taj Mahal at Agra.



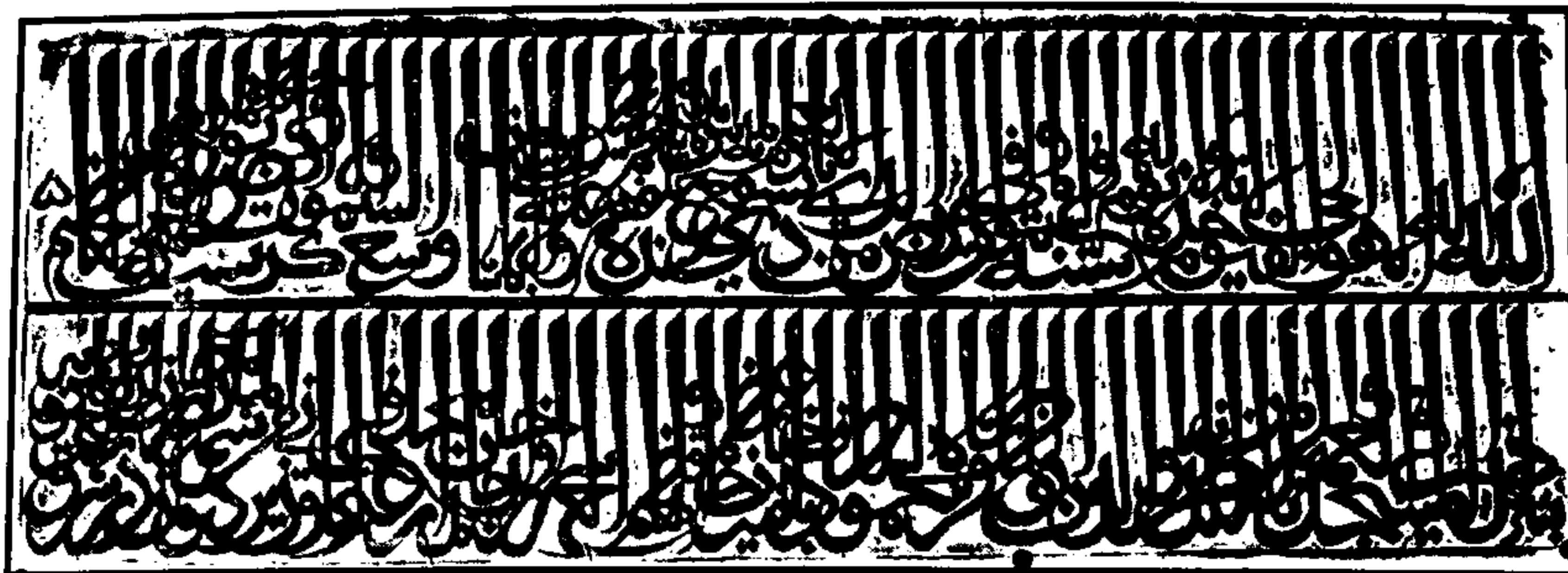
Scripts employed in the Perso-Arabic epigraphs include *Kufi*, *Naskh*, *Thulth* and *Nastaliq*. The last mentioned was the preferred script of the Mughals. Inscriptions of earlier dates are in Arabic and in *Kufi* characters. Persian is found employed since the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and with regularity under the Khaljis. Bengal and Kerala are dominant in Arabic inscriptions. Urdu made appearance in epigraphs in the middle of 18<sup>th</sup> century. Bengal and Gujarat developed individuality of their own in script or calligraphy (Illus.1-2). Most honoured calligrapher in India was Abdul Haq of Shiraz, designer of calligraphy on Taj Mahal, who enjoyed the title of Amanat Khan equal to knighthood, under Shah Jahan. Never before was bestowed such a title upon a calligrapher in Mughal India.

Among the Muslims, the representation of living beings or human forms was forbidden by religious injunction. Thus, Muslims in India and elsewhere took recourse to execution of geometrical and arabesque patterns on the one hand and ornamental writing on the other. The importance laid on making beautiful and decorative copies of the holy Quran as an ardent expression of faith, fostered the much valued art of calligraphy. Perso-Arabic inscriptions have two-fold importance, historical and calligraphical. The Muslim rulers and their noblemen greatly contributed to the development of the calligraphic art. Some inscriptions furnish pictorial form of *Tughra* in which the text is written in such a way as to form the outline of a lion or a parrot.

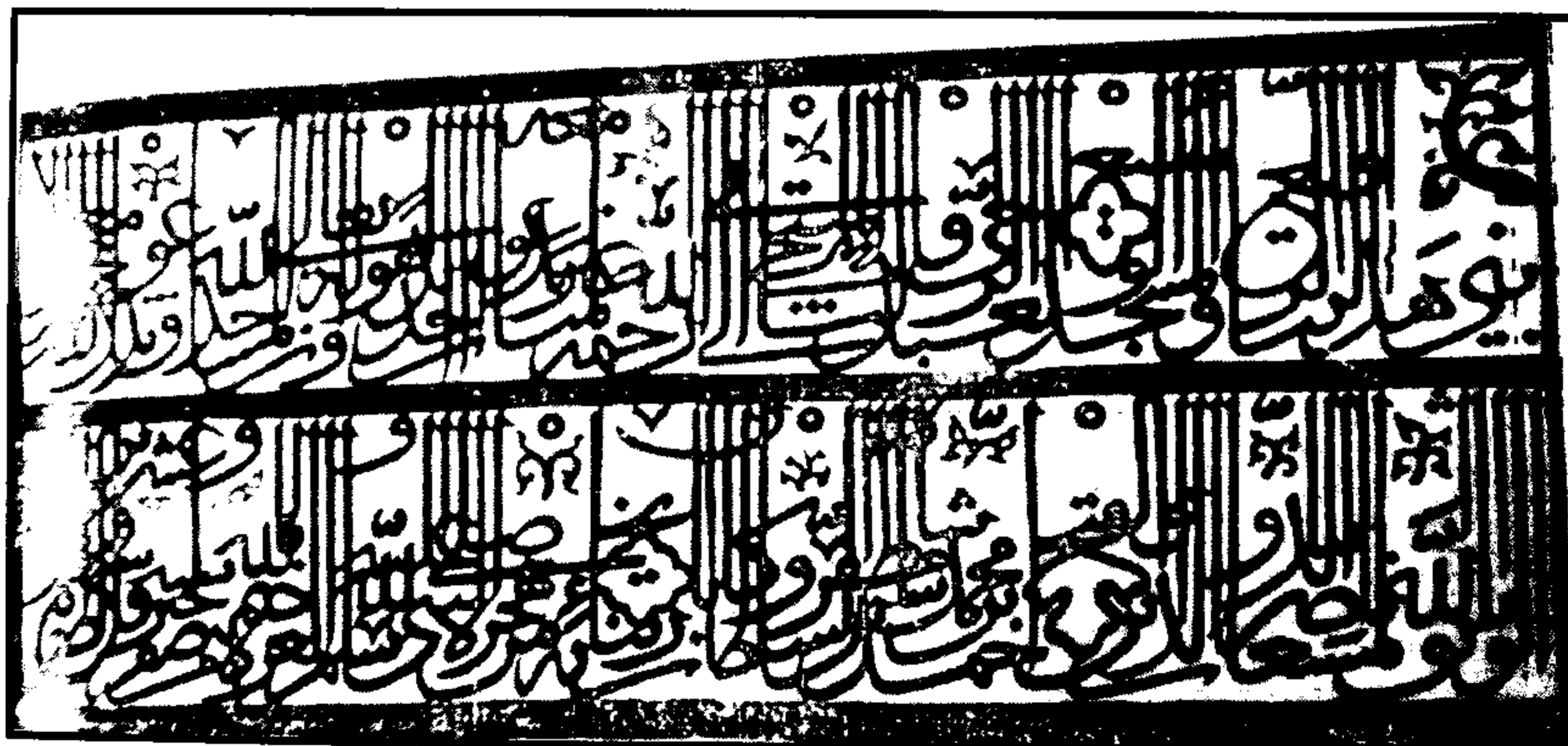
The study of Perso-Arabic inscriptions in India practically started with the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones at Calcutta in 1784. The setting up of the department of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861, headed by A. Cunningham as the Archaeological Surveyor, intensified the activities in the field of research and exploration, including Indo-Muslim epigraphy.

First works on Perso-Arabic inscriptions on Islamic monuments were: *Sairu'l Manazil* by Mirza Sangin Beg (prior to 1820) and *Atharu's Sanadid* by Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Kanpur, 1846). Among European and British orientalist who brought to light Perso-Arabic epigraphs were: H. Cousens, A. Fuhrer, Edmond Smith and H. Blochmann, Asstt. Prof. and Principal of Calcutta Madrasa who published them in the *Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* – a precursor of *Epigraphia Indica* (1892). In 1894 (*EI*, Vol. II) two articles on Perso-Arabic inscriptions from Delhi were published by Dr. Paul Horn of Strasburg University.

First major published study of Perso-Arabic inscriptions at particular site was : *Gaur-Its Ruins & Inscriptions* (London, 1878), by R. H. Ravenshaw; *Lahore: Its History, Architectural Remains and Inscriptions* (Lahore, 1896) and, *Agra: Historical & Descriptive* (Calcutta, 1896), both by Sayyid Mohammad Latif, and M. A. Chaghtai's *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad through their Inscriptions* (Poona, 1942). Among the periodicals, mention may be made of *Asiatic Researches* (Calcutta), *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta), *Indian Antiquary* (Bombay) and *Journal of Bihar Research Society* (Patna), that provided sufficient coverage to Indo-Muslim epigraphy. Among the prominent individual scholars who performed pioneer



1. Jangipur, Murshidabad Dist., West Bengal : Specimen of Bengal calligraphy; Arabic inscription assigning the construction of a mosque to Khan-i-Muazzam Ulugh Sarfaraz Khan in AH 847/AD 1443 during the reign of Bengal Sultan Mahmud Shah I, *AREp.*, 1975-76, D 273.



2. Ahmadabad, Dist. headquarters, Gujarat : Specimen of Gujarat calligraphy; Arabic inscription assigning the construction of the mosque to Gujarat Sultan Ahmad Shah I in AH 827/AD 1424. *AREp.*, 1967-68, D 128.



work on Indo-Islamic epigraphy, mention may be made of Maulavi Bashirud Din Ahmad who painstakingly wrote *Waqi'at-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijapur* (Agra, 1915) and *Waqi'at-i-Daru'l Hukumat Dehli* (Agra, 1919); Syed Asghar Ali Bilgrami who authored *Ma'athir-i-Dakan* (Hyderabad, 1925) in Urdu and *Landmarks of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1927) in English, and Ali Asghar Hikmat placed before us his work in Persian, *Naqsh-i-Parsi bar Ahjar-i-Hind* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Shahryur 1337 (1958), Tehran).

*Epigraphia Indica* was started in 1892 with a view to primarily dealing with the epigraphical material pertaining to ancient Indian history. Since the Perso-Arabic epigraphs were available in large number, it was deemed necessary to publish them in a separate biennial journal named *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. It was Sir E. Denison Ross, the famous British orientalist and Principal of Calcutta Madrasa who edited the first issue of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1907-08. Dr. J. Horowitz, Professor of Arabic in Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, edited the two subsequent issues of *EIM* 1909-10 and 1911-12. Afterwards, Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, Director of the Archaeology Department in the Nizam's Dominions at Hyderabad and Honorary Muslim Epigraphist to the Government of India, edited 15 issues of *EIM* 1913-14 onward to 1939-40.

A full-time post of Assistant Superintendent for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions was created by the Government of India in 1946 and the issue of *EIM* 1949-50 was edited by Maulavi M. Ashraf Husain who had joined the said post in 1949.

Dr. Ziyaud Din Ahmad Desai succeeded Maulavi Ashraf Husain in 1953. Under his versatile guidance, the activities of the Epigraphy Branch, stationed at Nagpur since 1958, expanded both quantitatively and qualitatively. He started editing the Perso-Arabic section under a separate Appendix of *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* – 1952-53, onwards, so also the prestigious renamed biennial *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)* 1951 and 1952, onwards, in continuation to *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. This epigraphic journal became an annual publication since the issue of 1961. By the time Dr. Desai retired in 1983, having put in three decades of service as head of the Epigraphy Branch, Nagpur, he brought out 20 issues of the *EIAPS* (1951-52 to 1975) – a laudable achievement in the field of Indo-Muslim epigraphy. It was his scholarly zeal and zest that the epigraphic series owed its growth and expansion. Dr. Desai who joined the department as Assistant Superintendent, by dint of his sheer hard work and ability, rose to the position of Director of entire Epigraphy Branch, with its wings at Nagpur and Mysore.

The Epigraphy Branch of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of the Archaeological Survey of India, with its headquarters at Nagpur, has been responsible for copying, editing and publication of Arabic and Persian inscriptions throughout the country so as to shed light on historical and cultural heritage of the country. During the last five decades, over 10,000 inscriptions have been copied from different parts of the country, duly accessioned, deciphered and listed in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* since 1952-53 onwards, under a separate Appendix with an exhaustive Introduction.

About 2,000 Perso-Arabic inscriptions have been published so far in *EIM* and *EIAPS* (1907-08 to 1977).

## II

The Perso-Arabic inscriptions found in India cover a vast canvas. Almost all parts of the country and almost all dynasties, major and minor, provincial and regional are represented. Among them, prominent dynasties are the Mamluks, Khaljis, Tughluqs, Sayyids, Lodis, Mughlas; Sultans of Bengal, Gujarat, Kashmir, Malwa and Mysore; Bahmanis, Faruqis of Khandesh, Sharqis of Jaunpur, Adil Shahis, Nizam Shahis, Qutb Shahis, Asaf Jahis; Nawwabs of Arcot, Awadh, and Karnataka; Bhonslas of Nagpur, Gaikwads of Baroda, Holkars of Indore, Marathas of Tanjore, Sindhiyas of Gwalior and the Rohillas.

The subjects contained in all these epigraphs, including the miscellaneous ones, are of varied nature, supplied to us piecemeal but collectively reflecting multi-dimensional aspects of history and culture, language and literature, arts and architecture.

India's contact with the Muslims was an epoch-making event in the religious history of the Indo-Pak-Bangladesh sub-continent. The initial contact of commercial nature led to the growth of friendly and cordial relations between the Hindu rulers and the Arabs. As a result of religious autonomy and commercial freedom on the part of the open-hearted Hindu rulers, the Muslim population greatly increased in the coastal regions of India.<sup>1</sup> Thus, mutual intercourse resulted in mutual understanding, leading to the development of a new culture, termed Hindu-Muslim Culture.<sup>2</sup> In 711 when the first political contact with Muslim Arabs was established, Muhammad bin Qasim adopted religious tolerance as a state policy.<sup>3</sup>

Under the Sultans of Delhi (1206-1526) and the Mughals (1526-1857) a search for a new order was made. Coupled with a strong desire to bring Hindus and Muslims together, the Mughals observed some of the Hindu festivals<sup>4</sup>, included in their court-calendars. The teachings of Muslim saints and Hindu savants supplemented the efforts of the rulers to encourage cordial relations among diverse communities.

To begin with, I would like to mention a few selected Perso-Arabic epigraphs, displaying spirit of tolerance and communal harmony – one of the most important cultural aspects of an ethnic museum like India. It is always beneficial to a country like India to keep up the spirit of resurrecting such glorious cultural values for the sake of mutual understanding and unity among people of heterogeneous communities and rightly guide and lead the Indian society.

In all there are 28 inscriptions dated between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, from 19 towns<sup>5</sup>, spread over 9 states of India, viz., Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh. These records bespeak the spirit of co-operation that prevailed amongst the Hindus and Muslims in the past.



Quoting a few of these epigraphs, the earliest example of religious tolerance is contained in an Arabic inscription<sup>6</sup>, dated 1264 (AH 622) from Somnath Patan in Junagadh district of Gujarat, registering the construction of a mosque at Somnath by Nurud Din Firuz, the Lord Prince among merchants, with the collaboration of (Sri Palugi) Dev, Bhimsinh Thakur, Somesar Dev and Ram Dev, during the reign of (as recorded in the Sanskrit version separately) the Vaghela king Arjunadeva (c. 1261-74).<sup>7</sup> Another instance of such a nature is the bilingual inscription<sup>8</sup>, dated 1304 (AH 704) from Sampla in Vadodara district of Gujarat (now in M. S. University, Baroda), saying that through the charitable intentions of the king Rai Karn Dev (1296-1304) and *Malikul Akabir* Balchaq and *Malikul Umara* Shadi, Tajud Din Hasan endowed the village for the Jami Mosque of Kambayat (Khambat).

One more example of equity and tolerance is contained in a valuable bilingual record<sup>9</sup> of the Sur period, dated 1552 (AH 959), originally from Nagaur (now in Sardar Museum, Jodhpur) in Rajasthan, showing that a Muslim divine Shaikh Sulaiman used his good offices and influence in getting the Jaina monastery standing in the name of Bhattark Kirat Chand of a fellow townsman, professing different faith, vacated and handed over to the original owners by *Masnad-i-Ali* Yusuf Khan, probably the local governor.

In Maharashtra, such evidences for broad outlook and religious tolerance, are reflected in a few epigraphs<sup>10</sup> from Madhi in Ahmadnagar district, referring to Khande Rao Dabhad, Pilaji Gaikwad and Chimaji Bhagat who paid their respects to the shrine of Pir Shah Ramadan (d. 1390), and Pilaji Gaikwad being instrumental in restoring the tomb of the saint in 1726-27 (AH 1139). Likewise, the Maratha chief of Thanjavur, Pratap Simha (1739-63), is recorded to have built a tower and *Qadir Penth*, a market-place<sup>11</sup>, in fulfilment of his certain ambition, in 1753 (AH 1166) in the Dargah-complex of Hadrat Qadir Wali (1504-70) at Nagor in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu, and here I would like to mention that a *mahalla* at Kamthi in Nagpur district, Maharashtra, is known as *Qadar-ka-Jhanda*, populated and named after the above saint in the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Worth mentioning, in this regard, are 4 more epigraphs<sup>12</sup> from Ellichpur in Amravati district of Maharashtra, assigning the construction of three gates in the tomb of the saint, Shah Dulha Rahman Ghazi, during the years 1775-79 (AH 1189-92) to Raja Mudhoji (1772-88), the Bhonsla king of Nagpur, as thanks-giving for the fulfilment of his certain wishes.

The outcome of these epigraphical evidences is that we need not adopt attitude of projecting later sectarian prejudices to the study of medieval Indian history, nor should we think of it solely in terms of Hindu-Muslim conflicts. We have to pay due heed to the process of intermingling and cultural intercourse in the light of these epigraphical evidences and also to take into account the emergence of a rich composite culture in the country. It can be reasonably inferred that religious tolerance and communal harmony has been a very significant character of our culture and for that purpose continuous efforts have been made.

Next cultural aspect of Persian epigraphs is their study as source-material for Indo-Persian literature.<sup>13</sup> Apart from all other literary Persian sources available in India,

Persian epigraphical data is no doubt piecemeal but quite vast and varied in giving multifarious information that can be utilized as an important source-material for the study of Indo-Persian literature.

From 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Persian came to be employed as the medium of epigraphic texts along with Arabic, but in the next century (14<sup>th</sup>), Persian gained wider currency for this purpose. It gradually replaced Arabic as the epigraphic medium under the Mughals and almost completely substituted Arabic in historical epigraphs. These epigraphs tend to show to what extent and degrees, the usage of Persian language and literature was practised in different parts of India at different periods, under various central, provincial and regional dynasties. When such an assessment is made, the most striking result that comes to the fore, is that the south-western coast, comprising Kerala, remained completely cool towards Persian from the very beginning. In the coastal regions of Tamil Nadu too, Arabic appears to have held the ground. In Orissa, the language of epigraphs is Persian but their number is rather meagre. In Bengal, inscriptions of pre-Mughal period are, with certain exceptions, in Arabic, so is the case with Gujarat.

History-writing in Persian is rightly considered as one of the major contributions of Muslim rule in the sub-continent, but with the exception of far south or south-eastern regions like Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Orissa where the impact of the Muslim domination was almost negligible until the late Mughal period.

Regarding epigraphical data as a source-material, it may be remarked that a few specimens of extremely fine poetry of the 13<sup>th</sup> century of a poet, settled in Gujarat, and names of some of the poets who flourished under various provincial kingdoms, are preserved only in these epigraphs. Even in case of Delhi Sultanate, the epigraphs are rewarding. For example, an epigraph pertaining to a stepwell from Delhi, dated 1379 (AH 781), indicates that the famous Lord Chamberlain (*Sayyidul Hujjab*) of Firuz Tughluq (1351-88) and a disciple of H. Nizamud Din Auliya (d. 1325) was a poet of Persian (as well as Arabic). Likewise, an ode (*ghazal*) and a few quatrains (*rubais*) of a high order, composed by one Yusufi who expired in 1484 (AH 889), are contained in his epitaph at Sonapat in Haryana.

The Persian inscriptions of India are found both in prose and verse forms. From the language point of view, these epigraphs might not be of high standard. In quite a few cases, the epigraphs in prose being short, the language used is clumsy, grammatically incorrect and devoid of any literary taste. However, the Mughal inscriptions on the Jami Mosque of Delhi and on various buildings in the Red Forts at Agra and Delhi and elsewhere are specimens of elegant fine prose.

As a part of cultural study under language and literature, a list of composers can also be classified. In a good number of cases, the composers of the metrical epigraphs are indicated in the text, and as a result, these poets can be assigned to pre-Mughal or Mughal periods on the one hand, and on the other, to different provincial kingdoms and minor principalities. Interestingly, we also come across epigraphical texts composed by rulers like Adil



Shahi king Ali II (1657-72), Mughal king Bahadur Shah II (1837-57) and Nawwab of Awadh, Wajid Ali Shah (1848-56).

A vast majority of these poets, mentioned in epigraphs, are unknown from other available sources. It is particularly these metrical records, which are of great value as specimens of Indo-Persian literature. Of these, those of the Sultanate period, covering approximately 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> cent. AH), are particularly valuable. For instance, it is only from an epigraph that we come to know of a poet Zainud Din Ali Salari (d. 1286) whose one ode (*ghazal*) and two quatrains (*rubais*), not only afford some of the very few earliest specimens of Persian poetry in Gujarat and India, but also rank among the best poetical specimens in Persian literature<sup>13A</sup>.

Among the specimens of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (7<sup>th</sup> cent. AH), we do not come across the names of their composers. It is from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (8<sup>th</sup> cent. AH) onward, that we start getting their names like, Burhani, Hamid, Daudi, Yaqub, Farid and Qadi Badr. The lists of the composers of the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (9<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> cent. AH) are too long to produce here and a note-worthy feature of these metrical epigraphs is that at least the date of their composition is known to us. Studying critically, there have been a few composers who violated rules of grammar and prosody.

Regarding Indo-Persian literature, it is worth mentioning that the mother-tongue of most of the Muslim monarchs in India was Turkish, but their educational and cultural language was Persian that bore strong Turkish influence. It was this Persian language that flourished in India. The period of the Indo-Persian literature is of great importance in the cultural history of Iran. In the arena of Indo-Persian literature, Mughal period was its golden era. Pertaining to Indo-Persian literature, worthy of mention is the fact that Hindus who started learning Persian under the Lodis regularly, became full-fledged Persian authors and literateurs under the Mughals in the fields like history, poetry, lexicography, translation works, astronomy, medicine, mysticism, morality, music and painting. There were literateurs like Todar Mal and Rai Manohar, historians like Rai Bindraban and Bhimsen, poets like Chandra Bhan Brahman and Lachchmi Narayan Shafiq and lexicographers like Pandit Ganga Bishan and Girdhari Lal. Thus, the Hindus share a worthy contribution to Indo-Persian literature under the Mughals.<sup>14</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, India was leading in the field of Persian literature and countries like Iran and Afghanistan themselves followed in the literary foot-steps of India. Hundreds of books in Persian were written on heterogenous topics and Indo-Persian literature surpassed the motherland Iranian Persian literature. From the lexicography point of view, India stole a march over Iran.<sup>15</sup>

Another cultural aspect that can be culled out from these epigraphs is the preparation of a long list of Iranian and Afghan settlers in different parts of India, belonging to different vocations in life who came from different parts of Iran and Afghanistan and from elsewhere. The places, to quote a few, where this phenomenon occurred are: Cambay in the 12<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Karad (Maharashtra) in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Hyderabad in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Lucknow, Allahabad, Kashmir etc., in the



subsequent period. This information is quite useful for some aspects of sociological and cultural studies, giving an insight into composition of present ethnic groups of local population in the country and pattern of their professions.

A good number of foreign places and countries mentioned in these epigraphs are: Qandahar, Ardastan, Badakhshan, Bukhara, Aden, Misr (Egypt), Fars, Hijaz (Arabia), Inju, Iran, Kashan, Sabzwar, Kazimain, Isfahan, Julfa, Kabul, Khurasan, Medina, Mazandaran, Mecca, Rum (Turkey), Shiraz, Tabriz, Tiflish, Tiflis, Tirmidh, Turan (Turkey), etc. These places tend to show some cultural relations with the Islamic countries like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, Yemen, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, etc.

With the spread of a dynamic religion like Islam, the geographical barriers were bound to be broken. There did run throughout these kingdoms and countries, a strong under-current of common ideas and concepts in various fields and walks of life. Mecca was the rendezvous for all Muslims of the world, that generated in them a curious interest in the land, people, custom, dress, other than their own. The annual gathering for *Haj* helped to encourage exchange of views and ideas among the vast cross-sections of the humanity at large.

The study of other literary sources indicate the fact that these relations with the Islamic countries were at their maximum level during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>16</sup> In the early period, the influx of foreign elements into Indian mainstream was prominently in the north region because of its being the centre of political authority under the Delhi Sultanate. The scene shifted to the Deccan after the emergence of independent sovereigns in the Deccan under the Bahmanis (1347-1527). These foreign settlers were mostly from regions in Central Asia or Iranian kingdom in case of north or Iranian proper in case of south. However, it may be pointed out that in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, influx from Arabian countries was in much greater number than before because of highly explosive political condition prevailing in the countries of Near or Middle East. There was, during this period, between India and Arabic-speaking countries, meaningful exchange of ideas as well as of men. From the work of Hajji Dabir, we know about the Yemeni or South Arabian immigrants to India. The kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Khandesh had also sizeable number of Abyssinians, Turks and other foreign elements in their establishments.

As evidenced by available literary sources, these settlers were great patrons of men of letters and divines. To them flocked their kinsmen from South Arabian region, particularly from Hadramaut and Yemen. The court of Sultan Mahmud (1458-1511) of Gujarat was packed with scholars from Arabia and other Islamic countries. An important centre of Arabic literature in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was Hyderabad where the court of Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-72) had attracted a large number of foreign elements. There was similar influx of foreign scholars, saints, adventurers and officials all over India in varying degrees, who settled down at Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Sambhal, Uchh, Aurangabad, Ujjain and Kalpi.

From details given about these new comers in different works, one thing emerges quite clearly. It is the pattern of their immigration from South Arabian Peninsula (especially

Hadramaut) from where members of families celebrated for piety or learning came to India at the invitation of the men in power and engaged at different centres like Ahmadabad, Bharuch, Surat, Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Belgaum and Hyderabad.

The influx came to a halt abruptly with the fall of Gujarat Sultanate at the hands of Akbar (1572) and of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur kingdoms at the hands of his successors. Simultaneously, the influx from Central Asia and Iran started but the locale shifted to the Mughal court in the north.

Those who came to India, majority of them did so in search of livelihood or for better opportunities and prospects, while others came as traders and a few as travellers or tourists but most of them with a view to acquiring learning in intellectual sciences or mystical guidance. Another main object of the influx was to meet saints and scholars particularly of their own countrymen or kinsmen. Quite a few of these, earned their bread and butter by carrying on trade or serving under foreign merchants.

Culturally speaking, India, Afghanistan and Iran have been closer to each other in comparison with other Islamic countries. Since the time of Mahmud Ghaznawi (997-1030). India and Afghanistan came closer and under the Ghurids (1191-1206), Afghan influx assumed greater proportion. Afghan-Islamic and Indian relations grew into a permanent feature that stimulated cultural synthesis, leaving great impact on the cultural life of the two countries. There was influx of men and ideas, artisans, scholars, poets, architects and saints from Ghazni, Herat, Chisht, Qandahar, Kabul, etc. and Transoxiana centres like Karshi, Merve, Samarqand and Bukhara. Throughout the major part of the present millennium, this cultural dialogue existed in the field of art and architecture, language and literature. In this cultural contact, naturally architecture was the first to receive the impact and with the arrival of new-comers, a new style termed Indo-Islamic came into existence. Under Akbar (1556-1605) and Jahangir (1605-27), keen interest was shown to the writing of Afghan history. Scholars and poets of Afghan origin, including the Rohillas, contributed vastly to Indo-Persian literature.<sup>17</sup>

Likewise, Indo-Iran cultural relations are traceable to the Aryan migration but systematic inter-communication between two cultural giants began during the Mughal period (1526-1857). Influence on architecture is more pronounced than in any other branch of cultural activities. Indian mosques and gardens from the beginning were evolved on Iranian pattern, as Islamic architecture grew largely on Iranian art traditions. Ornamental scheme, mainly the glazed-tiling was derived from Iran.<sup>18</sup>

For a systematic study of the emergence of Persian language as the medium of epigraphs in India, the work on the Persian inscriptions of India by Dr. Ali Asghar Hikmat cannot be overlooked for an assessment of various aspects of Indo-Iranian cultural relations.

The piecemeal information, provided by these epigraphs pertaining to various professions and communities, are also valuable for the cultural study of various parts of



the country. Among the professions, that we come across, mention may be made of iron-smith (*Ahangar*), baker, blacksmith, blanket-weaver, lime-maker (*Chunapaz*), bangle-seller (*Chudifarush*), ghee-maker, surgeon (*Jarrah*), cobblers (*Kafshduzan*), potter (*Kashipaz*) architect (*Mimar*), musician (*Mutrib*), cotton-dresser (*Naddaf*), shipmaster (*Nakhuda*), weaver (*Nurbaf*), vegetable-sellers (*Tarfarushan*), goldsmith (*Zargar*), manufacturer of fire-works (*Atashbaz*), carpenter (*Durudgar*), dyer (*Rangrez*), stone-cutter (*Sangtarash*), physician (*Tabib*), darner (*Rafugar*), etc.

For the evaluation of ethnic composition in different regions of India, the study of various communities, both indigenous and foreign, is also important. Some of the names as gleaned from epigraphs, include: Afghan, Armani, Arab, Baluch, Lodi Afghan, Mughal, Turani, Bara Imamiyya, Bohra, Brahmans, Chauhan, Gahlot, Gaur, Hindu, Jains, Koshti, Koli, Portuguese, Rajput, Rathor, Srivastav, Sayyids and Tawaif (dancing girls).

Regarding various cities and towns in India, different epithets find mention in a good number of epigraphs. They are also important for the cultural history of such places. These epithets denote time-flavour regarding the names of such places and tend to show the spirit that was prevailing during the Muslim period, particularly under the Mughals. Some of the epithets found in epigraphs and other Persian sources are: Akbarabad (Agra), Shahjahanabad (Delhi), Muhammadabad (Bidar), Alamgirpur (Vidisha), Azimabad (Patna), Daruz Zafar (Bijapur), Khidrabad (Chittorgarh), Darulkhair (Ajmer), Fathabad (Chanderi), Jahangirnagar (Dhaka), Gulshanabad (Nasik), Mubarakabad (Miraj), Jannatapur (Jalna), etc.

In the past, efforts have been made by rulers and individuals in official capacity or otherwise, for proper protection and preservation of monuments. Out of respect for cultural heritage, religious heads and rulers took interest in rebuilding, renovating or restoring historic structures and monuments of socio-cultural importance. Finances for execution of conservation works were made available by royal donations and income from land and other properties attached to these edifices and endowments were offered by philanthropists and kings. We have numerous epigraphical references to support this.

It is the epigraphs which owe to the existence of multifarious monuments, religious and secular, bringing to light a good deal of building and centres of building activities and illustrating how rulers, officials and private rich persons were interested in the welfare of the general public.

With the help of these epigraphs, we can prepare a list of calligraphers, region-wise and period-wise, whose beautiful calligraphy adorn so many buildings in the width and breadth of the country. From Uttar Pradesh, that has produced around 2200 Perso-Arabic inscriptions so far, some of the calligraphers worth mentioning are: Ilyas (1380), Mulla Mubarak son of Mulla Alam (1586), Abdur Rasul son of Muhammad Sharif (1625), Muhammad Salih Husaini (1626), etc. It may also be remarked that around 50

calligraphers<sup>19</sup> are known only from their signatures in epigraphs copied from different parts of the country.

Some of the epigraphs from Uttar Pradesh record names of artisans and masons like Ustad Ghulam Ali (1538), Muhammad Khan (1730), Natthu (1780), Yadullah and Faqirullah (1800).<sup>20</sup>

In the light of these epigraphs, a list of names of monuments can also be prepared, e.g. *Abdar Khana, Adl-ganj, Aina Mahal, Burj-i-Ali, Burj-i-Ilahi, Bagh-i-Rahat Bakhsh, Bagh-i-Muhammadi, Chashma-i-Nur, Chashma-i-Shahi, Mandi-i-Namak, Mandi-i-Rasad, Haud-i-Jahangiri, Haud-i-Nurani, etc.*

For about seven centuries, Persian was the state language, permeating so deep in different regions of the country and influenced Indian languages like Tamil, Teiugu, Kannada, Marathi, Hindi, Bengali, Kashmiri, Punjabi, etc. In this regard, research has been carried out by scholars like Dr. Abdul Haq who worked on influence of Persian language on Marathi; Dr. Yawar of Bombay highlighted influence of Persian on Marathi *Bakhars* and Dr. Ata Karim Barq of Calcutta studied influence of Persian on Bengali.<sup>21</sup> Pertaining to influence of Persian on various Indian languages, Dr. Nazir Ahmad of Aligarh Muslim University contributed a learned article at the occasion of the 2500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Founding of Monarchy in Iran (October 1971) at New Delhi.<sup>22</sup> In influencing various regional languages, Persian epigraphs as a part of Indo-Persian literature, must have also played vital role.



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## INDO-IRAN RELATIONS: AN EPIGRAPHICAL STUDY

Iran and the Indian subcontinent have had a long history of close cultural and political ties, tracing back to the hoary past, as evidenced by scholars like P. L. Bhargava<sup>1</sup>, B. S. Upadhyaya<sup>2</sup>, J. N. Talukdar<sup>3</sup>, and Professor N. S. Gorekar<sup>4</sup> in their learned articles. The earliest epigraphical records in Indian context with Iran, goes back to the Mauryan period. The Aramaic edicts of Asoka stand testimony to the cultural contacts that India had with Iran and its neighbouring countries<sup>5</sup>

The Sasanid monarchs, Ardashir Babakan (AD 226-40) and Bahram Goor (AD 420-40) were desirous of creating good relations with India<sup>6</sup>. The first recorded academic contact between India and Iran occurred during the regime of Emperor Khusrau I (AD 531-79) when the Iranian scholar Burzoy visited India to procure a copy of the Panchtantra<sup>7</sup>. Pulakesi II (AD 610-35), a great Chalukyan king of South India, sent an ambassadorial deputation to King Khusrau II of Iran in AD 625, and from there in return an embassy was sent to the Indian king – an event which is represented in a large fresco-painting in Cave No. 1 at Ajanta<sup>8</sup>.

The conquest of the Indian region by the Persianized Turks during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, added a new dimension to these relations. Persian being the language of culture and administration in the major parts of the sub-continent, ensured a free movement of ideas, of books and of men of letters and skill between the two<sup>9</sup>.

Indian Islamic inscriptions date from the last decade of the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD, with the exception of about a dozen, bearing earlier dates, discovered from Haryana, Gujarat and Kerala. A majority of epigraphical records in India is in Persian in view of the fact that it had been the official language in the sub-continent at the central as well as provincial centres of power.

The Perso-Arabic inscriptions found in India cover a vast canvas. Almost all parts of the country and almost all dynasties, major and minor, provincial and regional, are represented. The subjects contained in all these epigraphs including miscellaneous ones, are of varied nature, supplied to us piece-meal, but collectively reflecting multi-dimensional aspects of history and culture, language and literature, art and architecture.

One of the important cultural aspects that can be culled out from these epigraphs, is the preparation of a long list of Persian settlers in different parts of India, belonging to different vocations in life who came from various parts of Iran and its vicinity. This information is quite useful for some aspects of sociological and cultural studies, giving us an insight into the composition of present ethnic groups of local population in the country and pattern of their professions.

In the present article, an attempt is made to study Perso-Arabic inscriptions, found in West and South India, from the point of view of Indo-Iran cultural and civilizational relations. There are sufficient number of such inscriptions, found in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra in West India, and Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu in South India. These epigraphs show that persons mentioned in them hailed from a foreign country, or to be exact, they were of Iranian stock. Most of these epigraphical records mention the native place of these newcomers or their descendants, thereby furnishing us material for the study of the relationship and communication between particular places of Persian-speaking countries, particularly Iran and India.

In the early period, the influx of foreign elements in the Indian mainstream was prominently in the North because of its being the centre of political authority under the Delhi Sultanate. The eruption of the turbulent Mongols in Central Asia and the devastation of Khurasan, Sistan, Mazandaran, the Persian districts of Iraq and Azarbaijan by Changiz Khan and the sack of Baghdad in 1258 at the hands of Halaku Khan, played a prominent role in accelerating this process. During the time of Ghiyathuddin Balban, at least 15 distinct localities of foreign residents had sprung up in Delhi<sup>10</sup>. The scene shifted to the Deccan after the emergence of the Bahmanis. These foreign settlers were mostly from regions in Central Asia or the Iranian kingdom in case of North and Iran proper in case of South.

A majority of those who came to India, did so in search of livelihood or for better opportunities and prospects, while others came as merchants and traders or to meet saints and scholars of their own countrymen or kinsmen.

It may also be remarked that during the medieval period in India, the pre-Mughal Sultans of Delhi, with the exception of Muhammad bin Tughluq, were much entangled in domestic tribulations and dynastic revolutions to look beyond their frontiers. On the other hand, Persia, before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was divided into warring principalities. Thus, before the advent of the Mughals in India, there were almost no relations between India and Iran at the diplomatic level, though there had been an active and living contact in the field of culture and commerce<sup>11</sup>.

India and Iran became great powers under the rule of two outstanding dynasties. The heyday of the Safawids of Persia synchronized with that of the Great Mughals in India and the intercourse between the two giants was multi-faceted, covering politics, diplomacy, culture, literature, trade, commerce and religion. The Mughal patronage of culture constantly attracted Persian scholars, poets and craftsmen to India and an uninterrupted stream of gifted and talented Persians absorbed in the expanding services of the Mughal empire<sup>12</sup>. Humayun's visit to Iran had further stimulated Mughal interest in Persian art and literature. The poverty of patronage and fierce fanaticism of the early Safawids also caused impetus to the immigration of people from different walks of life from Persia to India. As regards Indo-Iran relations in the cultural field, it was lop-sided. The explanation for this lies in the higher material civilization achieved by the Mughals and the better opportunities of employment and preferment in India than in Safawid Persia.



A striking feature worth noting is that no notable cultural influence-literary, artistic or intellectual, flowed from India to Iran<sup>13</sup>.

The Indians played their strong role in the economic life of the Persians, being well established in Isfahan and Bandar Abbas. The sea-trade route between India and Iran was linked with the ports of Surat and Bandar Abbas, carrying a very large proportion of the total trade between the two giant empires.

The two empires shared a common culture. Persian civilization had a higher prestige in contemporary Muslim Asia and the cultural frontiers of Iran extended far beyond her political boundaries, which is a significant aspect worth taking into account. Medieval India including the Deccan stood closest to her reputed culture. The Persians in India kept in touch with their connections in Persia and many of them had large interest at home<sup>14</sup>.

After these broad observations on Indo-Iran relations, we take up the epigraphical data at our disposal in order to shed light on Indo-Iran relations from different angle, i.e. showing relationship and communication between particular places of India on the one hand and those of Persia on the other, in the medieval period, extending from the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the specified region, West and South India.

Here, I have dealt with around 188 Perso-Arabic epigraphs out of the total of 3815 (which is about 30 percent of the grand total 13,000 from the entire country) inscriptions, pertaining to Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Goa of West India, and Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu of South India<sup>15</sup>. These selected epigraphs constitute about 5% of the total number given above (3815), from 80 places, (which is about 15%) of the total 534 places, located in the said states. These epigraphs are duly listed (with the exception of four) in various issues of *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* and quite a good number of them are published with critical notes in 14 issues of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* and 12 volumes of *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, the research journal of the Archaeological Survey of India, as indicated in most of the entries under Appendix-A.

The break-up of 188 inscriptions selected for study is as follows: Rajasthan with 23 inscriptions from 12 places; Gujarat with 65 epigraphs from 17 places; Maharashtra with 20 inscriptions from 16 places; Andhra Pradesh with 46 records from 16 places; Karnataka with 28 epigraphs from 14 places; Kerala with 4 inscriptions from 3 places and Tamil Nadu with 2 epigraphs from 2 places. ( For details see Appendix-A).

These selected epigraphic records range in their dates between the earliest one AH 596/AD 1200 from Ajmer<sup>16</sup> in Rajasthan and the latest one AH 1113/AD 1701 from Hyderabad<sup>17</sup> in Andhra Pradesh, spreading over a period of half a millennium i.e. 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. There are 15 epigraphs of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, 32 of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, 25 of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, 43 of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 73 of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The first three centuries (13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup>) records constitute 38% and the latter two centuries (16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup>) 62%. Thus, the study of other literary sources also

corroborate the epigraphical data here that Indian foreign relations with the Islamic countries including Iran, were at their maximum level during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, as asserted by Dr. Z. A. Desai in one of his articles elsewhere.

Among the 80 Indian places from where the epigraphs under study come, Cambay<sup>18</sup> in Kheda district of Gujarat, alone procures 36 epigraphs (20%), throwing light on its foreign relations with the largest number of Persian and its neighbouring cities, followed by Hyderabad and Golconda together, providing 27 epigraphs (about 15%). The remaining 65% of these records belong to the other 77 places (for details about Indian places, see Appendix-B).

Among these 188 epigraphic records, as many as 10 dynasties of rulers are represented, the earliest one being a foreign dynasty i.e. the Rulers of Hormuz and the rest are the Indian rulers viz., the Khaljis, Tughluqs, Mughals among the central dynasties and the Bahmanis, Sultans of Gujarat, Sultans of Malwa, Nizam Shahis, Adil Shahis and the Qutb Shahis among the provincial dynasties. Apart from the Ruler of Hormuz, Ruknuddin Mahmud, as many as 27 rulers<sup>19</sup> of the above-mentioned Indian Muslim dynasties are represented, thereby showing during whose ruling period these Persian foreigners of various description and their pocket settlements in different parts of the country existed, so also their association with the then ruling administration.

Among the personages mentioned in these epigraphs were mostly the descendants of the foreigners, hailing from the Persian-speaking countries, mainly Persia i.e. Iran. Among them were ministers, dignified officials and nobles; builders (or renovators) of mosques, Jami mosques, wells, step-wells, garden, palace, forts, bastions, *sarai*, canal, tank, tombs; superintendents of construction works, traders and merchants, poets, learned scholars, calligraphers, martyrs and saintly figures, painter and ambassador. This list is too long to give here (see Appendix-A). Along with the names of these personages are affixed the place-name *nisba* indicating their place of origin in Iran or elsewhere, the very base of our study here in this article. This study based on 188 epigraphs from 80 Indian places, bring to light names of 62 foreign places, dominantly from Iran and others from Iraq, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Yemen, Central Asia, Persian Gulf, Uzbekistan, Egypt, China, Caramania and Georgia. The list of these Indian places have been alphabetically arranged in Appendix - B, showing their relation with Persia and its neighbouring Persian-speaking countries and towns along with the century reference of the concerned epigraphs. Appendix - C comprises the list of foreign places, Iranian and those of its neighbours, in the alphabetical order for the convenience of the scholars.

Parts of the present state of Rajasthan came under Muslim rule almost right from its inception in India. In Rajasthan, Nagaur produced the largest number of inscriptions, as the region had more or less been in continued occupation of the Muslim rulers right from the Mamluk period down to the late Mughal period. From the Indo-Iran relations point of view, entries made in Appendix-A from No. 1 to No. 23 is useful, comprising places like Ajmer, Nagaur, Bayana, Jalor, Alanpur, Hindaun, Kathoti, Barambad, Merta City, Jaisalmer, Bari Khatu and Parbatsar, and their relation with the Persian towns and countries like Herat,



Badakhshan, Qum, Khurasan, Sistan, Iraq (i.e. Iran), Bukhara, Ghor, Kishm, and Shiraz. Among the epigraphs from Jaisalmer, Nagaur, Bari Khatu and Parbatsar, which specifically speak about the appointment of Mir Muhammad Masum Nami as envoy to Iran in AH 1010/1601-02 and his return from there after the completion of his ambassadorial assignment in AH 1013/1604-05, during the time of Emperor Akbar<sup>20</sup>.

As regards Gujarat, it was under continuous Muslim rule for almost half a millennium since its conquest by Alauddin Khalji in 1298. The state has had the distinction of having intercourse with Arabia and Iran since pre-Islamic times. Cambay, the chief port and commercial centre of Gujarat under the Sultanate has produced a large number of inscriptions referring to men in different walks of life – officials, scholars, merchants, sailors, craftsmen, etc. The funerary inscriptions are mostly dedicated to the memory of the foreign merchants' families from Persia. These persons had settled down for more than one generation for carrying on trade and business at Cambay. A glance at Appendix-B, No. 19 will show that once this reputed town in Kheda district of Gujarat was linked with foreign places and countries like Irbil, Astarabad, Bam, Yazd, Tiflis, Mashhad, Gilan, Kazerun, Isfahan, Hamadan, Qazwin, Mecca, Shiraz, Tafrish, Ardastan, Basra, Fars, Baghdad and Herat, during the medieval period from 13<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Thus, epigraphically speaking, Cambay had the widest and largest association with the above-mentioned foreign places in the list of 80 Indian places. While Patan (Nahrwala of Arab geographers and Persian historians), during the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries had its link with Irbil, Kashghar, Balkh, Iraq, Astarabad and Gardiz, as the epigraphs from there indicate (Appendix-A, Nos. 39, 50, 59, 62, 64, 71; Appendix-B, No. 62).

In Maharashtra, among the 16 places which include Sangamner, Ahmadnagar, Ausa, Cheul, Daulatabad, Galna, Jafarabad, Paithan, Partur, Jalna, Karad, Qandhar, Khuldabad, Parenda, Naldurg and Udgir (see Appendix-A, Nos. 89-108), most of them were part of Marathwada region of the Asaf Jahi kingdom of Hyderabad, and earlier of the Bahmanis and their successors- Nizam Shahi and Adil Shahi dynasties, and of the still earlier Tughluq Sultans of Delhi. These places in Maharashtra had the ethnic composition of foreigners from Simnan, Rum (Turkey), Bukhara, Astarabad, Shiraz, Tabriz, Kirman, Isfahan, Sanjan, Nihawand and Qazwin. (Appendix-B Nos. 1, 6, 21, 23, 26, 35, 36, 40, 43, 53, 56, 59, 61, 67, 70, 76).

During the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah I (1509-53), a favourable atmosphere prevailed for literary patronage at Ahmadnagar, attracting Persian scholars from overseas. But prominent places like Ahmadnagar and Daulatabad under the Nizam Shahis figured very poorly in producing such epigraphs as we desire, hinting at the fact that these places were in the grip of political turbulence and menace against the dominant Mughals, and the internal disorders forced most of the foreign scholars and poets to leave Ahmadnagar for Golkonda or Bijapur<sup>21</sup>.

The first impact of Islam and with it of the Arabic language was on the western coast of South India, when foreign Muslim traders and missionaries had established their colonies and erected a number of mosques. Merchants from Persia and Yemen disembarked there for commercial activities. These Muslims on the West Coast had direct commercial, cultural and

literary relations with Arabia, Iraq and Egypt. Southern India saw the grip of the Persian-speaking people as early as in the period of Alauddin Khalji, whose veteran commander Malik Kafur had penetrated deep into the farthest limits of the South<sup>22</sup>.

In South India, there are on record 1647 Perso-Arabic inscriptions from 224 places situated in the present states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The majority, comprising slightly less than half of these epigraphs, come from Andhra Pradesh. This is not surprising, as its various regions were more or less under continuous Muslim domination right down to the Nizams of Hyderabad until Independence. Three hundred and seventy five of the Andhra inscriptions come from Golkonda-Hyderabad alone, the capital of the Qutb Shahi and Asaf Jahi rulers. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611) was the most important literary figure in the Qutb Shahi dynasty, whose court was replete with brilliant poets and scholars, literateurs and craftsmen from Persia. Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-72) showered special favours and provided ample opportunities for talented men of Iran. Two prominent Persians, Ibn Khatun and Muhammad Rida Astarabadi who held charge of administration extended all facilities to Persian immigrants of varied description<sup>23</sup>.

In the lot of Andhra inscriptions, from the Indo-Iran relations point of view, there are 46 epigraphs (Appendix-A, Nos. 109-154). from 16 places namely: Pargi, Kondapalli, Bodhan, Pangal, Patancheru, Fathullahpur, Nizampatnam, Eluru, Srikakulam, Cumbum, Aminabad, Kundurg, Gandikota, Tadpatri, Golkonda and Hyderabad, the last two places forming the bulk of 27 epigraphs. These epigraphs give an insight into the composition of present ethnic groups of local population and pattern of Iranian settlers from different parts of Iran and its neighbouring countries. Hyderabad-Golkonda being the capital city, had the widest contacts with Iranian places in the southern part of India. The foreign places in the *nisba* form that we come across in the epigraphs from Golkonda and Hyderabad, include Ardastan, Isfahan, Astarabad, Bahrain, Shiraz, Tafrish, Mashhad, Mazandaran, Kazerun, Kashan, Sabzwar and Gilan, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The idea of foreign link of other places of Andhra Pradesh, can be had from a glance at Appendix-B (Nos. 5, 18, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 44, 46, 55, 57, 60, 63, 72, 74).

As regards Karnataka, there are 28 inscriptions denoting the existence of foreign elements in the society at Utagi, Gulbarga, Bidar, Gornalli, Raichur, Sagar, Belgaum, Bijapur, Yadgir, Mudgal, Misrikoti, Bankapur, Hangal and Shahpur, showing their ancestral association with dominantly Persian places like: Zanjan, Dawwan, Qazwin, Mashhad, Sabzwar, Rum, Kirman, Isfahan, Lar, Hamadan, Tabriz, Khalkhal, Lahijan, Maragha, Kinan, Surkhab, Jehram, Qiraman, Yazd, Shustar, Gunabad, Kashan, Herat, Qarshi, and Juzjan, during the medieval period, extending from 14<sup>th</sup> century to 17<sup>th</sup> century (Appendix-A, Nos. 155-182; Appendix-B, Nos. 8, 12, 16, 17, 30, 31, 32, 50, 51, 68, 69, 71, 78, 80).

It was with the accession of Alauddin Bahman Shah, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, that a continuous flow of poets, scholars and saints came to the Deccan from Persia. During the time of Sultan Muhammad Shah (1378-97), poets and men of letters from Persia and Iraq began to adorn his court, and Sultan Tajuddin Firuz Shah (1397-1442) remained in



contact with the Persian-speaking countries and invited a large number of scholars and writers from Iran, and the Bahmani capital Gulbarga thronged with scholarly activities and cultural pursuits. Sultan Muhammad III's reign (1463-82) is mainly characterized by the presence of the versatile minister and eminent scholar Mahmud Gawan, the founder of the famous *Madrasa* at Bidar, the Bahmani capital. It was entirely due to Gawan's efforts that Bidar became a rendezvous for Persian culture and learning<sup>24</sup>. Bijapur, under the Adil Shahis, received with open arms foreign scholars from Persia, Arabia and Transoxiana.

One noteworthy point in all the states under study, besides the then capital cities under different ruling dynasties, there are a good number of other places which come into the picture, denoting their relations with different Persian-speaking foreign towns and countries. And here lies the importance of these genuine contemporary epigraphic records. The study of other literary sources shows that they normally revolved round the capital cities and their important neighbouring places. It may also be remarked that these literary sources record names of additional foreign Persian towns and places, not necessarily recorded in the inscriptions. Thus, these epigraphic records and other literary Persian sources of varied nature, supplement and complement each other in giving various pieces of information, pertaining to Indo-Iran relations.

As regards Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the response on this point is extremely poor, Kerala being represented by 3 places, Madayi, Kozhikode and Cannanore (Appendix-A, 183-186) and Tamil Nadu represented by Kayalpattanam and Poḍnamalle (Appendix-A, 187-188).

In the list of Persian and its neighbouring places (Appendix-C, comprising 62 entries) occurring in 188 epigraphs under study, it is interesting to note that the famous town Shiraz had the widest connection with Indian places namely Nagaur in Rajasthan; Cambay and Petlad in Gujarat; Galna and Khuldabad in Maharashtra; Golkonda, Hyderabad, Fathullahpur, Srikakulam, Kundurg and Tadpatri in Andhra Pradesh. After Shiraz, it is Bukhara, Astarabad, Isfahan, Gilan and Tabriz, which find frequent mention in the epigraphs (Appendix-C, Nos. 9, 2, 24, 17, 55). Some of the places mentioned in the epigraphs in the *nisba* or appellation form represent the Persian region or country, but the greater number of these places represent specific towns and cities. According to the existing political map of Iran<sup>25</sup>, comprising 22 provinces, its two-third area (64%) covering 14 provinces, is represented by the Iranian places mentioned in the inscriptions under study. The provinces along with their places represented are: (1) Sistan province (2) Hormuz province (3) Bam and Kirman in Kirman province (4) Shiraz, Kazerun, Jehram and Lar in Fars province (5) Yazd province (6) Mashhad, Nishapur, Sabzwar and Gunabad in Khurasan province (7) Simnan and Damghan in Sistan province (8) Mazandaran province (9) Kashan, Ardastan and Isfahan in Isfahan province (10) Tafrish and Qum in Markazi province (11) Hamadan and Nihawand in Hamadan province (12) Zanzan and Qazwin in Zanzan province (13) Lahijan in Gilan province and (14) Tabriz, Maragha and Khalkhal in Azarbaijan (East) province. The provinces Tehran, Lorestan, Ilam, Bakhtaran, Kordestan, Azarbaijan (west), Khuzestan and Bushehr epigraphically remain unrepresented within the specified region and time-frame of our study.

By way of information to the distinguished scholars, it may be remarked that in the post-17<sup>th</sup> century epigraphs from Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and some other places in the *nisha* form refer to Khurramabad, Taliqan, Dailam and Tilmisan. Whatever names of foreign Persian places and countries we come across in these epigraphs, we find their geographical narration in the works like *Nuzhatul-Qulub* by Hamdullah Mustaufi and *Haft Iqlim* by Amin Ahmad Razi.



## APPENDIX-A

## RAJASTHAN

## (1) Ajmer:

Abu Bakr son of Ahmad Khaluya al-Hirawi (i.e. of Herat), supervisor of the construction work (AH 596/AD 1200). *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1911-12, p. 15.

## (2) Nagaur:

Abul Hasan Said son of Said ash-Shirazi (i.e. of Shiraz) (d. 646/ 1248-49). *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)* 1965-66, D. 344.

## (3) Bayana:

Abdul Malik entitled Mughith son of Abi Bakr Bukhari (i.e. of Bukhara), governor of the *Khitta* (705/1305), *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 20.

## (4) Jalor:

Nusrat (son of) Rustam (son of) Mahmud al-Ghori, the *mimar* (architect) and supervisor of construction (718/1318). *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1972, p. 14.

## (5) Alanpur:

Khwaja Jahan son of Bir Ali Turk Khurasani, builder of a step-well (874/1469-70). *AREp.*, 1983-84, c 134.

## (6) Hindaun:

Bibi Khadija d/o Qadi Karimuddin Bukhari of *qasba* Mahawan (d.933/1627). *AREp.*, 1955-56, D 164.

## (7) Bayana:

Construction of grave under superintendence of Amir Yusuf son of Amir Ibrahim Hirewi (937/1530-31). *AREp.*, 1955-56, D 155.

## (8) Kathoti:

Mosque-construction at the order of Amir Kishmi (i.e. of Kishm) (977/1569-70). *EIAPS*, 1969, p. 54.

## (9) Ajmer:

Mirza Muhammad Amin, grandson of Maulana Ghazi Khan Badakhshi (d. 985/1577-78). *AREp.*, 1958-59, D 161.

## (10) Barambad:

Amir Muhammad Masum of Bhakkar by domicile, of Tirmidh by origin, poet & calligrapher (1007/1598-99). *AREp.*, 1972-73, D 85.

## (11) Jaisalmer:

Mir Muhammad Masum Nami Bhakkari s/o Mir Safai Tirmidhi, on way back from Qandahar (1008/1599-1600). *AREp.*, 1961-62, D 231.

## (12) Nagaur:

Mir Buzurg s/o Amir Muhammad Masum Nami, of Bhakkar by residence & of Tirmidh by origin (1008/1599-1600). *EIM*, 1949-50, pp. 40-41.

## (13) Jaisalmer;

Mir Muhammad Masum Nami Bhakkari, as envoy to Iraq (Persia) (1010/1601-02). *AREp.* 1961-62, D 229.

## (14) Bari Khatu:

Muhammad Masum of Bhakkar sent as envoy to Iraq (Persia) (1010/1601-02). *AREp.*, 1958-59, D 173.

## (15) Nagaur:

Mir Muhammad Masum Nami Bhakkari on mission to Iraq (i.e. Persia) (1010/1601-02). *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 41; *AREp.*, 1961-62, D 247.

## (16) Bari Khatu:

Amir Muhammad Masum's return from Iran as envoy (1013/1604-05). *AREp.*, 1958-59, D 174.

## (17) Nagaur:

Nawwab Amir Muhammad Masum Nami's return from Iran (1013/1604-05). *EIM*, 1949-50, P. 42; *AREp.*, 1965-66, D-264.

## (18) Parbatsar:

Nawwab Amir Muhammad Masum on way back from the ambassadorial assignment to Iraq (i.e. Iran) (1013/1604-05). *AREp.*, 1966-67, D-234.

## (19) Barambad:

Ghulam Husain son of Muhammad Husain Sistani, supervisor, step-well construction (1058/1648). *AREp.*, 1972-73, D 83.



(20) Hindaun:

Aqa Kamala from Mecca, builder of mosque (1070/1659-60). *AREp.*, 1955-56, D 158.

(21) Merta City:

Haji Muhammad Sultan son of Payinda Muhammad Bukhari, builder of mosque (R. Y. 8/1076/1665). *AREp.*, 1962-63, D 211.

(22) Ajmer:

Muhammad Amin son of Shamsuddin Muhammad Qumi, builder of well (Aurangzeb). *EIAPS*, 1955 & 1956, p. 51.

(23) Bayana:

Nadhr Shah Badakhshi, death of. *AREp.*, 1972-73, D 102.

## GUJARAT

(24) Cambay (Khambat):

Said son of Abu Sharaf son of Ali son of Shahpur al-Bammi, builder of Jami Mosque (615/1218). *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 6.

(25) Cambay:

Sharafuddin Abu Sharaf son of Abu Shams son of Abu Sharaf al-Bammi (d. 646/1249). *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 9-10.

(26) Prabhas Patan (Somnath):

Nuruddin Firuz son of Ibrahim son of Muhammad al-Iraqi, mosque-builder (662/1264). *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 12-14.

(27) Cambay:

Sharafuddin Murtada son of Muhammad son of Hasan al-Astarabadi (d. 683/1284). *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 17.

(28) Cambay:

Zainuddin Ali son of Yazdi Salari (d. 685/1287). *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 20-21.

(29) Junagarh:

Abul Qasim son of Ali al-Iraji, mosque-builder (685/1286-87). *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 19.

(30) Cambay:

Malikut Tujjar Haji Ibrahim son of Muhammad son of Ali Irbili (d. 690/1291). *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 23.

- (31) Cambay:  
Kamaluddin Salman son of Ahmad son of Husain son of Abu Sharaf al-Bammi (d. 699/1300). *EIAPS*, 1971, p. 6.
- (32) Cambay:  
Khwaja Fakhrud Daulat Waddin Abu Bakr son of Haji Husain al-Makki (699/1300). *AREp.*, 1959-60, D 115.
- (33) Prabhas Patan:  
Shamsud Daulat Waddin Hasan son of Muhammad son of Ali al-Iraqi (d. 699/1299). *AREp.*, 1954-55, C 168.
- (34) Cambay:  
Tajuddin Muhammad son of Muhammad Zakariyya al-Qazwini (d. 700/1301). *EIAPS*, 1971, PP. 7-8.
- (35) Cambay:  
Haji Abu Bakr son of Ali son of Abu Bakr Irbili (d. 710/1310). *EIAPS*, 1971, p. 14.
- (36) Cambay:  
Aminuddin Kafur, freed slave of Sharafuddin Mehdi son of Mehdi al-Hamadani Tajir (d. 713/1314). *EIAPS*, 1971, pp. 15-16.
- (37) Petlad:  
Sayyidul Umara Ikhtiyaruddin Rumi, mosque-construction during the time of (713/1313). *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 33.
- (38) Cambay:  
Fakhruddin Ahmad son of Husain son of Abu Bakr al-Qadi Isfahani (d. 721/1321). *EIAPS*, 1971, pp. 21-22.
- (39) Patan:  
Aba Muqbil Kamaluddin Said Irbili, martyrdom (721/1321). *AREp.* 1964-65, D 53.
- (40) Petlad:  
Haji Ismail (son of) Uthman Shirazi, builder of well (723/1323). *EIM*, 1915-16, p. 17.
- (41) Cambay:  
Khalis, freed slave of Malik-i-Mulukit Tujjar Zakiud Daulat Waddin Umar son of Ahmad al-Kazeruni, *Mihrab*-builder of a mosque (726/1326). *AREp.* 1956-57, D 53.
- (42) Cambay:  
Tajuddin Iwad son of Abdul Aziz Qazwini (d. 730/1329). *EIAPS*, 1971, pp. 26-27.



- (43) Cambay:  
Sirajuddin Umar son of Sad at-Tiflisi (d. 730/1330). *EIAPS*, 1971, p. 28.
- (44) Cambay:  
Imam Maulana Muhammad son of Ahmad al-Jauhari al-Farsi (d. 731/1331). *EIAPS*, 1971, p. 31.
- (45) Cambay:  
Malik-i-Mulukish Sharq wal Wuzara Umar son of Ahmad al-Kazeruni entitled Malik Parviz (d. 734/1333). *EIAPS*, 1971, pp. 41-42.
- (46) Cambay:  
Kamaluddin Kamal son of Husain al-Basri (d. 736/1335). *EIAPS*, 1971, pp. 45-46.
- (47) Cambay:  
Shamsuddin Muhammad son of Abu Bakr Irbili (d. 736/1336). *EIAPS*, 1971, p. 47.
- (48) Cambay:  
Sitti Sharaf d/o Kamaluddin Muhammad son of Abul Baqa Ardastani (d. 746/1346). *EIAPS*, 1971, p. 53.
- (49) Cambay:  
Fakhruddin Abu Bakr son of Ibrahim son of Adam at-Tiflisi, martyrdom (749/1348). *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 26.
- (50) Patan:  
Husain Amir-i-Miran Balkhi, mosque-builder (759/1357-58). *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 8-9.
- (51) Cambay:  
Haji Mujib Shirazi, mosque-builder (767/1365-66). *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 6.
- (52) Una:  
Muhammad Taj from Fars, entitled Zafar Khan and governor of Gujarat, mosque builder (768/1367). *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 16.
- (53) Bet Dwarka:  
Mosque-construction at the order of Malikush Sharq Abu Rija Damghani (777/1376). *EIM*, 1939-40, pp. 1-2.
- (54) Cambay:  
Abdullah son of Jamaluddin son of Saduddin Hirewi, mosque-builder (782/1380). *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 18-19.

## (55) Cambay:

Bibi Fatima d/o Khwaja Hasan Gilani & w/o Umar al-Kazeruni Malik Parviz (d. 783/1382). *EIAPS*, 1971, pp. 55-56.

## (56) Cambay:

Ibn Usaibi al-Mashhadi (786/1384). *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 52.

## (57) Bharuch:

Construction of the tomb of Sharafuddin Mashhadi Najafi (819/1418). *EIM*, 1933-34, Supp., p. 28.

## (58) Cambay:

Khwaja Kamaluddin son of Khwaja Ibrahim son of Haji Aminuddin son of Haji Ali al-Basri (d. 841/1437). *AREp.*, 1975-76, D 108.

## (59) Patan:

Ali Sher son of Khidr son of Ainuddin Iraqi, builder of Jami mosque (842/1438). *AREp.*, 1954-55, C 64.

## (60) Cambay:

Khwaja Ahmad son of Shihabuddin son of Kamaluddin al-Qazwini, death (c. 14<sup>th</sup> cent.). *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 11.

## (61) Cambay:

Shaikh Zainuddin son of Ayaz, freed slave of Shaikh Gilani (d.843/1439). *AREp.*, 1959-60, D 113.

## (62) Patan:

Mosque-construction by Khwajagi Taj son of Bahram, in the Dargah of Shaikh Muhammad Kashghari (848/1444-45). *EIAPS*, 1963, p.22-24.

## (63) Cambay:

Khwaja Shamsuddin son of Khwaja Husain Astarabadi (d. 871/1466-67). *AREp.*, 1959-60, D 135.

## (64) Patan:

Khwaja Haji Muhammad Astarabadi (d. 874/1470). *AREp.* 1959-57, D 95.

## (65) Cambay:

Nakhuda Yahya s/o Tandil Naina s/o Nasruddin Sailani, mosque-builder (883/1378). *EIAPS*, 1963, p. 33.

- (66) Cambay:  
Tajuddin son of Shamsuddin son of Amir Ahmad Gilani (d. 886/1481). *AREp.*, 1956-57, D 69.
- (67) Bharuch:  
Qadi Ismail son of Daud son of Siraj son of Muhammad Ghaznawi, mosque-builder (889/1484). *EIM*, 1933-34, Supp, p. 30.
- (68) Ahmadabad:  
Grave of a pious man from Yemen (name not specified) (c. 14<sup>th</sup> cent.), *AREp.*, 1976-77, D 148.
- (69) Ghogha:  
Khwaja Najmuddin, during the time of Mahmududdin son of Muhammad Turkman Lari (d. 98x/1485-93). *AREp.*, 1980-81, C 72.
- (70) Verawal:  
Mosque-construction under superintendence of Muhammad son of Haji Ali son of Muhammad al-Gilani (893/1488). *EIAPS*, 1953-54, p. 64.
- (71) Patan:  
Abul Hasan Kabiruddin Sayyid Ahmad Makhdum Jahanshah Gardizi, martyrdom (899/1493-94). *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 64.
- (72) Cambay:  
Izzuddin son of Mujibuddin son of Izzuddin son of ... Zainuddin al-Qazwini, mosque builder (912/1506). *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 22.
- (73) Cambay:  
Khwaja Sandal, servant of Khwaja Ali Khan s/o Nizam Gilani, mosque-builder (921/1515). *EIAPS*, 1963, p. 42.
- (74) Bhatasan:  
Raja s/o Alam, attendant of the court of the saint Shah Alam (Bukhari) (924/1518). *AREp.*, 1979-80, 17.
- (75) Cambay:  
Tajir Khwaja Jalaluddin Muhammad s/o Ali Makhu Gilani (d. 928/1522). *AREp.*, 1959-60, D 101.
- (76) Junagarh:  
Manufacture of cannon in Egypt (937/1530-31). *EIAPS*, 1953 & 1954, p. 70.



- (77) Ahmadabad:  
Praising mausoleum of Shah Alam (Bukhari) in paradise-like Rasulabad locality (938/1531-32). *AREp.*, 1967-68, D 179.
- (78) Kutiyana:  
Ibrahim (s/o) Nizam Jehrami, builder of Jami mosque (948/1541). *EIAPS*, 1953 and 1954, p. 72.
- (79) Talaja:  
Sayyid Sadiq s/o Sayyid Husain ancestral relation with Qutb Alam Bukhari, mosque-builder (954/1547). *EIAPS*, 1974, p. 53.
- (80) Cambay:  
Sayyid Najmuddin Mahmud s/o Sayyid Ibrahim s/o Sayyid Muhammad Gilani, mosque-builder (955/1548-49). *AREp.*, 1959-60, D 110.
- (81) Cambay:  
Khwaja Jalaluddin s/o Ali s/o Sultan Gilani (d. 979/1571). *AREp.*, 1959-60, D 102.
- (82) Bharuch:  
Nawwab Murtada Khan Bukhari, Sayyid, mosque-builder (1018/1609-10). *EIM*, 1933-34, Supp., p.33.
- (83) Kadi:  
Nawwab Murtada Khan Bukhari, fort-builder (1018/1609-10). *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 33.
- (84) Cambay:  
Ali s/o Abdun Nabi Baghdadi, repairer of canal & tank (1030/1620-21). *AREp.*, 1956-57, D 44.
- (85) Surat:  
Ishaq Beg Yazdi, *sarai*-builder (1054/1644-45). *EIM*, 1925-26, pp. 11-12.
- (86) Navsari:  
Muhammad Yazdi, mosque-builder (1062/1651-52). *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 95.
- (87) Ahmadabad:  
Sayyidna Mir Fir Khan, *Dai* of India, Sindh and Yemen (d. 1065/1655). *AREp.*, 1976-77, D 149.
- (88) Cambay:  
Shaikh Abdur Rahim s/o Shaikh Khan Muhammad al-Kazeruni (d. 1099/1688). *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 55.

## MAHARASHTRA

- (89) Khuldabad:  
Zainuddin Shirazi, the saint, c. 1343-44. *AREp.*, 1958-59, D 56-57.
- (90) Udgir:  
Muhammad Husain Rumi, gun-manufacturer. *EIM*, 1929-30, p. 30.
- (91) Partur:  
Khwaja Bayazid Tabrizi (d. 899/1491). *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 223.
- (92) Sangamner:  
Tomb of Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq, a descendant of Sayyid Muhammad Bukhari. *EIM*, 1933-34, Supp. P. 19.
- (93) AUSA:  
Ustad Muhammad s/o Husain Rumi, manufacturer of the gun. *AREp.*, 1966-67, D 172.
- (94) Karad:  
Khwaja Ali Khan Tabrizi (d. 964/1556-57). *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 212.
- (95) Naldurg:  
Khwaja Nimatullah s/o Ismail Kurd Khiraji Nihawandi, builder of the fort and the mosque (968/1560). *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 2.
- (96) Galna:  
Metrical text about construction of fortress and bastion, composed by Hushi Shirazi (974/1566-67). *EIAPS*, 1967, p. 45.
- (97) Ahmadnagar:  
Khwaja Husain Shah Numan Khan s/o Khwaja Jalaluddin Simnani, palace-builder (979/1571-72). *EIM*, 1935-36, pp. 37-38.
- (98) Karad:  
Haji Suhrab Astarabadi, death (c. 16<sup>th</sup> cent.). *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 236.
- (99) Daulatabad:  
Marjan, retainer of Sayyid Sharza Astarabadi, death (c. 16<sup>th</sup> cent.) *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 149.
- (100) Ahmadnagar:  
Muhammad s/o Hasan Rumi (c. 16<sup>th</sup> cent.). *Tarikh-i-Ahmadnagar*, p. 397.

## (101) Karad:

Pahelwan Ali s/o Ahmad Isfahani, mosque-builder (983/1575-76). *EIM*, 1933-34, Supp., p. 48.

## (102) Jalna:

Sultan Muhammad s/o Malik Ghiyath Kirmani, mosque-builder (985/1577-78). *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 159.

## (103) Qandhar:

Construction of Ibrahimi Burj and Shah Burj (998/1589-90) under charge of Aqa Mattu Rumi Chalapi. *EIM*, 1919-20, pp. 22-23.

## (104) Jafarabad:

Text inscribed by Khalaf Tabrizi (1032/1622-23). *EIAPS*, 1969, p. 34.

## (105) Paithan:

Khalaf Tabrizi, calligrapher of the text (1043/1633-34). *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 13.

## (106) Udgir:

Husamuddin Khan s/o Nizamuddin Khan s/o Ghiyathuddin Ali Asaf Khan s/o Aqa Mulla s/o Badiuzzaman s/o Badruddin Hasan al-Qazwini, garden-builder (1059/1649). *EIM*, 1929-30, pp. 24-25.

## (107) Parenda:

Muhammad Husain Arab, gun-manufacturer (1075-78/1664-68). *Waqiat-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijapur*, III, pp. 168-69.

## (108) Cheul:

Sayyid Nizam Bukhari (d. 1080/1670). *AREp.*, 1962-63, D 193.

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## (109) Pargi:

Ali s/o Shaikh Hasan Dhasherwani, mosque-builder (864/1460). *EIAPS*, 1964, pp. 41-42.

## (110) Kondapalli:

Muhammad Husain s/o Muhammad Rida al-Astarabadi (d. 909/1503). *AREp.*, 1966-67, D 39.

## (111) Bodhan:

Abdul Ali s/o Shamsuddin Lahiji (d. 966/1559). *AREp.*, 1962-63, D 15.



- (112) Golkonda:  
Mirza Ali s/o Kamaluddin Husain Mustafa Khan from Ardastan (d. 966/1559). *AREp.*, 1968-69, D 72.
- (113) Golkonda:  
Kamaluddin Husain Mustafa Khan, builder of the fort- gate and Muhammad Isfahani s/o Ali Isfahani, calligrapher (967/1559-60). *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 48-49.
- (114) Pangal:  
Sayyid Shah Mir Isfahani s/o Sayyid Ahmad Tabatabai, canal-repairer under the superintendence of Abdul Karim Khansai (978/1571). *EIM*, 1925-26, pp. 23-24.
- (115) Patancheru:  
Shah Muhiyuddin Abu Muhammad Sayyid Abdul Qadir al-Gilani, tomb-construction with the help of (984/1583). *EIM*, 1935-36, pp. 61-62.
- (116) Kondapalli:  
Maulana Jamaluddin Muhammad Gilani, step-well builder for the merit of the king (993/1584-85). *AREp.*, 1966-67, D 37.
- (117) Golkonda:  
Sayyid Abu Talib Astarabadi (d. 996/1587-88). *AREp.*, 1968-69, D 40.
- (118) Hyderabad:  
Jalaluddin Muhammad Shirazi s/o Jamaluddin Husain ash-Shirazi, calligrapher (1002-1008/1593-1600). *AREp.*, 1967-68, D 8; *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 45; *ibid.*, 1925-26, p. 26; *ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 26.
- (119) Hyderabad:  
Muhammad Salih s/o Shaikh Husain al-Bahrani, calligrapher (1006/1597-98). *AREp.*, 1967-68, D 87.
- (120) Fathullapur:  
Shamsuddin Ali ash-Shirazi, calligrapher (1014/1605-06). *AREp.*, 1968-69, D 157.
- (121) Hyderabad:  
Husain ash-Shirazi, calligrapher (1014/1605-06). *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 1.
- (122) Hyderabad:  
Mir Muhammad Muin Tafrishi s/o Mir Abdul Hakim Tafrishi (d. 1014/1605-06). *AREp.*, 1975-76, D 32.

## (123) Hyderabad:

Bibi Khadija d/o Sayyid Mir Ali of Astarabad (d. 1016/1607; construction of a mosque for her merit (1034/1624-25). *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 46; *ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 31.

## (124) Nizampatnam:

Khwaja Shah Haidari Isfahani (d. 1018/1609). *EIM*, 1937-38, p. 57.

## (125) Nizampatnam

Zainul Abedin Ardastani (d. 1026/1617). *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 58.

## (126) Kondapalli:

Khatib Hasan s/o Qadi Alauddin Mazandarani (Mazandarani), (d. 1028/1619). *AREp.*, 1966-67, D 33.

## (127) Hyderabad:

Amir Sayyid s/o Mir Inayatullah Mashhadi, resident of Isfahan. *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 31.

## (128) Hyderabad:

Mir Ali s/o Mir Ali Jan Mashhadi, calligrapher (1045/1635). *EIAPS*, 1966, pp. 31-33.

## (129) Eluru:

Bibi Shahr Banu d/o Mulla Ali of Mazandaran & wife of Qadi Zainul Abedin (d. 1053/1643). *AREp*, 1953-54, C 27.

## (130) Srikakulam:

Muhammad Abul Qasim Shirazi, calligrapher (1055/1645-46). *AREp*, 1953-54, C 71.

## (131) Cumbum:

Sayyid Mir Husain Ashrafi Mazandarani, *Hawaldar-i-Kamam*, builder of a mosque (1059/1649). *EIAPS*, 1953-1954, pp. 32-33.

## (132) Hyderabad:

Mirza Abu Turab Ridawi Mashhadi, pen-name Fitrat, headstone (c. 17<sup>th</sup> cent.). *AREp*. 1975-76, D 20.

## (133) Hyderabad:

Mulla Ali Naqi al-Mazandarani (d. 1062/1651-52). *AREp*, 1975-76, D 31.

## (134) Hyderabad:

Muhammad Husain Adasi Shirazi (d. 1077/1666). *AREp*, 1975-76, D 35.

- (135) Golkonda:  
Tajuddin Muhammad s/o Shaikh Salih al-Bahrani, calligrapher (1077-78/1666-68). *AREp*, 1968-69, D 31; *ibid.*, 1976-77, D 4.
- (136) Golkonda:  
Ismail s/o Arab Shirazi, calligrapher (1079/1668-69). *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 57.
- (137) Hyderabad:  
Mir Sultan Muhammad s/o Mir Abdul Karim Mazandarani (d.1079/1668). *AREp*, 1977-78, D 3.
- (138) Aminabad:  
Mir Muizuddin Muhammad s/o Sayyid Shah Beg Tafrishi (d. 1080/1669). *AREp.*, 1966-67, D 25.
- (139) Kundurg:  
Muhammad Husain s/o Khwaja Muhammad Qasim Shirazi (d. 1081/1670). *AREp.* 1968-69, D 151.
- (140) Hyderabad:  
Muhammad Jafar s/o Muhammad Zainai Astarabadi (d. 1083/1672). *AREp.* 1967-68, D 30.
- (141) Hyderabad:  
Maulana Husain Kazeruni (d. 1084/1673). *AREp.* 1967-68, D 85.
- (142) Hyderabad:  
Haji Almas s/o Haji Sadiqa Tafrishi (d. 1085/1674). *AREp.* 1964-65, D 6.
- (143) Hyderabad:  
Haji Ali Kashi (d. 1085/1674). *AREp.* 1967-68, D 61.
- (144) Hyderabad:  
Akhund Maulana Abdush Shafi as-Sabzwari (d. 1087/1676). *AREp.* 1967-68, D 58.
- (145) Hyderabad:  
Muhammad Zaman s/o Mirza Hadi Isfahani (d. 1089/1678). *AREp.* 1975-76, D 38.
- (146) Srikakulam:  
Kamran Beg Tabrizi (d. 1092/1681). *AREp.* 1982-83, C 8.
- (147) Hyderabad:  
Muhammad Mumin Isfahani (d. 1093/1682). *AREp.* 1975-76, D 36.



- (148) Gandikota:  
Muhammad Ishaq Isfahani, mosque-builder (1102/1690-91). *AREp.* 1977-78, D 48.
- (149) Tadpatri:  
Abul Hasan Shirazi, calligrapher (1107/1695-96). *AREp.* 1980-81, C 14.
- (150) Hyderabad:  
Muhammad Amin s/o Aqa Sulaiman Mazandarani (d. 1109/1698). *AREp.* 1978-79, D 15.
- (151) Hyderabad:  
Shaikh Shihabuddin Muhammad Gilani (d. 1110/ 1699). *EIM*, 1935-36, pp. 32-33.
- (152) Cumbum:  
Mir Abbas Ali s/o Muhammad Gilani (c. 17<sup>th</sup> cent.). *AREp.* 1953-54, C 32.
- (153) Hyderabad:  
Sayyidus Sadat Shah Muhammad s/o Mir Salih Mashhadi (c. 17<sup>th</sup> cent.). *AREp.*, 1977-78, D 2.
- (154) Hyderabad:  
Aqa Muhammad Tahir s/o Aqa Muhammad Sharif Mazandarani (d. 1113/1701). *AREp.* 1978-79, D 17-18.

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- (155) Utagi:  
Muhammad s/o Ali s/o Minhaj-i-Siraj Juzjani, calligrapher. *EIM*, 1939-40, p. 34.
- (156) Gulbarga:  
Abu Muhammad Tabrizi, step-well builder, under superintendence of Khwaja Kabir s/o Muhammad al-Khalkhali (768/1367). *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 23.
- (157) Gulbarga:  
Rafi s/o Shams s/o Mansur al-Qazwini, mosque-builder (769/1367). *EIM*, 1907-08, pp. 1-2.
- (158) Gulbarga:  
Haji Mahmud s/o Haji Husain Lahiji (d. 824/1421-22). *EIM*, 1907-08, p. 2.
- (159) Gulbarga:  
Construction of the tomb of Haji Zaida of Maragha by Khalifa Sayyidi Ahmad Kabir (837/1434). *EIAPS*, 1964, pp. 35-36.

- (160) Bidar:  
Shukrullah al-Qazwini, the painter (*naqqash*) (c. 1436).
- (161) Gomalli:  
Mulla Abdul Karim Hamadani, a friend & biographer of Mahmud Gawan (d. 886/1481). *AREp.* 1984-85, C 95.
- (162) Raichur:  
Malikush Sharq Malik Haji s/o Sulaiman Qirmani, text of an order by (904/1498-99). *EIAPS*, 1962, p. 16.
- (163) Bidar:  
Darwish Husain Mashhadi, fountain-builder (910/1505). *EIM*, 1925-26, p. 19.
- (164) Raichur:  
Haji Husain s/o Yusuf al-Yazdi, calligrapher (914/1508), (921/1515). *EIM*, 1939-40, pp. 13-16.
- (165) Raichur:  
Shaikh Nizamuddin Ahmad s/o Shaikh Burhanuddin al-Kirmaḡi, governor (921/1515-16). *EIM*, 1939-40, p. 15.
- (166) Raichur:  
Amir Ramadan s/o Husain s/o Ibrahim ash-Shustari, mosque-builder (921/1515-16). *EIM*. 1939-40, p. 15.
- (167) Sagar:  
Khwaja Zainuddin Ali s/o Jalal of Kashan (d. 923/1517). *AREp.* 1968-69, D 385.
- (168) Sagar:  
Mirak s/o Muhammad al-Hirewi, calligrapher (923/1517). *AREp.* 1968-69, D 385.
- (169) Belgaum:  
Qadi Nizam ad-Dawwani, poet & calligrapher (924/1518). *AREp.* 1962-63, D 152.
- (170) Belgaum:  
Haidar s/o Ahmad s/o Asad s/o Muhammad ad-Dawwani, calligrapher (925/1519). *AREp.* 1962-63, D 153.
- (171) Raichur:  
Ahmad Haji Gunabadi, bastion-builder (953/1546-47). *EIAPS*, 1963. P. 62.

- (172) Bijapur:  
Muhammad s/o Hasan Rumi, gun-maker (956/1549-50). *AREp.* 1974-75, D 295-96.
- (173) Bijapur:  
Abdul Qadir Kirmani, mosque-builder (974/1566-67). Horovitz List, No. 269, vide *EIM*, 1911-12, p.57.
- (174) Yadgir:  
Mirza Ali s/o Khwaja Hasan Kirmani, mosque-builder (981/1573). *AREp.* 1968-69, D 408.
- (175) Mudgal:  
Nizam Surkhabi, *Amir-i-Shahr*, mosque-builder (991/1583-84). *AREp.* 1984-85, C 152.
- (176) Mudgal:  
Karimuddin s/o Ali Jehrami, calligrapher (991/1583-84). *AREp.* 1984-85, C 152.
- (177) Misrikoti:  
Masnad-i-Ali Malik Ainul Mulk Kinani, mosque-builder (992/1585-86). *AREp.* 1984-85, C 106.
- (178) Bankapur:  
Sitti Saliha d/o Haji Zanjani (d. 1008/1599). *AREp.* 1065-66, D 287.
- (179) Hangal:  
Abul Qasim Lari, poet and calligrapher (1009/1600-01). *AREp.* 1965-66, D 274.
- (180) Bijapur:  
Mustafa Khan Lari, builder of Sarai Muhammadi (1050/1640-41). *AREp.* 1964-65, D 326.
- (181) Shahpur:  
Shaikh Abul Hasan s/o Qadi Abdul Aziz Qarshi, mosque-builder (1078/1667-68). *EIM*, 1931-32, p. 5.
- (182) Bidar:  
Mukhtar Khan al-Husaini as-Sabzwari, governor, gate-builder (1081/1671). *EIM*, 1927-28, p. 37.



**KERALA**

(183) Madayi:

Abdullah s/o Abu Tahir at-Tikriti (d. 684/1285). *AREp.* 1965-66, D 94-95.

(184) Kozhikode:

Khwaja Badruddin Hasan s/o Abu Bakr as-Suradi, renovater of the mosque (885/1480-81). *AREp.* 1965-66, D 56.

(185) Cannanore:

Shaikh Muhammad s/o Muhammad al-Bukhari (d. 1027/1618). *AREp.* 1965-66, D 91.

(186) Kozhikode:

Khwaja Shah-Bander Umar al-Antabi, pulpit-builder (1088/1677-78). *AREp.* 1965-66, D 53.**TAMIL NADU**

(187) Kayalpattanam:

Maulana Siddiq Mosuli s/o Naina s/o Muhammad al-Iraqi (d. 812/1410). *AREp.* 1976-77, C 317.

(188) Poonamalle:

Rustam s/o Dhulfaqar Astarabadi, mosque-builder (1063/1653). *EIM*, 1937-38, p. 52.**APPENDIX-B****Indian places and their link with Iranian and its neighbouring places**

- (1) Ahmadnagar (MS): Simnan, Rum (Turkey) (16<sup>th</sup> century)
- (2) Ahmadabad (Guj.): Yemen, Bukhara (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (3) Ajmer (Raj.): Herat, Badakhshan, Qum (12<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (4) Alanpur (Raj.): Khurasan (15<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (5) Aminabad (A.P.): Tafrish (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (6) Ausa (M.S.): Rum (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (7) Bakkar (Pak.) vide: Tirmidh (16<sup>th</sup> cent.) Barambad, Jaisalmer, Nagaur
- (8) Bankapur (Kar.): Zanzan (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (9) Barambad (Raj.): Sistan (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)

- (10) Barikhatu (Raj.): Iraq (i.e. Iran) (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (11) Bayana (Raj.): Bukhara, Herat, Badakhshan (14<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (12) Belgaum (Kar.): Dawwan (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (13) Bet Dwarka (Guj.): Damghan (14<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (14) Bharuch (Guj.): Bukhara, Ghazna, Mashhad (15<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (15) Bhatasan (Guj.): Bukhara (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (16) Bidar (Kar.): Qazwin, Mashhad, Sabzwar (15<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (17) Bijapur (Kar.): Rum, Kirman, Isfahan, Lar (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (18) Bodhan (A.P.): Lahijan (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (19) Cambay (Khambhat) (Guj.): Irbil, Astarabad, Bam, Yazd, Tiflis, Mashhad, Gilan, Kazerun, Isfahan, Hamadan, Qazwin, Mecca, Shiraz, Tafrish, Ardastan, Basra, Fars, Baghdad, Sailan, Herat (13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (20) Cannanore (Ker.): Bukhara (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (21) Cheul (M.S.): Bukhara (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (22) Cumbum (A.P.): Mazandaran, Gilan (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (23) Daulatabad (M.S.): Astarabad (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (24) Eluru (A.P.): Mazandaran (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (25) Fathullahpur (A.P.): Shiraz (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (26) Galna (M.S.): Shiraz (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (27) Gandikota (A.P.): Isfahan (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (28) Ghogha (Guj.): Lar (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (29) Golkonda (A.P.): Ardastan, Isfahan, Astarabad, Bahrain, Shiraz (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (30) Gornalli (Kar.): Hamadan (15<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (31) Gulbarga (Kar.): Tabriz, Khalkhal, Qazwin, Lahijan, Maragha (14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (32) Hangal (Kar.): Lar (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (33) Hindaun (Raj.): Bukhara, Mecca (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (34) Hyderabad (A.P.): Shiraz, Bahrain, Tafrish, Astarabad, Mashhad, Isfahan, Mazandaran, Kazerun, Kashan, Sabzwar, Gilan (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (35) Jafarabad (M.S.): Tabriz (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (36) Jalna (M.S.): Kirman (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (37) Jalor (Raj.): Ghor (14<sup>th</sup> cent.)

- (38) Junagarh (Guj.): Iraj, Egypt (13<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (39) Kadi (Guj.): Bukhara (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (40) Karad (M.S.): Tabriz, Isfahan, Astarabad (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (41) Kathoti (Raj.): Kishm (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (42) Kayalpatnam (T.N.): Mosul, Iraq (15<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (43) Khuldabad (M.S.): Shiraz, Tarim, Sanjar (14<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (44) Kondapalli (A.P.): Astarabad, Gilan, Mazandaran (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (45) Kozhikode (Ker.): Antab, Sarad (15<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (46) Kundurg (A.P.): Shiraz (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (47) Kutiyana (Guj.): Jehram (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (48) Madayi (Ker.): Tikrit (13<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (49) Merta City (Raj.): Bukhara (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (50) Misrikoti (Kar.): Kinan (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (51) Mudgal (Kar.): Surkhab, Jehram (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (52) Nagaur (Raj.): Shiraz (Lar) (13<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (53) Naldurg (M.S.): Nihawand (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (54) Navsari (Guj.): Yazd (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (55) Nizampatnam (A.P.): Isfahan, Ardastan (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (56) Paithan (M.S.): Tabriz (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (57) Pangal (A.P.): Isfahan (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (58) Parbatsar (Raj.): Iraq (i.e. Iran) (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (59) Parendia (M.S.): Arab (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (60) Pargi (A.P.): Dhasharwan? (15<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (61) Partur (M.S.): Tabriz (15<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (62) Patan (Guj.): Irbil, Kashghar, Balkh, Iraq, Astarabad, Gardiz (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (63) Patancheru (A.P.): Gilan (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (64) Petlad (Guj.): Rum, Shiraz (14<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (65) Poonamalle (T.N.): Astarabad (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (66) Prabhas Patan (Guj.): Iraq, Mecca (13<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (67) Qandhar (M.S.): Rum (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)



- (68) Raichur (Kar.): Qirman, Yazd, Shustar, Gunabad (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (69) Sagar (Kar.): Kashan, Herat (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (70) Sangamner (M.S.): Bukhāra
- (71) Shahpur (Kar.): Qarshi (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (72) Srikakulam (A.P.): Shiraz, Tabriz (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (73) Surat (Guj.): Yazd (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (74) Tadpatri (A.P.): Shiraz (17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (75) Talaja (Guj.): Bukhara (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (76) Udgir (M.S.): Rum, Qazwin (15<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (77) Una (Guj.): Fars (14<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (78) Utagi (Kar.): Juzjan (14<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (79) Verawal (Guj.): Gilan (15<sup>th</sup> cent.)
- (80) Yadgir (Kar.): Kirman (16<sup>th</sup> cent.)

### APPENDIX-C

#### Iranian and its neighbouring places and their link with Indian places

- (1) Ardastan (Iran):  
Cambay (Khambat), Golkonda, Nizampatnam
- (2) Astarabad (Iran):  
Cambay, Patan, Daulatabad, Karad, Kondapalli, Golkonda, Hyderabad, Poonamalle
- (3) Badakhshan (Afghanistan): Ajmer, Bayana
- (4) Baghdad (Iraq): Cambay
- (5) Bahrain (Persian Gulf): Hyderabad, Golkonda
- (6) Balkh (Afghanistan): Patan
- (7) Bam (Iran): Cambay
- (8) Basra (Iraq): Cambay
- (9) Bukhara (Uzbekistan): Hindaun, Bayana, Merta city, Ahmadabad, Bhatasan, Talaja, Bharuch, Kādi, Sangamner, Cheul
- (10) Damghan (Iran): Bet Dwarka
- (11) Dawwan (Iran): Belgaum

- (12) Egypt: Junagarh
- (13) Fars (Iran): Cambay, Una
- (14) Gardiz (Afghanistan): Patan
- (15) Ghazna (Afghanistan): Bharuch
- (16) Ghor (Afghanistan): Jalor
- (17) Gilan (Iran): Cambay, Verawal, Kondapalli, Patancheru, Hyderabad, Cumbum
- (18) Gunabad (Iran): Raichur
- (19) Hamadan (Iran): Cambay, Gornalli
- (20) Herat (Afghanistan): Ajmer, Bayana, Cambay, Sagar
- (21) Iraj (Iran): Junagarh
- (22) Iraq: Patan, Prabhas Patan, Kayalpattanam
- (23) Irbil (Iraq): Cambay, Patan
- (24) Isfahan (Iran): Cambay, Karad, Golkonda, Pangal, Hyderabad, Nizampatnam, Bijapur, Gandikota
- (25) Jehram (Iran): Kutiyana, Mudgal
- (26) Juzjan (Iran): Utagi
- (27) Kashan (Iran): Hyderabad, Sagar
- (28) Kashghar (China): Patan
- (29) Kazerun (Iran): Cambay, Hyderabad
- (30) Khalkhal (Iran): Gulbarga
- (31) Khurasan (Iran): Alanpur
- (32) Kinan (Canaan): Misrikoti
- (33) Kirman (Iran): Jalna, Bijapur, Yadgir
- (34) Kishm (Afghanistan): Khatoti
- (35) Lahijan (Iran): Bodhan, Gulbarga
- (36) Lar (Iran): Nagaur, Ghogha, Bijapur
- (37) Maragha (Iran): Gulbarga
- (38) Mashhad (Iran): Bharuch, Cambay, Hyderabad, Bidar
- (39) Mazandaran (Iran): Kondapalli, Hyderabad, Eluru, Cumbum
- (40) Mecca (S. Arabia): Hindaun, Cambay, Prabhas Patan
- (41) Mosul (Iraq): Kayalpattanam

- (42) Nihawand (Iran): Naldurg
- (43) Qarshi (Uzbekistan): Shahpur
- (44) Qazwin (Iran): Cambay, Udgir, Gulbarga, Bidar
- (45) Qirman (Caramania): Raichur
- (46) Qum (Iran): Ajmer
- (47) Rum (Turkey): Petlad, Ahmadnagar, Ausa, Qandhar, Bijapur, Udgir
- (48) Sabzwar (Iran): Hyderabad, Bidar
- (49) Sanjar (Iraq): Khuldabad
- (50) Shiraz (Iran): Nagaur, Cambay, Petlad, Galna, Khuldabad, Golkonda, Hyderabad, Fathullahpur, Srikakulam, Kundurg, Tadpatri
- (51) Surkhab (Iran): Mudgal
- (52) Shustar (Iran): Raichur
- (53) Simnan (Iran): Ahmadnagar
- (54) Sistan (Iran): Barambad
- (55) Tabriz (Iran): Jafarabad, Paithan, Karad, Srikakulam, Gulbarga
- (56) Tafrish (Iran): Cambay, Hyderabad, Aminabad
- (57) Tiflis (Georgia): Cambay
- (58) Tikrit (Iraq): Madayi
- (59) Tirmidh (Uzbekistan): Bakkar (in Pakistan)
- (60) Yazd (Iran): Cambay, Surat, Navsari, Raichur
- (61) Yemen: Ahmadabad
- (62) Zanzan (Iran): Bankapur



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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- (5) For details, see B.N. Mukherjee, *Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Asoka* (Calcutta, 1984), pp. 11-14, 18, 25, 28-29, 33-35, 40, 45, 48, 52.
- (6) Dr. Hira Lall Chopra, "*Indo-Iranian Relations during the Pahlavi Regime (1926-1976)*", *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. XXIX, Nos. 1-4, Mar-Dec. 1976, pp.1-2.
- (7) M. Saleem Akhtar, "*Bridges of Understanding between Persia and South Asia...*", *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad-Deccan), Vol. LXXIII, No. 4, Oct. 1999, p. 63.
- (8) Hira Lall, *op.cit.*, p. 2 ; Yazdani, *The Early History of the Deccan* (London, 1960), p.217; A Ghosh, *Ajan.a Murals* (N. Delhi, 1967), plates XLI, LXXIV.
- (9) Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations* (Teheran, 1970), Foreword.
- (10) Saleem Akhtar, *op.cit.*, pp. 63-64.
- (11) Riazul Islam, *op.cit.*, Preface.
- (12) *Ibid.* According to a modern Iranian scholar, 80% of the entries in the *Maathirul Umara*, the biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobles, refer to the nobles of Iranian origin. Saleem Akhtar, *op.cit.*, p. 67.
- (13) Riazul Islam, *op.cit.*, p. 171.
- (14) *Ibid.*, pp. 174-75.
- (15) Epigraphs from all these states are listed in the compilation works by Dr. Z.A. Desai, *Arabic, Persian and Urdu Inscriptions of West India* (New Delhi, 1999); *A Topographical List of Arabic, Persian and Urdu Inscriptions of South India* (N. Delhi, 1989).
- (16) *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1911-12, p. 15.
- (17) *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1978-79, App. D, 17-18.
- (18) References to works containing an account of Cambay and its monuments and inscriptions, will be found in *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, pp. 3 (f. n. 7), 4 (f. n. 1-5); *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 3 (& f. n. 2), 6, 9, 20, 27; *EIAPS*, 1963, pp. 10 (& f. n.2), 18, 21, 32, 36, 39, 42, 49; *EIAPS*, 1970, pp. 74, (& f. n. 2), 83.

- (19) These rulers are Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) and Mubarak Shah Khalji (1316-20); Ghiyathuddin Tughluq (1320-25) and Firuz Tughluq (1351-88); Mughal emperor Akbar (1556-1605), Shah Jahan (1628-58) and Aurangzeb (1658-1707); Bahmani rulers Mahmud Shah I (1358-75), Alauddin Ahmad Shah II (1434-58), Mahmud Shah (1482-1518); Malwa Sultan Alauddin Fiddan Shah (1469-70); Gujarat Sultans, Ahmad Shah I (1410-42), Muhammad Shah II (1442-51), Mahmud Shah I (1459-1511) and Muzaffar Shah II (1511-25); Nizam Shahi rulers, Abul Ghazi Nizam Shah (1496-1510), Burhan Nizam Shah I (1510-54) and Murtada Nizam Shah I (1565-88); Qutb Shahi rulers, Ibrahim Quli Qutb Shah (1550-80), Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612) and Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-72); Adil Shahi rulers, Ismail Adil Shah (1510-34), Ibrahim Adil Shah I (1534-48), Ali Adil Shah I (1558-80), Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1612) Muhammad Adil Shah (1627-57) and Ali Adil Shah II (1657-72).
- (20) *AREp.*, 1958-59, D-173; *ibid.*, 1961-62, D- 229, 247; *ibid.*, 1965-66, D-364; *ibid.*, 1966-67, D-234. See also, Riazul Islam, *op.cit.*, pp. 65-67.
- (21) H.K. Sherwani, ed., *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. II (Hyderabad, 1974), p. 79.
- (22) *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, 77.
- (23) *Ibid.*, p. 82.
- (24) *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.
- (25) Map No. 43-0517.

## STUDY OF HONORIFIC EPITHETS AND RENAMED PLACES UNDER MUSLIM RULE

**H**onorific epithets of Muslim place-names, including mint-towns, open out to the curious scholars, one of the most interesting as well as instructive by-path of onomastic study. These honorific epithets are part and parcel of their political, economic and cultural history. Such a study is very necessary for proper understanding of medieval India under Muslim rule. It provides an important and vital link between ancient and modern India.

This study is mainly based on numismatic, epigraphic, historical and literary Persian sources, including Mughal atlas. For convenience of the researchers in the field of place-names study, there have been arranged three Appendices. Appendix I tabulates 21 honorific epithets, associated with 30 place-names under Delhi Sultans and various provincial dynasties, representing six central dynasties *viz.*, Mamluks, Khaljis, Tughluqs, Sayyids, Lodis and Surs, and eight provincial dynasties *viz.*, Rulers of Sindh, Sultans of Bengal, Sultans of Mabar, Bahmanis, Sultans of Malwa, Sultans of Gujarat, Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar and Qutb Shahis of Golconda. Appendix II is composed of 45 honorific epithets, associated with 49 place-names under the Mughals, specifying the years, or period of every reign, during which each epithet figures on coins. It may be added that nine epithets are common in both the above-mentioned Appendices. While Appendix III, includes 222 renamed places under over all Muslim rule i.e. from the time of Mahmud Ghazni (AD 998-1030) to the end of the Mughals and various regional dynasties, along with their references. There is no claim for the three Appendices being exhaustive. There are chances of making additions in them in the light of future researches and what lies in the womb of coming days.

In the chronological sequence, first we deal with the Mamluks (AD 1206-90). Pertaining to Shamsud Din Iltutmish (AD 1210-35), a few coins bear the epithet *Biladul Hind*, meaning 'the cities of India'. It indicates no place-name. But, since it is combined with Lakhnauti<sup>1</sup> in a coin of Nasirud Din Mahmud (AD 1246-66), it is logically presumed that the epithet *Biladul Hind* was applied generally to the country of *Hindustan*, i.e. north India that included Bengal.

Numismatically, we come across two epithets in simple form under one of the most powerful and awe-striking Mamluk rulers, Ghiyathud Din Balban (AD 1266-87). Under him, the capital city Dehli, i.e. Delhi, bore the honorific appellation *Hadrat*. Actually it refers to *Hadrat Sultan* i.e. August or Royal Presence or His Majesty. This honorific title for Delhi was later on adopted by Khaljis, Tughluqs, Sayyids and Lodis also. The other epithet used on the coins



of Balban, is '*Khittah*' meaning district, along with the place-names Alwar, Lakhnauti and Sultanpur.<sup>2</sup>

Under the Khaljis (AD 1290-1320), we come across five honorific appellations, with their capital Delhi, being referred to as *Darul Islam* (i.e. seat of Islam) under 'Alaud Din Muhammad Shah (AD 1296-1316) and epithets *Darul Islam*, *Darul Mulk* (i.e. the seat of the kingdom), *Hadrat*, *Hadrat Darul Mulk* (i.e. Majesty – the seat of the caliphate) and *Hadrat Darul Khilafat* (i.e. Majesty – the seat of the kingdom) under Qutbud Din Mubarak Shah (AD 1316-20)<sup>3</sup>.

With the expansion of the Delhi Sultanate, we observe that, number of honorific epithets with place-names or mint-names increased with the arrival of the Tughluq dynasty (AD 1320-1414) on the political scene. Under Tughluqs, we find as many as eight honorific appellations in conjunction with the place names as shown below: *Baldah* (i.e. city) Qutbabad (formerly called Deogir and later Daulatabad); *Darul Islam Dehli*; *Darul Mulk*, used with Daulatabad, Dehli and Sultanpur; *Hadrat*, with Daulatabad, Dehli and Deogir; *Iqlim* (i.e. country), with Tughluqpur *alias* Tirhut and Lakhnauti; *Iqlimush Sharq* (i.e. country of the east) which probably denotes Jaunpur and Patna; *Qubbatul Islam* (i.e. centre of Islam), with Daulatabad and its synonym Deogir; and *Shahr* (i.e. the city), with Lakhnauti, Patna and Sultanpur.<sup>4</sup>

Mention may be made of three more terms, not included in the Appendix I as honorific epithets under the Tughluqs. These are *Mulk-i-Tilang*, *Mulk-i-Ma'bar*, and *Sahat-i-Sindh*. Under Ghiyathud Din Tughluq (AD 1320-25), his son Muhammad bin Tughluq led an expedition to the Deccan. Some coins being the product of this expedition, bore the appellation *Mulk-i-Tilang*. It was completely a new type, started in AH 724-25 to celebrate conquest of Telingana, figuring as the mint in place of its chief town Warangal, known later as Sultanpur. Under Muhammad bin Tughluq (AD 1325-51), *Mulk-i-Ma'bar* represented the Madura region in the south. *Sahat-i-Sindh*, this epithet appears on rare billon coins of Firuz Shah (AD 1351-88) and commemorates the period when he accompanied by his army, was lost in the desert of Sindh during the futile expedition against Thatta.<sup>5</sup>

The Tughluqs were followed by the Sayyids (AD 1414-51) who issued their coins from their capital Dehli, bearing the same honorific epithet *Hadrat*, following the examples of their predecessors.<sup>6</sup>

The Lodis (AD 1451-1526), following in the foot-steps of their earlier predecessors, struck their coins at *Hadrat Dehli* and *Shahr Jaunpur*.<sup>7</sup>

A couple of mint-towns under Sher Shah Suri (AD 1539-45) bore the honorific epithets *Darud-Darb* (i.e. the seat of the mint) in conjunction with place name Qal'a Tanda and *Hadrat* in conjunction with Rasulpur *alias* Patna.<sup>8</sup>

Among the regional and provincial dynasties, mention may be made of Rulers of Sindh, Sultans of Ma'bar (i.e. Madura), Sultans of Bengal, Bahmanis, Sultans of Malwa.

Sultans of Gujarat, Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar and Qutb Shahis of Golconda who also adopted honorific epithets and appellations for their place-names and mint-towns.

Rulers of Sindh (AD 1203-59) had their mint at Thatta which bore the honorific epithet *Baldah*<sup>9</sup>, that reflects its economic status and urban character. To the far south, was located the Sultanat-i-Ma'bar (AD 1333-77) that had fallen apart from the Tughluqs. Ma'bar or Madura was the capital of this small principality. Following the examples of the Delhi Sultans, the Sultans of Madura, chose the honorific appellation *Hadrat Darul Mulk* for Ma'bar i.e. Madura.<sup>10</sup>

The Sultans of Bengal (AD 1338-1537) flourished for two centuries. Among their honorific epithets used with place or mint names included '*Arsah* (i.e. area) in conjunction with Chatgaon, Kamrup, Satgaon and Shahr-i-Nau. *Baldah* and *al-Baldatul Mahrusa* (i.e. the garrisoned city) were the appellations used with prominent mint place Firuzabad, while the dignified title *al-Baldatul Mu'azzam* (i.e. the great city) was applied to Mu'azzamabad. Such high-sounding epithets reflect their economic as well as military status. Epithets like *Darud-Darb* applied to Fathabad and Husainabad; *Hadrat*, to Banga, Sonargaon, Lakhnauti and Mu'azzamabad; *Iqlim*, to Lakhnauti and Mu'azzamabad; and *Khittah*, to Ghiyathpur and Lakhnauti.<sup>11</sup>

The Bahmanis of the Deccan (AD 1347-1527) who had seceded from the Tughluq empire, had their first capital at Ahsanabad (i.e. Gulbarga) that enjoyed the honorific titles *Hadrat* and *Darul Mulk*, and second capital at Muhammadabad (Bidar) which was addressed as *Hadrat Muhammadabad*.<sup>12</sup> Under Sultans of Malwa (AD 1401-1561), their capital Mandu was renamed as Shadiabad which was numismatically used in conjunction with the prevalent epithets *Hadrat* and *Darul Mulk*.<sup>13</sup>

With the establishment of the Sultanate of Gujarat (AD 1403-1572), there appeared new innovations in the adoption of honorific appellations with the place names of Gujarat. Under the Sultans of Gujarat, quite a few numbers of places were renamed. Under them, the following place-names in conjunction with their appellations were: *Darud Darb* Ahmadabad, *Shahr-i-A'zam* (i.e. the great city) Mustafabad (Junagarh), *Shahr-i-Humayun* (i.e. the auspicious city) Ahmadnagar, *Shahr-i-Mu'azzam* Ahmadabad and *Shahr-i-Mukarram* (i.e. illustrious city) Muhammadabad-Champaner.<sup>14</sup>

It may be further elaborated that, Ahmadabad, the capital of Gujarat, was founded in 1411, that enjoyed the honorific appellations *Shahr-i-Mu'azzam* and *Darud Darb*.

Sultan Ahmad Shah I (AD 1410-42) founded a city in 1427, 10 km. from Idar and named it Ahmadnagar after him with the appellation *Shahr-i-Humayun*. This historic name of Ahmadnagar continued without change until 1912, when it was renamed Himmatnagar after Himmat Singhji, the Maharaja of Idar State.<sup>15</sup>

Mahmud Shah Begra (AD 1458-1511) renamed Junagarh as Mustafabad in 1472 after the name of the Prophet Muhammad *Sallallahu 'Alaihi wa Sallam*, with the epithet *Shahr-i-A'zam*.<sup>16</sup> During the regime of the same ruler, in 1485, Champaner was renamed Muhammadabad after Prophet Muhammad *Sallallahu 'Alaihi wa Sallam*, with the honorific title *Shahr-i-Mukarram*.<sup>17</sup>



The Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar (AD 1496-1636) struck their coins from Parenda and Burhanabad, entitled *Darul Mulk* and *Darus Sultanat* (i.e. the seat of sovereignty) respectively.<sup>18</sup> While the Qutb Shahis of Golconda (AD 1518-1687) had their mint at Hyderabad that bore the popular epithet *Darus Sultanat*.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, in the light of the above study, we observe that under the Delhi Sultans and various provincial dynasties, in all 21 epithets were in vogue, used with 30 place-names viz., Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar (now Himmatnagar), Ahsanabad (Gulbarga), Alwar, Banga, Burhanabad, Chatgaon, Kamrup, Daulatabad (Deogir, Qutbabad), Delhi, Fathabad, Firuzabad, Ghiyathpur, Hyderabad, Lakhnauti, Ma'bar (Madura), Mu'azzamabad (Mymensingh), Muhammadabad (Bidar), Muhammadabad *alias* Champaner, Mustafabad (Junagarh), Parenda, Qal'a Tanda, Rasulpur *alias* Patna, Satgaon, Shadiabad (Mandu), Shahr-i-Nau, Sultanpur, Sunargaon, Thatta and Tughluqpur *alias* Tirhut, as shown in Appendix I.

With reference to Appendix II, that contains honorific appellations with their place names under the Mughals (AD 1526-1857), it is to be noted that a very small beginning was made by Babur (AD 1526-30) with only 3 epithets, associated with a single town Agra. During the reign of his son Humayun (AD 1530-40, 1555-56), the number rises to seven, of which four epithets, *Darul Khilafat*, *Darud Darb Qal'a*, *Darul Aman* (i.e. house of security) and *Darul 'Adl* (i.e. abode of justice) are prefixed to the name of the same city Agra.<sup>20</sup>

Under Akbar (AD 1556-1605), we count as many as 20 separate appellations during the first half of his reign. No less than eleven different towns of all degrees of eminence are prefixed by the high-sounding designation *Darul Khilafat* (App. II, No. 16). Two different places are called *Baldah* (Agra and Sahrind), two more are distinguished by *Bandar* (i.e. port) (Dewal and Lahri), three others are entitled *Darud Darb* (Jaunpur, Kalpi and Patna) and four are addressed as *Darus Sultanat* (i.e. the seat of sovereignty), viz., Ahmadabad, Fathpur, Kora and Lahore. While each of six other cities Ahmadabad, Awadh, Delhi Kalpi, Gwalior and Lucknow, is honoured with two or three different attributes<sup>21</sup> (see App. II, Nos. 16, 23, 40 for Ahmadabad, Nos. 17, 42, for Awadh, Nos. 21, 27 for Delhi, Nos. 5-6 for Kalpi, Nos. 18, 31 for Gwalior and Nos. 16, 28, 37 for Lakhnau).

All this jumble of honorific appellations comes to an end, and the Ilahi issues of the last two decades of the reign of Akbar exhibit no epithets at all. They are again revived by Shah Jahan (AD 1628-58), but with no conscious effort to restrict a particular town to a certain epithet. Thus, Fathpur and Lahore are both styled *Darus Sultanat* (App. II, No. 23), and first Agra, then Akbarabad, and lastly Shahjahanabad again are successively entitled *Darul Khilafat* (App. II, No. 16). At the same time, Burhanpur and Ujjain share the same epithet *Baldah* (App. II, No. 1). It will be further seen that there is a revival of the old custom, it is still on a very limited scale and the total number of epithets is only three: *Baldah*, *Darul Khilafat* and *Darus Sultanat*<sup>22</sup> (App. II, Nos. 1, 16, 23).

With the accession of Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707), these epithets come again into vogue and the number of honorific appellations mounts upto thirteen (App. II, Nos. 1-2, 4, 10, 12, 14, 15, 20, 25, 29,30), of which nine are so far new.<sup>23</sup>



Aurangzeb also introduced for the first time, and maintained throughout his half-a-century long reign, a laudable uniformity in their usage and application. Each of the 13 sobriquets viz., *Baldah*, *Baldah-i-Fakhira*, *Bandar-i-Mubarak*, *Darul Aman*, *Darul Fath*, *Darul Jihad*, *Darul Khair*, *Darul Khilafat*, *Darul Mulk*, *Darus Sultanat*, *Darus Zafar*, *Khujista Bunyad* and *Mustaqirul Khilafat*, was strictly reserved for an individual place name or mint-town and no place-name was permitted to appropriate more than one epithet.<sup>24</sup>

Under the later Mughals, three new appellations *Darus Surur*, *Farkhunda Bunyad* and *Mustaqirul Mulk* (App. II, Nos. 24, 26, 33) were added by Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah I (AD 1707-12). Farrukh Siyar (AD 1712-19) followed the older arrangements of Aurangzeb. He transferred the epithet *Mustaqirul Mulk* to his own favourite city 'Azimabad (Patna).

The only new feature of Rafi'ud Darajat's (AD 1719) mintages was the adoption of the honorific epithet *Zinatul Bilad* to Ahmadabad (App. II, No. 45).

The two innovations of Muhammad Shah (AD 1719-48) were the conjunction of the title *Sawai* with the name of Jaipur (App. II, No. 38) and the application of the epithet *Zaimul Bilad* for Ahmadabad (App. II, No. 44).

Two new epithets were added by Ahmad Shah (AD 1748-54), prefixing *Darul Barakat* to the place-name Nagaur and *Darul Mansur*, to Jodhpur (App. II, Nos. 11, 19).

In the time of 'Alamgir II (AD 1754-59), Bikaner is for the first time styled *Baldah*. It is interesting to note that adoption of the distinctive appellations of old Muslim cities by the Rajput as well as Maratha rulers of the day, reached a climax under Shah 'Alam II (AD 1759-1806). The Dogra chief of Jammu took a fancy to *Darul Aman* (App. II, No. 10). The Marathas of Daulatabad had the high-sounding epithet *Darul Khilafat* (App. II, No. 16) and Saharanpur held the epithet *Darus Surur* (App. II, No. 24). Three new titles also were devised, *Tirath* for Hardwar, *Qit'a* for Bareilly and *Darul Fulus* for Banaras.<sup>25</sup> (App. II, Nos. 13, 36, 43).

Now, we proceed with the historical commentary in a nut-shell on origin and significance of some of the most distinctive epithets for certain place names.

*Baldah-i-Fakhira* (i.e. sumptuous town) is the honorific epithet for Burhanpur which was, in those days, one of the greatest industrial and commercial centres of the empire. Its wealth and grandeur are often extolled by contemporary travellers and historians, and here lies the rationale of the appellation.<sup>26</sup>

*Bandar-i-Mubarak* (i.e. blessed port) was the honorific epithet for Surat. The most probable explanation of this appellation is that 'it was the port of departure for the pilgrimage to Mecca', spoken as the 'Gate of Mecca' also.<sup>27</sup>

There is a numismatic evidence, Jaunpur bearing the epithet *Darud Darb Khitta-i-Mutabarrak* (i.e. the seat of the mint, the blessed district). It can only suggest that the reference is to the men of piety and learning who have found their last resting-place in that

city. Under the Sharqis (AD 1394-1479), Jaunpur was one of the greatest and most magnificent cities in India, having gained the title *Shiraz-i-Hind* (Shiraz of India). It may be fairly conjectured that the honorific *Khitta-i-Mutabarrak* has reference to the numerous places of sepulchre there.<sup>28</sup>

One of the titles of Agra is *Darul 'Adl* (i.e. abode of justice). Humayun deserves the credit for having invented it. There is in the *Akbar Nama*, a description of somewhat theatrical device for publicly displaying his love for justice which may have some bearing on the epithet.<sup>29</sup>

*Darul Aman* (i.e. house of security), this appellation is prefixed to the name of Agra on the coins of Humayun. As a historical background, it may be narrated that Shah Isma'il I (AD 1502-24) of Persia caused terror of religious persecution who wanted perfect observance of Shiism and commanded that prayers and *Khutba* (i.e. sermon) to be recited in Shiite form in the grand mosque of Herat. In these circumstances, eminent men of both sects got safety in flight and many took refuge in the court of Babur. Humayun was a man of liberal sentiments. His court had thus become *Darul Aman*.

After his first coronation at Delhi in hot hurry, Aurangzeb took up pursuit of Dara who had taken the road to Multan. Before Aurangzeb reached that city, he learnt that Dara had fled. It is quite possible that Aurangzeb coined the epithet in view of the sense of security he experienced on hearing of Dara's flight from Multan to Bhakkar, bearing in mind, at the same time, the following two fairly well-attested facts in the history of the town. In Multan are buried two of the most renowned saints, Shaikh Bahaud Din Zakariya (d. AD 1267) and his grandson Shaikh Ruknud Din (d. AD 1335). It is said that when a Mongol force caused catastrophe in the city, the citizens were saved from a general massacre by a ransom paid by Shaikh Bahaud Din in AD 1257. His grandson Ruknud Din is reported to have rendered the people of Multan a similar service in the following century. Thus, the city twice received quarter (*aman*) through the intercession of these saints and might have been called *Darul Aman* in consequence.<sup>30</sup>

The honorific appellation *Darul Barakat* (i.e. abode of blessings) is coupled with a place-name Nagaur where is situated the holy shrine of Shaikh Hamidud Din Nagauri (d. AD 1274). This appears to be the origin of the epithet.

*Darul Fath* (i.e. abode of victory), this appellation is found in conjunction with the place-name Ujjain. Khafi Khan has a statement on the subject, leaving little room for doubt as to the origin of this epithet. He tells us that soon after the defeat of Dara's generals, Jaswant Singh and Qasim Khan, at Dharmat (7 *cos* from Ujjain), Aurangzeb gave Ujjain the epithet of *Darul Fath*.<sup>31</sup>

*Darul Jihad* (i.e. country of holy war) makes its first appearance on the coins in AH 1099 (AD 1687-88). There is no room for doubt as to the application of the epithet. When Aurangzeb drew near to Hyderabad, Abul Hasan renewed his obedience but to no avail. Aurangzeb took him to task for un-Islamic customs prevailing there *viz.*, afflicting the *Sayyids*, *Shaikhs* and holy men; making no distinction between infidelity and Islam; want of obedience to the Divine Commands, etc. Thus, after the conquest, the city was called the hostile country



i.e. *Darul Jihad*. The first thing Aurangzeb did after the subjugation, was to give order for brushing aside the infidel customs and other irreligious innovations.<sup>32</sup>

The honorific epithet *Darul Khair* (i.e. abode of goodness) in conjunction with Ajmer is really of much older origin. Several other synonymous titles are bestowed upon the town by historians in all of which there are clear allusions to the spiritual benefits accruing from pilgrimages to the tomb of Shaikh Mu'inud Din Chishti (d. AD 1236).<sup>33</sup>

Akbar's epithet *Darul Khilafat* (i.e. seat of caliphate) is indiscriminately associated with the names of about a dozen place-names, as indicated above, but it is not easy to understand why so many places of unequal importance were given such an exalted appellation.<sup>34</sup>

*Darul Mansur* (i.e. house of victory) may also mean city under divine protection. In that sense, it would be the befitting designation for Ajmer, as it had been under Akbar. It may be recorded that Ajmer had belonged to the great Rathor Prince Maldeo, before it came into possession of Akbar. It was jealously guarded and retained by the Mughals upto 1721. Numismatic evidence shows, Jodhpur bearing the appellation *Darul Mansur*. It appears that the Rathors were familiar with the epithet on account of their connection with Ajmer and they transferred it to Jodhpur.<sup>35</sup>

*Darul Mulk* (i.e. seat of sovereignty) is a very old epithet of Kabul. Aurangzeb was the first to associate it with the name of the chief town of Afghanistan, on coins.<sup>36</sup>

It is not easy to explain why the epithet *Darus Salam* (i.e. house of peace) was chosen for the distinctive mint-title and place-name of Dogaon. There is no doubt about the fact that Dogaon had been a place of considerable commercial importance.<sup>37</sup>

The double appellation *Shahr-i-Mu'azzam Darus Sultanat* or *Darus Sultanat Shahr-i-Mu'azzam* is found on coins minted at Ahmadabad. Earlier, Gujarat Sultans had been using the epithet *Shahr-i-Mu'azzam* in conjunction with Ahmadabad. Abul Fadl's description of Ahmadabad is very high, befitting to the said double honorific epithet for it.<sup>38</sup>

Burhanpur received the title of *Darus Surur* in AH 1039 (AD 1629-30) from Shah Jahan. This epithet is found on the coins of Shah 'Alam I from Burhanpur mint. More than once, Shah Jahan chose it for his residence. He had moreover built here a palace for himself in the days when he was prince. The beauties of the gardens, fountains and hunting-grounds of a suburb, called Mahal Gul Ara, had been mainly laid out in consonance with his taste and temperament.

Worth noting is the fact that Shah 'Alam I was born at Burhanpur and he entertained a liking for it, using the honorific epithet *Darus Surur* on his coins. He encamped here after defeating his political rival brother Kam Bakhsh.<sup>39</sup>

Honorific appellation *Darus Zafar* (i.e. abode of victory) is used in conjunction with Bijapur after its conquest by Aurangzeb. The epithet is really a sort of pun on the old name; Bijapur is really Vijayapura, meaning 'city of victory' in Sanskrit. *Darus Zafar* connotes



exactly the same meaning in Arabic. Whether it was intentionally coined or it was a coincidence, it is difficult to say.<sup>40</sup>

The coins from Hyderabad mint bear the honorific title *Farkhunda Bunyad* (i.e. of auspicious foundation) which was invented by Shah 'Alam I himself. As recorded by Khafi Khan, Shah 'Alam I issued orders that Hyderabad which had been, after its conquest by Aurangzeb, written *Darul Jihad*, should be hereonwards styled *Farkhunda Bunyad-i-Hyderabad*. The alteration is not difficult to follow. The battle in which Kam Bakhsh was defeated, had been fought in the vicinity of Hyderabad. That battle had removed the last of his political rival, proving truly of good omen to him. At the same time, the infidel customs and un-Islamic innovations, of which Aurangzeb took seriously ill of, had been rooted out.

Worth taking into account is the fact that, Aurangzeb had given Aurangabad the distinctive appellation *Khujista Bunyad* in grateful remembrance of the city having witnessed the beginning of his good fortunes. In the same manner, Hyderabad had proved to be auspicious to Shah 'Alam I himself. An instance of his father Aurangzeb, induced Shah 'Alam to think of bestowing some honorific title on Hyderabad and it was *Farkhunda Bunyad*.

It is also worth recording that the original name of Hyderabad was Bhagnagar, after Bhagmati, the favourite mistress of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (AD 1580-1612). *Bhag* means 'good fortune' and '*Bhagmati*', full of good fortune – so close to the connotation of the epithet *Furkhunda Bunyad*.<sup>41</sup>

The honorific epithet *Khujista Bunyad* (i.e. of auspicious foundation) is associated with Aurangabad under Aurangzeb. He founded the city during his second viceroyalty in the vicinity of somewhat older town Khirki built by Malik 'Ambar (d. AD 1626).

It is too well known that it was during his stay in Aurangabad that Aurangzeb accumulated those resources in men, money and ammunition which afterwards enabled him to come out victorious in the fratricidal war for the coveted Mughal throne. It is not altogether devoid of significance that he had in AD 1686-87 just completed the conquest of both the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda – his greatest ambition in life. Thus, the cycle of good omen that had begun with the foundation of the city, was completed. Therefore, there is nothing surprising in his having commemorated the consummation of his grand plans by bestowing on the city the distinctive and quite meaningful appellation *Khujista Bunyad*.<sup>42</sup>

*Mustaqirul Mulk* (i.e. resting-place of empire) was the distinctive epithet of Akbarabad. In the first year of his reign, Shah 'Alam I appears to have introduced a change. Akbarabad was henceforth to be called *Mustaqirul Mulk* and its own appellation *Mustaqirul Khilafat* was to be passed on to Ajmer. This was probably done when the emperor was encamped in the suburb of that town in view of the political commotion in Rajasthan. Soon afterwards, he paid the customary imperial visit to the holy shrine of Khwaja Mu'inud Din Chishti. It may be reasonably conjectured that the earliest coins of *Mustaqirul Khilafat Ajmer* was struck when the imperial headquarters was in the vicinity of Ajmer.

*Mustaqirul Mulk* continued to be the epithet of Akbarabad in the reign of Jahandar Shah and Farrukhsiyar. In the 5<sup>th</sup> year of the latter, its old epithet *Mustaqirul Khilafat* was restored to Akbarabad and Ajmer was termed *Darul Khair* as before. *Mustaqirul Mulk*

was transferred to 'Azimabad by Farrukhsiyar, as he had been crowned at Patna, the place associated with his rising star and first dwelling place of his kingdom.<sup>43</sup>

Place-names Panipat and Bareli have been found in conjunction with an epithet read as *Qit'a* which means a territorial division. Its plural form *Iqta'* is very common in the sense of land assigned for military or other services.<sup>44</sup>

Champaner is styled *Shahr-i-Mukarram* as found on coins of Humayun. During the regime of Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Begra, this appellation for Champaner had been in vogue.<sup>45</sup> While Ahmadabad rejoiced in the honorific appellation *Shahr-i-Mu'azzam* under the Mughals, as earlier under the Sultans of Gujarat.

The epithets *Zainul Bilad* (i.e. ornament of cities) and *Zinatul Bilad* (i.e. beauty of cities) were applied to Ahmadabad. It is hardly necessary to add that, on the whole, it was the most handsome city in those days. A European contemporary William Finch also speaks highly of Ahmadabad about AD 1611.<sup>46</sup>

Here, it may be added that on some issues of Akbar, we come across the epithet *Urdu Zafar Qarin* (the camp associated with victory), which was the imperial camp-mint, not associated with any particular place-name.<sup>47</sup>

As per Appendix II, 45 honorific epithets were associated with 49 place-names under the Mughals: viz., Agra (Akbarabad), Ahmadabad, Ajmer, Akbarpur Tanda, Alwar, Amirkot, Anhilwara Pattan, Awadh, Aurangabad, 'Azimabad (Patna), Bahraich, Banaras, Bareli, Bijapur, Bikaner, Burhanpur, Champaner, Daulatabad, Dehli, Dewal, Dogaon, Fathpur, Gorakhpur, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Hardwar, Ilahabad, Jaipur, Jammu, Jaunpur, Jodhpur, Kabul, Kalpi, Kashmir, Kora, Lahore, Lahri, Lakhnau, Malkapur, Mandsaur, Multan, Nagaur, Panipat, Qannauj, Saharanpur, Sahrind, Surat, Udaipur (Muhammadabad) and Ujjain.

When we go through various contemporary Persian sources like *Waqi'at-i-Baburi* by Babur, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Nizamud Din Ahmad, *Muntakhabut Tawarikh* by Abdul Qadir Badayuni, *Akbar Nama* by Abul Fadl, *Tarikh-i-Gujarat* by Abu Turab Wali, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* by Jahangir, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri* by Mu'tamid Khan, *Badshah Nama* by 'Abdul Hamid Lahori, *'Alamgir Nama* by Muhammad Kazim, *Maathir-i-Jahangiri* by Saqi Musta'id Khan and *Muntakhabul Lubab* by Khafi Khan, we get the honorific epithets for place names in different forms and diction. Nevertheless, a glance at the long list of all the honorific epithets associated with the place-names in these historical works, painstakingly culled out by Prof. S. H. Hodivala (*JASB, Num. Sup. No. XXXV, 1921, pp. 85-97*), it is sufficient to show that the historical evidences are in fair accord with the numismatic. At the same time, it may be remarked that all the recorded high-sounding epithets for place-names are mere flourishes and varieties of expression, coined by the historians to display their power of mature and magnificent writing.

A couple of epigraphical records are worthy of mention wherein Bhopal is mentioned with an honorific epithet *Darul Iqbal* (i.e. house of fortune) under the Nawwabs of Bhopal<sup>48</sup> (AD 1708-1749) and Cambay in Gujarat with the appellation *Darul Muminin* (i.e. house of the faithful).<sup>49</sup>



Indian place names have undergone lot of changes over the years because of political and religious influence. Dravidian names were superseded by Aryan names and both superseded by Persian and Islamic names.

Among the renamed places under Muslim rule in the Indian subcontinent, mention may be made of Mahmudpur i.e. Lahore, under Mahmud Ghazni<sup>50</sup>; Qutbabad i.e. Deogir under Khaljis; Daulatabad i.e. Deogir, Akhrinpur i.e. Firuzpur (Bisauli), Ustadabad i.e. Gogi<sup>51</sup>, Sultanpur i.e. Warangal<sup>52</sup>, Tughluqpur i.e. Tirhut, Khidrabad i.e. Chittorgarh, under Tughluqs; Koil i.e. 'Aligarh, under Lodis; Rasulpur i.e. Patna, Shergarh i.e. Qannauj, Bhakkar, Delhi, Islamabad i.e. Jatara, under Surs; Ma'bar i.e. Madura, under Sultans of Ma'bar; Mu'azzamabad i.e. Mymensingh, Firuzabad i.e. Pandua, Firuzpur and Jannatabad i.e. Gaur (Lakhnauti), Chawalistan i.e. Kamrup, Firuzabad i.e. Tribeni, under Sultans of Bengal; Ahsanabad i.e. Gulbarga, Muhammadabad i.e. Bidar, Firuznagar i.e. Raichur, Mubarakabad i.e. Miraj under Bahmanis; Shadiabad i.e. Mandu, Fathabad i.e. Chanderi, under Sultans of Malwa; Mahmudnagar i.e. Meghraj and Dahod, Mahmudabad i.e. Sanchor, Daulatabad i.e. Vadodara (Baroda), Muhammadabad i.e. Champaner and Diyadar, Mustafabad i.e. Dabhol, Junagarh and Tankaria, Ahmadnagar i.e. Himmatnagar, Ambiyabad i.e. Khakrechi, Rasulabad i.e. Malia, under the Sultans of Gujarat; Burhanabad i.e. Bhingar (near Ahmadnagar) under the Nizam Shahis; Muhammadnagar i.e. Golconda under the Qutb Shahis.

The list of renamed places under the Mughals is too long. However, some of the renamed places may be mentioned here: Akbarabad i.e. Agra, Salimabad i.e. Ajmer, Islamabad i.e. Anantnag, Bhiwandi and Mathura; Muhammadabad i.e. Banaras, and Kalpi, A'zamnagar i.e. Belgaum, 'Alamgirpur i.e. Vidisha<sup>53</sup>, Zafarabad i.e. Bidar, Muminabad i.e. Bindraban, Islampuri, i.e. Brahmapuri, Jahangirnagar, i.e. Dhaka, Shahjahanabad i.e. Dehli, Nusratgarh, i.e. Jinjee, Mu'azzamabad i.e. Gorakhpur, Shuja'abad i.e. Hajo, Islamnagar i.e. Jamnagar, 'Alamgirnagar i.e. Kuch Bihar, Chinapatan i.e. Madras (Chennai), Gulshanabad i.e. Nasik, Muhiabad i.e. Puna, Nabi Shah Durg i.e. Panhala, Islam Bandar i.e. Rajapur, Akbarnagar i.e. Rajmahal, Islamtek i.e. Ramtek, Islamgarh i.e. Raigarh (Raheer)<sup>54</sup>, A'zam Tara i.e. Satara, A'zamabad i.e. Tirauri, etc.

Tradition of renaming the places was bequeathed to the small regional dynasties also. Under the Nawayat Rulers (AD 1710-42) and Walajahis of Arcot (AD 1743-95), mention may be made of the following places: Muhammadpur-surnamed *Darunnur* (house of light) i.e. Arcot<sup>55</sup>, Sa'adatpur i.e. a place near Arcot, Rahmat Pala i.e. Chidambaram, Sa'adat Bandar i.e. Covelong, Rahmatnagar i.e. Nellore, Mahmud Bandar i.e. Porto Novo<sup>56</sup>, Walinagar i.e. Ramnad, Husainpur i.e. Sivaganga, Anwarnagar i.e. Tirunelveli<sup>57</sup>, Qadirnagar – surnamed *Daruz Zafar* (house of victory) i.e. Thanjavur, Natharnagar i.e. Trichinopoly<sup>58</sup> (Tiruchchirappalli), etc.

Among the Sultans of Mysore (AD 1759-99), particularly Tipu Sultan (AD 1782-99) showed great zeal and zest in innovations. He renamed the following places as under: Bangalore as Darus Surur, Bellary as Thamarpatan, Coimbatore as Salamabad, Dewanhalle as Yusufabad, Dindigul as Khaliqabad, Hoskote as Islampur, Calicut as



Islamabad, Mangalore as Jamalabad, Mysore as Nadharabad, Penukonda as Fakhrabad, Satyamangalam again as Salamabad, Sira as Rustamabad and Srirangapatna as Zafarabad.<sup>59</sup>

To conclude, this study entitled 'Study of Honorific Epithets and Renamed Places under Muslim Rule', shows how the honorific appellations are an integral part of the study and history of certain place-names, highlighting their political, economic, military, religious, administrative, commercial and urban status in the medieval days under the Muslims. The list of renamed places under Appendix III, is apparently suggestive of the spirit how places have been named after the Prophet Muhammad *Sallallahu 'Alahi wa Sallam*, kings, saints and savants, grandees and tutor. There have been places named after Islam and orthodox faith, good omen, auspicious meaning, aesthetic sense, symbolism of victory-events, etc.

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## APPENDIX-I

## Honorific Epithets with their place-names under Delhi Sultans and various provincial dynasties

	Epithets	Places	Dynasties
1.	<i>'Arsah</i> (i.e. area)	Chatgaon Chawalistan 'Urf Kamrup Satgaon Shahr-i -Nau	Sultans of Bengal " " "
2.	<i>Baldah</i> (i.e. city)	Firuzabad Qutbabad Thatta	Sultans of Bengal Tughluqs Rulers of Sindh
3.	<i>(al) Baldatul Mahrusa</i> (i.e. the garrisoned city)	Firuzabad	Sultans of Bengal
4.	<i>Baldatul Mu'azzam</i> (i.e. the great city)	Mu'azzamabad	Sultans of Bengal
5.	<i>Darud Darb</i> (i.e. the seat of the mint)	Ahmadabad Fathabad Husainabad Qal'a Tanda	Sultans of Gujarat Sultans of Bengal " Surs
6.	<i>Darul Islam</i> (i.e. seat of Islam)	Dehli	Khaljis; Tughluqs
7.	<i>Darul Mulk</i> (i.e. the seat of the kingdom)	Ahsanabad Daulatabad Dehli Parenda Shadiabad Sultanpur	Bahmanis Tughluqs Khaljis; Tughluqs Nizam Shahis Sultans of Malwa Tughluqs
8.	<i>Darus Sultanat</i> (i.e. the seat of sovereignty)	Burhanabad Hyderabad	Nizam Shahis Qutb Shahis

9.	<i>Hadrat</i> (i.e. Majesty)	Ahsanabad Banga Daulatabad Dehli  Deogir Jalal Sonargaon Lakhnauti Mu'azzamabad Muhammadabad Rasulpur 'urf Patna Shadiabad Sunargaon	Bahmanis Sultans of Bengal Tughluqs Mamluks; Khaljis; Tughluqs; Sayyids; Lodis. Tughluqs Sultans of Bengal " " Bahmanis Surs Sultans of Malwa Sultans of Bengal
10.	<i>Hadrat Darul Khilafat</i> (i.e. Majesty - the seat of the caliphate i.e. the capital)	Dehli	Khaljis
11.	<i>Hadrat Darul Mulk</i> (i.e. the Majesty- the seat of the kingdom i.e. the capital)	Dehli Ma'bar	Khaljis Sultans of Ma'bar
12.	<i>Iqlim</i> (i.e. country)	Lakhnauti Mu'azzamabad Tughluqpur 'urf Tirhut	Sultans of Bengal; Tughluqs Sultans of Bengal Tughluqs
13.	<i>Iqlimush Sharq</i> (i.e. country of the east)	(Jaunpur) (Patna)	Tughluqs
14.	<i>Khittah</i> (i.e. District)	Alwar Ghiyathpur Lakhnauti Sultanpur  Daulatabad	Mamluks Sultans of Bengal Mamluks; Sultans of Bengal Mamluks  Tughluqs
15.	<i>Qubbatul Islam</i> (i.e. cupola i.e. centre of Islam)	Deogir	"
16.	<i>Shahr</i> (i.e. the city)	Jaunpur Lakhnauti Patna Sultanpur Mustafabad	Lodis Tughluqs " "



17.	<i>Shahr-i-A'zam</i> (i.e. the great city)	Ahmadnagar	Sultans of Gujarat
18.	<i>Shahr-i-Humayun</i> (i.e. the auspicious city)	Ahmadabad	Sultans of Gujarat
19.	<i>Shahr-i-Mu'azzam</i> (i.e. the great city)	Muhammadabad-	Sultans of Gujarat
20.	<i>Shahr-i-Mukarram</i> (i.e. illustrious city)	'Urf Champaner	Sultans of Gujarat
21.	<i>Takhtgah</i> (i.e. royal residence i. e. the capital)	Daulatabad Dehli Sultanpur	Delhi Sultans ” ”

## APPENDIX-II

### Honorific Epithets with their place-names under the Mughals

Epithets	Places	Rulers
1. <i>Baldah</i> (i.e. town)	Agra Bikaner Burhanpur Ilahabad Sahrind Ujjain	Akbar, AH 981 'Alamgir II, R.Y. 1 Shah Jahan (Nithar) Aurangzeb, AH 1071 Akbar, AH 987 Shah Jahan, AH 1039
2. <i>Baldah-i-Fakhirah</i> (i.e. the sumptuous town)	Burhanpur	Aurangzeb, c.R.Y. 1
3. <i>Bandar</i> (i.e. port)	Dewal Lahri	Akbar, R.Y. 42 Akbar, R.Y. 42
4. <i>Bandar-i-Mubarak</i> (i.e. the blessed port)	Surat	Aurangzeb, AH 1070-71
5. <i>Darud Darb</i> (i.e. the city of the mint)	Jaunpur Kalpi-Muhammadabad Patna	Humayun, AH 939; Akbar Akbar, AH 963-64 Akbar, AH 984, 987
6. <i>Darud Darb Khitta</i> (i.e. the seat of the mint-district)	Kalpi	Akbar, AH 964-68
7. <i>Darud Darb Khittah-i- Mutabarrak</i> (i.e. the seat of the mint, the blessed district)	Jaunpur	Humayun, AH 937-43
8. <i>Darud Darb Qal'ah</i> (i.e. the seat of the mint, fort)	Agra	Babur- Humayun, AH 936-37
9. <i>Darul 'Adl</i> (i.e. abode of justice)	Agra	Humayun, AH 943
10. <i>Darul Amar</i> (i.e. house of security)	Agra Jammu Multan	Humayun, AH 941-43 Shah 'Alam II, AH 1195-1200 Aurangzeb, AH 1069-72;

			'Alamgir II, R.Y.7
11.	<i>Darul Barakat</i> (i.e. abode of blessings)	Nagaur	Ahmad Shah; 'Alamgir II; Shah 'Alam II
12.	<i>Darul Fath</i> (i.e. abode of victory)	Ujjain	Aurangzeb, AH 1073 to Shah 'Alam II except Ahmad Shah
13.	<i>Darul Fulus</i> (i.e. the seat of the <i>fulus</i> )	Muhammadabad – Banaras	Shah 'Alam II
14.	<i>Darul Jihad</i> (i.e. land of the holy war)	Hyderabad	Aurangzeb, AH 1099-1118; Kham Bakhsh; A'zam Shah; Shah 'Alam I, R. Y. 1
15.	<i>Darul Khair</i> (i.e. abode of welfare)	Ajmer	Aurangzeb, R.Y. 30-50; Shah 'Alam I, R.Y. 1; Farrukh Siyar, R.Y. 7 to Shah 'Alam II
16.	<i>Darul Khilafat</i> (i.e. the seat of caliphate, the capital)	Agra	Babur, AH 936; Humayun, AH 937, AH 941; Akbar, AH 965-88; Jahangir, AH 1028; Shah Jahan, AH 1037-38
		Ahmadabad	Akbar, AH 980
		Akbarabad	Shah Jahan, AH 1038-39; 1068
		Akbarpur Tanda	Akbar, AH 97X
		Bahraich	Akbar, AH 970-78
		Daulatabad	Shah 'Alam II
		Dogaon	Akbar, AH 974-86
		Gorakhpur	Akbar, AH 984
		Jaunpur	Akbar, AH 972-88
		Lahore	Humayun, AH 938-40; Akbar, AH 976
		Lakhnau	Akbar, AH 97X-88
		Malpur ?	Akbar, AH 984
		Shahgadh Qannauj	Akbar, AH 968-69
		Shahjahanabad	Shahjahan, AH 1058 to Bahadur Shah II
17.	<i>Darul Khilafat Khittah</i> (i.e. the seat of the caliphate, district)	Awadh	Akbar, AH 966-97X
18.	<i>Darul Khilafat Maqam</i> (i.e. the seat of the caliphate-place)	Gwalior	Akbar, AH 96X



	of residence)		
19.	<i>Darul Mansur</i> (i.e. the seat of the victorious one)	Ajmer ? Jodhpur	Akbar, AH 979 Ahmad Shah to Shah 'Alam II
20.	<i>Darul Mulk</i> (i.e. the seat of sovereignty)	Kabul	Aurangzeb, AH 1094 to Muhammad Shah, AH 1151
21.	<i>Darul Mulk Hadrat</i> (i.e. the seat of the kingdom- the capital, majesty)	Dehli  Fathpur ?	Humayun, AH 940-42; Akbar AH 977-79  Akbar, AH 979
22.	<i>Darus Salam</i> (i.e. abode of peace)	Dogaon Mandsaur	Akbar, AH 986-1003? Shah 'Alam II, AH 1203
23.	<i>Darus Sultanat</i> (i.e. the seat of sovereignty)	Ahmadabad Burhanpur Fathpur  Kora Lahore	Akbar, AH 981-96 Jahandar, AH 1124 Akbar, AH 982-89; Shah Jahan, R. Y. 1 Akbar, R. Y. 37? Akbar, AH 976-89; Shah Jahan, R. Y. 1 to 'Alamgir II
24.	<i>Darus Surur</i> (i.e. abode of delight)	Burhanpur  Saharanpur	Shah 'Alam I, R. Y. 1 to Shah 'Alam II Shah 'Alam II, AH 1209-15
25.	<i>Daruz-Zafar</i> (i.e. abode of victory)	Bijapur	Aurangzeb, AH 1097 to Farrukh Siyar
26.	<i>Farkhunda Bunyad</i> (i.e. of auspicious foundation)	Hyderabad	Shah 'Alam I to Muhammad Shah except Rafi'ud Darajat
27.	<i>Hadrat</i> (i.e. majesty)	Dehli	Akbar, AH 964-88
28.	<i>Khittah</i> (i.e. district)	Kashmir Lakhnau	Jahangir Akbar, AH 967
29.	<i>Khujista Bunyad</i> (i.e. of auspicious	Aurangabad	Aurangzeb, AH 1100 to 'Alamgir II

30. foundation)  
*Maftuhah*  
(i.e. the conquered one) Udaipur-Muhammadabad Akbar, AH 984
31. *Maqam-i-Qal'ah*  
(i.e. the place with fort) Gwalior Akbar, AH 968, 987?
32. *Mustaqirul Khilafat*  
(i.e. resting place of caliphate) Ajmer Akbarabad Shah 'Alam I, R.Y. 1 to Farrukh Siyar, R.Y. 1-6  
Aurangzeb AH 1096 to end;  
Shah Alam I, R. Y. 1; Farrukh Siyar, R. Y. 5 to Shah Alam II
33. *Mustaqirul Mulk*  
(i.e. resting place of sovereignty) Akbarabad Azimabad Shah 'Alam I, R. Y. 1 to Farrukh Siyar, R. Y. 5  
Farrukh Siyar, R. Y. 3-7
34. *Qal'ah* (i.e. the fort) Agra Alwar Babur, AH 936  
Akbar
35. *Qasbah* (i.e. town) Amirkot ? Panipat Akbar, AH 979, 989  
Shah 'Alam II
36. *Qit'ah* (i.e. district) Bareli Shah 'Alam II, AH 1209-20
37. *Sarkar* (i.e. government) Lakhnau Akbar, AH 967
38. *Sawai* (i.e. better Than most) Jaipur Muhammad Shah, 1153? to Shah 'Alam II
39. *Shahr* (i.e. the city) Anhilwara Pattan Akbar, AH 984-85
40. *Shahr-i-Mu'azzam Darus Sultanat*  
(i.e. the great city-the seat of sovereignty) Ahmadabad Akbar, AH 981
41. *Shahr-i-Mukarram*  
(i.e. august city) Champaner Humayun, AH 942
42. *Subah*  
(i.e. province) Awadh Shah 'Alam II, AH 1229
43. *Tirath*  
(i.e. shrine, pilgrimage) Hardwar Shah 'Alam II, AH 1212-14

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| 44. | <i>Zainul Bilad</i><br>(i.e. ornament of cities) | Ahmadabad | Muhammad Shah   |
| 45. | <i>Zinatul Bilad</i><br>(i.e. beauty of cities)  | Ahmadabad | Rafi'ud Darajat |



## APPENDIX-III

## List of renamed places along with their references

Places	Renamed as	References
1. Achhabal	Begamabad	' <i>Alamgir</i> , 66.
2. Adoni	Imtiyazgarh	Singhal, 21; <i>MU</i> , Vol.II, 522, 723.
3. Agra	Akbarabad	<i>EIAPS</i> , 1951-1952, 8-10; <i>ibid.</i> , 1955-1956, 45-46; <i>AREp.</i> 1964-65 D, 487; <i>AREp.</i> , 1969- 70, D, 114; <i>MU</i> , Vol. I, 204.
4. Ahangarh	Ibrahimgarh	<i>MU</i> , Vol. II, 502.
5. Ajmer	Salimabad	<i>Num.Sup.</i> , Vol. II, 1912, 430.
6. Akluj	Sa'dnagar	Singhal, 16-17.
7. 'Aligarh	Koil/Kol	<i>EIAPS</i> , 1955-1956,22-23; <i>EIAPS</i> , 1968,5; <i>AREp.</i> , 1962-63, D, 59.
8. Amarpur	Dinjawas	<i>AREp.</i> , 1961-62, D, 239.
9. Amba Jogai	Mominabad	'Irfan Habib, 14A, 18+, 76+.
10. Anantnag	Islamabad	'Irfan Habib, 3A, 33+,75+.
11. Aravad	Aurangnagar	<i>Khandesh</i> , 96, 116, 158, 222.
12. Arcot	Muhammadpur	<i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 18 (1998), 37.
13. (A place near)Arcot	Sa'adatpur	<i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 18, 58.
14. Asadgarh (fort)	Nusratabad	<i>AREp.</i> , 1973-74, D, 236-38.
15. Awadh (Lucknow)	Akhtarnagar	<i>CIMC</i> , Vol. III, XXXII.
16. Badarpur	Rahilabad	<i>CIS</i> , B 911.
17. Bagerhat	Khalifatabad	'Irfan Habib, 11A, 22+, 89+; <i>Ins. Bengal</i> , Vol. IV, 63.
18. Bakla	Isma'ilpur/Islampur	'Irfan Habib, 11A, 22+,90+; <i>Ins. Beng.</i> , Vol. IV, 192.
19. Banaras (Varanasi)	Muhammadabad	<i>CIMC</i> , Vol. III, IXV.
20. Bangalore	Darus Surur	<i>Sul.Khu. Dad</i> , 503.

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|-----|-------------------|--------------------|---|
| 21. | Bankapur          | A'zamnagar         | <i>MU</i> , Vol. I, 197.  |
| 22. | Bareli            | Asafabad           | <i>Num.Sup.</i> , Vol. II, 1912, 430.   |
| 23. | Bari Khatu        | Piran Khatu        | <i>AREp.</i> 1975-76,D, 170.  |
| 24. | Baroda (Vadodara) | Daulatabad         | <i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 9, 78; Acharya, 108.   |
| 25. | Baswapatna        | Sultanpur          | 'Irfan Habib, 16A, 14+, 75+.  |
| 26. | Bayana            | Fathpur            | <i>MU</i> , Vol. III, 478.  |
| 27. | Bednur            | Haidarnagar        | Singhal, 30.  |
| 28. | Belgaum           | Mustafabad         | Singhal, 30.  |
|     |                   | A'zamnagar (Gokak) | <i>Num. Sup.</i> , XIII, 1917, 76-78;<br><i>Hay. Ab. Hay.</i> , 207; <i>MU</i> , Vol. II,<br>484; Singhal, 9. |
| 29. | Bellary           | Samar Patan        | <i>Sul. Khu. Dad.</i> , 503.  |
| 30. | Berhampur         | Ibrahimpur         | 'Irfan Habib, 11A, 24+, 88+.  |
| 31. | Bhakkar           | Mansurah           | <i>MU</i> , Vol. III, 245; <i>Coin.&amp;</i>  |
|     |                   | Shergarh           | <i>Met.</i> ,385; <i>Num.Sup.</i> , No.XXV,<br>1921, 128.   |
| 32. | Bhalki            | Muzaffarnagar      | <i>Num.Sup.</i> , XIII, 1917, 98-100.   |
| 33. | Bhilsa (Vidisha)  | Mahabalistan       | <i>EIM</i> ,1929-1930, 7;   |
|     |                   | 'Alamgirpur        | <i>AREp.</i> 1967-68, D, 252.   |
| 34. | Bhiwandi          | Islamabad          | 'Irfan Habib, 14A, 19+, 73+.  |
| 35. | Bhuj              | Sulaiman Nagar     | 'Irfan Habib, 7A, 23+, 69+.   |
| 36. | Bidar             | Zafarabad          | Singhal, 12, 14; <i>MU</i> , Vol. I, 193;   |
|     |                   | Muhammadabad       | <i>ibid.</i> Vol.III, 122; <i>EIM</i> , 1931-1932,<br>27; Singhal, 14; <i>AREp.</i> , 1964-65,<br>D,247.      |
| 37. | Bikaner           | Baldah-i-Safa      | <i>Num. Sup.</i> , Dec. 1912, 436.  |
| 38. | Bindraban         | Mominabad          | Singhal, 31; <i>Num. Sup.</i> , Vol.II, 1912,<br>430.   |
| 39. | Bishgaon          | Ghazipur           | <i>Ins. Beng.</i> , Vol. IV, 26.  |
| 40. | Brahmapuri        | Islampuri          | 'Irfan Habib, 14A, 17+,75+; <i>MU</i> ,<br>Vol. I, 314.   |

41. Bulandshahr Baran *EIAPS*, 1966, 15-16;  
Unchanagar *EIAPS*, 1966, 1.
42. Calcutta (Kolkata) 'Alinagar Mehra, 24.
43. Chakna Islamabad *MU*, Vol.II, 305, 701.
44. Chamargonda Shirigonda 'Irfan Habib, 14A, 18+, 74+.
45. Champaner Muhammadabad *AREp.*, 1954-55, C, 34; *ibid.*, 1968-69, D, 219; *EIAPS*, 1974, 3, 30-31, 42; *SIPN*, Vol. 9, 76-77; *MU*, Vol. III, 281; Acharya, 32.
46. Chanderi Fathabad *EIAPS*, 1964, 74-75; *AREp.*, 1962-63, D, 65.
47. Chandor Ja'farabad 'Irfan Habib, 14A, 20+, 74+.
48. Chatgam (Chittagong) Islamabad *MU*, Vol. II, 303, 809; *CMIC*, Vol. III, 1.
49. Chaupala Muradabad 'Irfan Habib, 8A, 28+, 78+.
50. Cheul Saimur Singhal, 4.
51. Chidambaram (Tillai) Rahmat Pala *SIPN*, Vol. 18, 57.
52. Chitaldurg Farahyab Hisar *Sul.Khu. Dad*, 503.
53. Chittorgarh Khidrabad *EIAPS*, 1955-1956, 69-70; *AREp.*, 1955-56, D, 127; *EIAPS*, 1959-60, 69.
54. Chopra Mustafabad *Khandesh*, 280.
55. Coimbatore Salamabad *Sul. Khu. Dad*, 503.
56. Covelong Sa'adat Bundar *SIPN*, Vol. 18, 58.
57. Dabhol Mustafabad *EIM*, 1931-1932, 11.
58. Dacca (Dhaka) Jahangirnagar *EIM*, 1931-1932, 29-30; *EIAPS*, 1966, 37; Singhal, 27; *MU*, Vol.I, 219; *ibid.* Vol.III, 543.
59. Dahod (Dohad) Mahmudnagar *EIAPS*, 1975, 27; *AREp.*, 1968-69, D, 211; *SIPN*, Vol.9, 77.
60. Dardangarh Sadiqgarh *MU*, Vol. III, 66.



61. Delhi Shergarh *EIM*, 1937-1938, 19; *EIAPS*, 1966, 53; *AREp.*, 1961-62, D, 69; *AREp.* 1964-65, D, 89; *AREp.*, 1969-70, D, 174; *Num. Sup.*, No. XXXV, 1921, 119, 121-22; *SIPN*, Vol. XXI, 36-42.
62. Deogarh Islamgarh *Hay. Asaf*, 469; *MU*, Vol. II, 876.
63. Deogir Qutbabad *Coin. & Met.*, 157; *Tugh. Dyn.*, 591-92; *Num. Sup.*, No. XXXV, 1921, 119-20, 125; *MU*, Vol. III, 911.
64. Deopattan Sultanpur *EIM*, 1935-1936, 48; *EIAPS*, 1961, 2, 10-11.
- (Prabhas Patan)
65. Deotala Tabrezabad *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. IV, 79.
66. Dewanhalle Yusufabad *Sul. Khu. Dad*, 503.
67. Dhankot Mu'azzamnagar *MU*, Vol. I, 415.
68. Dharasen Osmanabad 'Irfan Habib, 14A, 18+, 76+.
69. Dharmat Fathabad 'Irfan Habib, 9A, 23+, 75+.
70. Dharur Fathabad *Num. Sup.*, XIV, 1918, 346; *MU*, Vol. I, 197; *ibid.*, Vol. II, 710; *ibid.*, Vol. III, 116.
71. Dharwar Fathabad Singhal, 13; 'Irfan Habib, 16A, 15+, 75+; *MU*, Vol. I, 531.
- Nasirabad
72. Dhulia Fathabad 'Irfan Habib, 7A, 20+74+.
73. Dindigul Khaliqabad *Sul. Khu. Dad*, 503.
74. Diyadar Muhammadabad *EIAPS*, 1974, 23; *SIPN*, Vol. 9, 77.
75. Faizabad Mukhlispur 'Irfan Habib, 8A, 30+, 77+.
76. Farrukhabad Ahmadnagar *Num. Sup.*, Vol. II, 1912, 430.
77. Feroke Farrukhi *Sul. Khu. Dad*, 503.
78. Firuzpur (Bisauli) Akhrinpur *E.&D.*, Vol. VI, 229.
79. Galgala Qutbabad 'Irfan Habib, 14A, 16+, 75+; *MU*, Vol. I, 288; *ibid.*, Vol. II, 313.

80.	Ganjam	Khairabad	<i>AREp.</i> , 1981-82, C, 152.
81.	Garhwal (Tehri)	Srinagar	<i>CIMC</i> , Vol. III, Ivii.
82.	Gaur (Lakhnauti)	Firuzpur	'Irfan Habib, 11A, 24+, 88+; 10A, 25+, 87+; <i>MU</i> , Vol.I, 557; <i>ibid.</i> Vol. II, 809; <i>Ins. Beng.</i> , Vol. IV, 81.
83.	Ghaziabad	Ghaziuddin Nagar	'Irfan Habib, 8A, 28+, 77+.
84.	Ghiswa	Machlishahr	'Irfan Habib, 8A, 25+, 82+.
85.	Gingee	Nusratgarh	<i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 18, 56; <i>EIM</i> , 1937-1938, 43-45.
86.	Gogi	Ustadabad	<i>SIPN</i> , Vol XXI, 56-63.
87.	Gokak	Rahimgarh	'Irfan Habib, 14A, 16+, 74.
88.	Gokulgarh	Dingarh	<i>CIMC</i> , Vol. III, xlvii.
89.	Gokulgarh	A'zamnagar	<i>CPML</i> , Vol. II, xli.
90.	Golconda	Muhammadnagar	<i>EIM</i> , 1937-1938, 51; <i>MU</i> , Vol. I, 536.
91.	Gondegaon	Shahpur	<i>AREp.</i> , 1978-79, D, 170.
92.	Gorakhpur	Mu'azzamabad	<i>Num. Sup.</i> , Vol. II, 1912, 430; <i>CPML</i> , Vol. II, C.
93.	Gulbarga	Ahsanabad	<i>EIM</i> , 1935-1936, 35-36.
94.	Guntur	Murtadanagar	<i>Hay. Asaf</i> , 473; 'Irfan Habib, 15A, 16+, 80+.
95.	Hajo	Shujaabad	<i>Ins. Beng.</i> , Vol. IV, 282.
96.	Hansi	Sahibabad	<i>Num. Sup.</i> , 1912, No. 11, 526.
97.	Himmatnagar	Ahmadnagar	<i>AREp.</i> , 1968-69. D, 202; <i>EIAPS</i> , 1963, 44; Acharya, 6-7.
98.	Hissar	Hissar Firuza	'Irfan Habib, 4A, 29+, 75+.
99.	Hoskota	Islampur	<i>Sul. Khu. Dad</i> , 503.
100.	Ikdala	Azadpur	<i>Del. Sul.</i> , 584.
101.	Ikkeri	Muhammadnagar	<i>Hay. Asaf</i> , 471.
102.	Indore	Malharnagar	<i>CIMC</i> , Vol. III, Ixvii.
103.	Indur	Nizamabad	'Irfan Habib, 15A, 18+, 78+.
104.	Jahanabad	Arambagh	'Irfan Habib, 10A, 22+, 87+.

105. Jalna	Jannatapur	<i>AREp.</i> , 1964-64, D, 155-56.
106. Jamnagar	Islamnagar	<i>MU</i> , Vol. III, 105.
107. Janwara	Hasanabad	<i>AREp.</i> , 1968-69, D, 7.
108. Jaora	Gulshanabad	<i>AREp.</i> , 1970-71, D, 66.
109. Jatara	Islamabad	<i>EIAPS</i> , 1953-54, 39.
110. Jhangra	Jahangirabad	'Irfan Habib, 4A, 29+, 71+.
111. Jhansi	Balwantnagar	<i>Num.Sup.</i> , Vol. II, 1912, 430; <i>CPML</i> , Vol. II, lv.
112. Jhunjhnu	Fathpur	'Irfan Habib, 6A, 28-,74+.
113. Jhusi	Hadiabad	'Irfan Habib, 8A, 25+, 81+.
114. Junagarh (Gimar)	Mustafabad	<i>EIAPS</i> , 1953-1954, 62, 66-67; <i>AREp.</i> , 1954-55, C, 125-27; <i>Num.</i> <i>Sup.</i> , XIX, 1912, 410-24; <i>EIAPS</i> , 1961, 18; Singhal, 28; <i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 9, 75-76; Acharya, 25.
115. Kaij Dharur	Fathabad	<i>EIAPS</i> , 1961, 48- 49; <i>ibid.</i> , 1966, 48-49; <i>AREp.</i> , 1964-66, D, 86.
116. Kalikot (Calicut)	Islamabad	<i>Sul. Khu. Dad</i> , 503.
117. Kalpi	Muhammadabad	<i>CIMC</i> , Vol. III, lvi.
118. Kamrup	Chawalistan	<i>EIAPS</i> , 1955-1956, 33.
191. Kanauda	Mohindergarh	'Irfan Habib, 4A, 28+, 76+.
120. Kangra	Nagarkot	'Irfan Habib, 3A, 32+, 76+.
121. Karad	Qararabad	<i>Num.Sup.</i> , XIV, 1918, 354-56.
122. Khakrechi	Ambiyabad	<i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 9, 78; <i>EIAPS</i> , 1975, 30.
123. Kharki/Khirki	Aurangabad	'Irfan Habib, 14A, 19+, 75+.
124. Khelna (fort) (Vishalgarh)	Sakhkhara Lana	'Irfan Habib, 14A, 16+, 74+; <i>MU</i> , Vol. II, 81.
125. Kishangiri	Falakul A'zam	<i>Sul. Khu. Dad</i> , 503.
126. Kondana (Sinhgarh)	Bakhshinda Bakhsh	<i>E. &amp; D.</i> , Vol. VII, 373, 382-83.
127. Kondapalle	Mustafanagar	'Irfan Habib, 15A,16+, 80+.
128. Kuch Bihar	'Alamgirnagar	<i>MU</i> , Vol.III, 546.



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| 129. Kurnool          | Qamarnagar    | <i>EIAPS</i> , 1951-52, 35; <i>MU</i> , Vol. I, 255; <i>ibid</i> , Vol. III, 872.                           |
| 130. Kutiyana         | Muzaffarabad  | <i>EIAPS</i> , 1953-1954, 71.   |
| 131. Lahore           | Mahmudpur     | <i>Coin. &amp; Met.</i> , 75.   |
| 132. Lakhnaur         | Shahabad      | 'Irfan Habib, 8A, 28+, 79+.   |
| 133. Madras (Chennai) | Chinapatan    | <i>CIMC</i> , Vol. III, xl.   |
| 134. Magadi           | Sawangarh     | <i>Sul. Khu. Dad</i> , 503.   |
| 135. Mahakanghat      | Qutbpur       | 'Irfan Habib, 11A, 22+, 87+.  |
| 136. Malia            | Rasulabad     | <i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 9,78; <i>EIAPS</i> , 1975, 30.   |
| 137. Malkhed          | Muzaffarnagar | <i>EIM</i> , 1929-1930, 1; <i>MU</i> , Vol. I, 193; <i>ibid.</i> , Vol. II, 337.                            |
| 138. Malkusa          | Rasulabad     | 'Irfan Habib, 8A, 26+79+.   |
| 139. Maloli           | Gulshanabad   | <i>Sul. Khu. Dad</i> , 503.   |
| 140. Mandsaur         | Darus Salam   | <i>Num. Sup.</i> , Vol. II, 1912, 436-37.   |
| 141. Mandu            | Shadiabad     | <i>AREp.</i> , 1971-72, D, 80; <i>EIM</i> , 1909-1910, 19.  |
| 142. Mangalore        | Jamalabad     | <i>Sul. Khu. Dad</i> , 503.   |
| 143. Mathura          | Islamabad     | <i>CIMC</i> , Vol. III, li.   |
| 144. Meghraj          | Mahmudnagar   | <i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 9, 78.   |
| 145. Miraj            | Mubarakabad   | <i>EIAPS</i> , 1964, 32-33; <i>AREp.</i> , 1962-63, D,127; <i>Hay. Asaf</i> , 471; <i>MU</i> , Vol. I, 139. |
|                       | Murtadabad    |   |
| 146. Moi (Mohi)       | Islampur      | 'Irfan Habib, 6A, 25+74+.   |
| 147. Mulher           | Aurangarh     | <i>MU</i> , Vol. II, 872; <i>Khandesh</i> , 98, 222.  |
| 148. Murshidabad      | Makhsusabad   | <i>Num. Sup.</i> , Vol. II, 1912, 430.  |
| 149. Mymensingh       | Mu'azzamabad  | <i>Ins. Beng.</i> , Vol. IV, 45.  |
| 150. Mysore           | Nadharbar     | <i>Sul. Khu. Dad</i> , 503.   |
| 151. Nagore           | Qadir Patan   | <i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 18, 39.  |
| 152. Najafgarh        | Mas'udabad    | 'Irfan Habib, 4A, 28+, 76+.   |
| 153. Nandigarh        | Gardun Shikoh | <i>Sul. Khu. Dad</i> , 503.   |

154. Nandyal Ghazipur 'Irfan Habib, 16A, 15+, 78+.
155. Narwar (fort) Hisar-i-Muhammadi *EIAPS*, 1965, 30-34.
156. Nasik Gulshanabad *AREp.*, 1961-62, D, 195; *Num.Sup.*, XIV, 1918, 352-54.
157. Navanagar (Jamnagar) Islamnagar 'Irfan Habib, 7A, 22+,70+; Singhal, 9.
158. Nellore Rahmatnagar *SIPN*, Vol. 18, 57.
159. Neodhana Islamnagar 'Irfan Habib, 8A, 28+, 78+.
160. Pakal Islamabad 'Irfan Habib, 4A, 28+, 77+.
161. Panduah Firuzabad *Del.Sul.*, 585; *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. IV, 45.
162. Pangar Malkapur 'Irfan Habib, 14A, 19+, 76+.
163. Panhala Nabi Shahdurg *Hay. Asaf*, 472.
164. Patan Nahrwala *AREp.*, 1954-55, C, 50, 82; *ibid.*: 1956-57, D, 61, 91; *ibid.*, 1967-68, D, 145; *EIAPS*, 1971, 4.
165. Patna Rasulpur *Coin. & Met.*, 280; Singhal, 25; *MU*, Vol. I, 322; *ibid.*, Vol. III, 132.
166. Patti Nakhat Baburpur 'Irfan Habib, 8A, 26+, 79+.
167. Paugarh Khatami *Sul. Khu.Dad*, 503.
168. Pawagarh Muhammadabad *EIM*, 1937-1938, 14.
169. Pedgaon Bahadurgarh *Num.Sup.*, XIII, 1917, 73- 75; Singhal,14.
170. Penukonda Fakhrabad *Sul.Khu. Dad*, 503.
171. Pihani 'Abdullahnagar Singhal, 28.
172. Porto Novo Mahmud Bandar *AREp.*, 1963-64, D, 162.
173. Puna Muhiabad *Num. Sup*, XIV, 1918, 365-68; Singhal, 30-31; *MU*, I, 319.
174. Qal'a Bal Manzarabad *Sul. Khu. Dad*, 503.
175. Qal'a Guti Faid Hisar *Sul. Khu. Dad*, 503.
176. Qandahar Nadirabad Whitehead, liii.
177. Qannauj Shergarh *Coin. & Met.*, 386-88; *Num.Sup.*, No. XXXV, 1921, 127-28; *CIMC*, Vol. III, lxxiv.

178. Raichur Firoznagar *EIM*, 1939-1940, 29; *MU*, Vol. II, 313.
179. Rajapur Islam Bundar *Num.Sup.*, XVII, 1912, 127-29.
180. Rajaura Ahmadpur
181. Rajmahal Akbarnagar *EIM*, 1937-1938, 18; *MU*, Vol. I, 118; *ibid.*, Vol. 166; *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. IV, 263.
182. Rampur Islampur 'Irfan Habib, 6A, 24+, 75+; *MU*, Vol. II, 144.
183. Rampur Mustafabad Singhal, 28.
184. Ramtek Islamtek 'Irfan Habib, 9A, 21+, 79+.
185. Ranpur (fort) Shahpur *AREp.*, 1954-55, C, 17.
186. Raheri Islamgarh *AREp.*, 1976-77, D, 208; *MU*, Vol. I, 292.
187. Ramnad Wali Nagar *SIPN*, Vol. 18, 57.
188. Sagar Nusratabad *Hay. Asaf*, 472.
189. Sagar Ravishnagar *CPML*, Vol. II, lxxx.
190. Salher Sultangarh *MU*, Vol. I, 415.
191. Salimgarh (fort) Nurgarh *EIAPS*, 1959-1960, 11.
192. Sanchor Mahmudabad *EIAPS*, 1974, 36; *AREp.*, 1966-67, D, 197; *SIPN*, Vol. 9, 78.
193. Satara A'zam Tara  
Nauras Tara *MU*, Vol. II, 503, 512; *ibid.*, Vol. III, 42.
194. Satyamangalam Salamabad *Sul.Khu. Dad*, 503.
195. Shahabad Anupnagar *Num.Sup.*, 1912, No. 11, 451.
196. Shakar Kherla Fath Kherla 'Irfan Habib, 9A, 20+, 76+.
197. Sholapur Sandalapur *AREp.*, 1965-66, D, 233; *ibid.*, 1966-67, D, 180.
198. Sikandara Bihishtabad *MU*, Vol. III, 321; *E.&D.*, Vol. VI, 115.
199. Singaldurg Muzaffarabad *Sul.Khu. Dad*, 503.
200. Sira Rustamabad 'Alamgir, 56; *Sul.Khu. Dad*, 503.



201. Sironj	Sherganj	<i>EIAPS</i> , 1969, 25.
202. Sivaganga	Husainpur	<i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 18, 57.
203. Sodhra	Ibrahimabad	'Irfan Habib, 4A, 32+, 74+; <i>MU</i> , Vol. I, 300.
204. Srirangapatna	Zafarabad	<i>Sul. Khu. Dad</i> , 503.
205. Tahangarh (fort)	Islamabad	<i>AREp.</i> , 1963-64, D, 314.
206. Tanda	Muhammadnagar	<i>Num.Sup.</i> , Dec. 1912, 436-37.
207. Tanda	Akbarpur	<i>CPML</i> , Vol. II, xlii.
208. Tanjavur	Qadimnagar	<i>SIPN.</i> , Vol. 18 (1998), 39.
209. Tankaria	Mustafabad	<i>EIAPS</i> , 1974, 17-18; <i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 9, 76.
210. Timami	Zafarnagar	<i>MU</i> , Vol. III, 437.
211. Tirauri	A'zamabad	'Irfan Habib, 4A 29+, 76+; Sarkar, 33.
212. Tirhut	Tughluqpur	<i>Coin. &amp; Met.</i> , 157; <i>Num.Sup.</i> , No. XXXV, 1921, 130.
213. Tirichinopoly	Natharnagar	<i>AREp.</i> , 1953-54, C, 36; <i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 18, 37-38.
214. Tirunelveli	Anwarnagar	<i>SIPN</i> , Vol. 18, 58.
215. Tribeni	Firuzabad	<i>Ins. Beng.</i> , Vol. IV, 18.
216. Udaipur	Muhammadabad	Singhal, 12; <i>CPML</i> , Vol. II, xxxii.
217. Ujhani	Asafabad	Singhal, 29.
218. Utnur	Nabinagar	<i>MU</i> , Vol. I, 363.
219. Vishakapatnam	Bundar Shah Pattan	<i>AREp.</i> , 1953-54, C, 77.
220. Warangal	Sultanpur	<i>JNSI</i> , VII, 64; <i>Sul. Hind</i> , 41; <i>Num. Sup</i> , No. XXXV, 1921, 120.
221. Yadgir	Ibrahimgarh Firuzgarh	<i>EIM</i> , 1929-1930, 1-2; <i>Num.Sup.</i> , XIII, 1917, 98-100; Singhal, 16; <i>MU</i> , Vol. II, 875.

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

### **Acharya**

*Catalogue of the coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, the Sultans of Gujarat*, ed. G.V Acharya, Bombay, 1935.

### **Alamgir**

'*Alamgir* (Urdu), Lahore, Tarikh Number, 1941.

### **AREp.**

*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, A.S.I. Publication.

### **CIMC**

H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. III, Rep. Varanasi, 1972.

### **CIS**

Stan Goron & J.P. Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, N.Delhi, 2001.

### **Coin.& Met.**

H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, Delhi, 1936.

### **CPML**

R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol.II, Oxford, 1914.

### **Del.Sul.**

M. Habib & K.A. Nizami, *Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, The Delhi Sultanat*, New Delhi, 1970.

### **E. & D.**

H. M. Elliot & J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vols. VI & VII, Rep. Allahabad, 1964.

### **EIAPS**

*Epigraphia Indica-Arabic and Persian Supplement*, A.S.I. Publication.

### **EIM**

*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, A.S.I. Publication, prior to being renamed as *EIAPS*.

### **Hay. Ab. Hay.**

Abul Hasan 'Ali Nadavi, *Hayat-i-Abdul Hayy* (Urdu), Lucknow, 1970.

### **Hay. Asaf**

M. Mahbub Junaidi, *Hayat-i-Asaf* (Urdu), Hyderabad, AH 1365.

**Ins. Beng.**

Shamsuddin Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV, Rajshahi, 1960.

**Irfan Habib**

'Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1982.

**JNSI**

*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Varanasi.

**Khandesh**

Dr. M. I. Qudusi, *Khandesh under the Mughals, 1601-1724 AD*, New Delhi, 2002.

**Mehra**

Parshotam Mehra, ed., *A Dictionary of Modern Indian History, 1707-1947*, Delhi, 1985.

**MU**

Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasirul Umara* (Per.), 3 Vols, ed. Maulawi A. Rahim, Calcutta, 1888-91.

**Num.Sup.**

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, *Numismatic Supplement*, Calcutta.

**Sarkar**

Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India*, Calcutta, 1960.

**Singhal**

C. R. Singhal, *Mint-Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India*, Bombay, 1953.

**SIPN**

*Studies in Indian Place Names*, Journal of the Place Name Society of India, Mysore.

**Sul.Hind**

Agha Mehdi Husain, *Sultanul Hind Muhammad bin Tughluq* (Urdu), Allahabad, 1937.

**Sul.Khu.Dad**

Mahmud Bengaluri, *Tarikh-i-Sultanat-i-Khuda Dad*, Bangalore, 1939.

**Tugh. Dyn.**

Agha Mehdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Calcutta, 1963.

**Whitehead**

R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. III, Oxford, 1934.



## IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS DURING THE POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

**D**uring the Post-Independence period and particularly in the last decade (1986-96), over 1700 inscriptions were collected from 21 Indian States<sup>1</sup> including Union Territories,<sup>2</sup> of which the important ones, numbering over two hundred, belong to the prominent dynasties *viz.*, Mamluks, Khaljis, Tughluqs, Lodis, Surs and the Mughals;<sup>3</sup> the provincial and regional dynasties *viz.*, Adil Shahis, Asaf Jahis, Bahmanis, Barid Shahis, Nizam Shahis; Sultans of Bengal, Gujarat, Malwa and Mysore; Nawwabs of Arcot, Awadh, Banganpalle, Ellichpur, Junagarh, Kurnool, Pataudi and Savanur; and local rulers namely Ex-Gond Rajas of Nagpur, Rulers of Bundi, Rajgarh, and Sindhyas of Gwalior.

These inscriptions cover a wide range of subjects and provide heterogeneous pieces of information, mostly dealing with political, economic and religious history of the Muslim period, apart from bringing to light important personages otherwise unknown to history. Some of them, besides their contents, represent exquisite calligraphical specimens in various styles of *Naskh*, *Nastaliq* and *Thulth*. The most outstanding inscriptions are noticed below in their chronological order.

I. Among the miscellaneous inscriptions of Kerala, the earliest Arabic epigraph in *Kufi* characters from Baliapatam in Cannanore District, is a fragmentary epitaph<sup>4</sup>, that speaks about the death of one Ali, son of Kasnuri, in AH 471 (AD 1078-79). It is the earliest record copied so far from South India, indirectly corroborating the fact that Arab settlement existed in the coastal region of the south in view of their commercial activities, even prior to the establishment of Muslim power in India.

II. A Mamluk record in Arabic, dated AH 655 (AD 1257), belongs to Nasirud Din Mahmud Shah I (AD 1246-66), copied from Tonk (originally from Nagaur) in Rajasthan. Historically, it is an important inscription, assigning the construction of a mosque, to Aibak as-Sanai, during the governorship of al-Amir al-Isfah Salar (name not given.) With a greater amount of certainty, the builder of the mosque can be identified with Aibak as-Sanai from whom Shamsud-Din Iltutmish (AD 1210-35) had purchased Malik Ikhtiyarud Din Aitgin, a talented Turk<sup>5</sup>. This indicates the fact that Aibak as-Sanai had been a prominent noble even under Nasirud Din Mahmud Shah.

III. A Tughluq record in Persian from Sahar, first ever discovered in the Mathura District

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of Uttar Pradesh, represents the founder of the dynasty Sultan Ghiyathud Din Shah (AD 1320-25). It records the erection of a mosque by Mahmud Uthman Khalj, under the supervision of Shams Mir Husaini in AH 725 (AD 1325). (Illus.3)

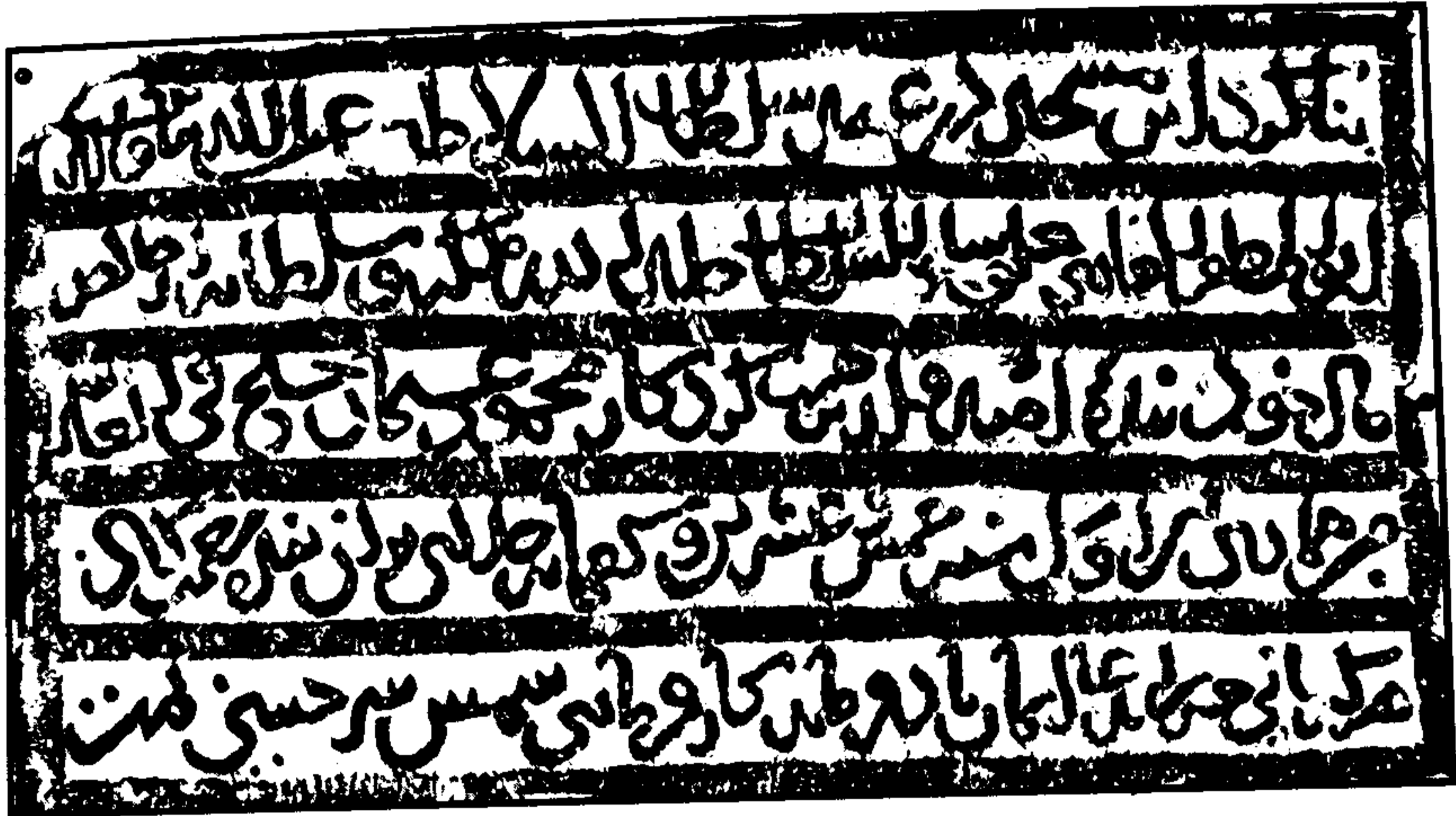
IV. Of great historical importance, is another Tughluq record in Persian from Khambat in Kheda District of Gujarat, belonging to Firuz Shah (AD 1351-88). Dated AH 762 (AD 1361), it recounts certain political events and says that Firuz Shah had, first marched against Lakhnauti (i.e. Gaur in West Bengal) in AH 759 (AD 1358) and while returning from his campaign, he halted at Jaunapur (i.e. Jaunpur in Uttar Pradesh) which he had founded after the name of Fakhrud Din Jauna, more popular as Muhammad bin Tughluq (AD 1325-51). From there, he is said to have led his army against the pagan ruler of Jainagar in AH 761 (AD 1360) and emerged victorious, laying his hands on a large booty. It was probably in commemoration of such a splendid victory that eminent noble and step-brother of the Sultan, Naib Barbak Ibrahim Sultani, set up this inscriptional slab in the important town of Khambat. Ibrahim Sultani enjoyed exemplary royal patronage under Firuz Shah, as historians like Diyaud Din Barani and Siraj Afif would have us believe<sup>6</sup>.

V. An extremely important Arabic epigraph comes from Prantij in Sabarkantha District of Gujarat, recording the construction of a mosque in AH 844 (AD 1441) by al-Baramad al-Khani?, during the governorship of Khan-i-Azam Mubarak Khan, son of Ahmad Shah, the Gujarat Sultan. In the light of this inscription, a rare piece of information comes to light about Khan-i-Azam Mubarak Khan who held the charge of a governor in the region when his father Ahmad Shah I was ruling over Gujarat during the period AD 1410-42. It was in the reign of Gujarat Sultan Muhammad Shah (AD 1442-51) that Khan-i-Azam Mubarak Khan joined the court of Sultan Mahmud Khalji (AD 1436-69) of Malwa<sup>7</sup>.

VI. An extraordinary calligraphical specimen, is the record of the Bengal Sultan Ruknud Din Barbak Shah (AD 1459-75), from Mahdipur in Malda District of West Bengal, registering the erection of a splendid middle gateway of a structure (name not specified) situated between the judicial court and the treasury. This epigraph is largely identical in purport and executed almost in the same hand which is now at display in the University Museum of Philadelphia, U.S.A.<sup>8</sup>.

VII. Alaud-Din Husain Shah (AD 1493-1519) of Bengal is represented in a record from Qasba Mahso in West Dinajpur District of West Bengal, which is a fine specimen of *Naskh* in *Tughra* calligraphy. This epigraph assigns the construction of a mosque to Rukn Khan (son of) Alaud Din in AH 906 (AD 1500-1). The builder Rukn Khan hailed from Sylhat and was the administrative head of the well-known city Muzaffarabad and Chief Police Officer at Firuzabad. He was the hero of the campaign for the subjugation of Kamrup, Kamta, Jainagar and Orissa. Inscriptions from Tribeni and Debikot also mention his name, suggesting his interest in building activities.<sup>9</sup>





3. Sahar, Mathura Dist., U.P. : Persian inscription, recording the construction of a mosque by Mahmud Uthman Khalji, under the supervision of Shams Mir Husaini in AH 725/AD 1325, during the reign of Ghiyathud Din Tughluq. *AREp.*, 1988-89, C 196.



4. Sahar : Perso-Sanskrit Lodi inscription, assigning the erection of a Jami Masjid in Sahar in AH 920/AD 1514, during the time of Masnad-i-Ali Azam Humayun Alawal Khan and in the reign of Sikandar Shah. *AREp.*, 1988-89, C 197.



VIII. Of great historical importance, is a loose bilingual Lodi record of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (AD 1488-1517) from Sahar (Illus.4) in Mathura District of Uttar Pradesh, recording the construction of a Jami mosque in Sahar during the governorship of Masnad-i-Ali Azam Humayun Alawal Khan at someone's (name lost) instance in AH 920 (AD 1514). Masnad-i-Ali Alawal Khan of this inscription is none other than the son of Ahmad Khan Mewati, grandson of Bahadur Khan Nahir. It was Alawal Khan's son Hasan Khan who joined hands with Rana Sanga against Babur and fell fighting in the battle of Khanua in AD 1527.<sup>10</sup>

IX. Another Lodi epigraph of Sultan Ibrahim (AD 1517-26) from Khandar in Sawai Madhopur District of Rajasthan, records the construction of a mosque in AH 928 (AD 1522) by Shaikh Hasan, at the instance of his father Masnad-i-Ali Zafar Khan, the conqueror of the town-fort. Ahmad Gadai was the supervisor of the work. The text was composed by Ahmad Isa and inscribed by Abdus Sattar, son of Abdul-Haq, the *Khatib* (one who delivers the religious discourse) of the mosque. This epigraph is historically very important which confirms the statement of a source *Parshavnath Shrawan Shatvisi (MSS)* quoted by M.S. Ahluwalia in his work *Muslim Expansion in Rajasthan* (Delhi, 1978, p.192) whereby we come to know that Ibrahim Lodi had conquered this region, probably including Ranthambhor, in eastern Rajasthan. Masnad-i-Ali Zafar Khan, mentioned above, was a renowned figure under the Lodis. His original name was Miyan Makkan.<sup>11</sup> His son Shaikh Hasan held the charge of the fort of Khandar near Ranthambhor. It was during his tenure that he built the mosque at the behest of his father.

X. A Sur record of Islam Shah (AD 1545-52) comes from a deserted place Daulatabad in Shivpuri District of Madhya Pradesh, assigning the construction of a mosque in AH 957 (AD 1550) to Daulat Khan. The text was composed and inscribed by Naziri Shattari. Daulat Khan was an important nobleman of the Sur period and the village Daulatabad appears to have been founded by him. He was an adopted son of Shujaat Khan, the renowned general under Sher Shah (AD 1539-45) and Islam Shah. Following the death of Shujaat Khan in AD 1555, his real son Miyan Bayazid put his step-brother Daulat Khan to death out of rancour and jealousy<sup>12</sup>.

XI. Of great interest and historically of immense importance, is an Adil Shahi record from Arak in Sangli District of Maharashtra. Its contents are of rare nature. It is the inscription of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (AD 1580-1627) saying that at the royal order and in the time of Mir Jumla Khan-i-Azam Dilawar Khan, the boundaries of the village Arak were fixed in the presence of *Diwan-i-Hadd* (i.e. Surveyor-General) in AH 996 (AD 1587-88). The other administrative officers, mentioned in the record, include Bilal Khan, the *Hawaldar*, Sayyid Mahmud, the *Naib-i-Ghaibat* (Minister in Absence) of the district Mubarakabad (i.e. Miraj), Malik Raihan, the *Silahdar* (armour-bearer), Sharza Khan, the *Muqasadar* (district revenue officer) and Mansur Khan, the *Sarbarati* (Welfare in-charge of the guests) of the village Arak. Khan-i-Azam Dilawar

Khan, mentioned above, was the regent of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Adil Shahi ruler, being in league with Ainul Mulk Kinani got rid of him.<sup>13</sup> The present record highlights the systems of demarcating boundaries of villages, then prevalent, in consultation with the revenue officials, administrative officers and fief-holders.

XII. Of Akbar's time (AD 1556-1605) is a Persian epigraph dated AH 1008 (AD 1599-1600) from Bada Bagh (Illus.5) near Jaisalmer in Rajasthan, engraved on the wall of a Shiva Temple. It recounts the brief en-route-stay of Mir Muhammad Masum Nami at this place when he was called from his posting at Qandahar (now in Afghanistan). This epigraph is an addition to the series of his different records we come across at various places, denoting thereby his route of travel to Qandahar and Iraq and back from there to the Deccan. It is quite well known that Nami was a celebrated noble of Akbar's court, so also a poet, historian, physician and above all, a master calligrapher of his time.

XIII. A Persian record of Shah Jahan (AD 1628-58), carved on an ivory-palanquin at the Hazardwari Palace Museum, Murshidabad, West Bengal, contains only the name of the emperor, Shihabud Din Muhammad Shah Jahan Badshah, the place name Dihli and the date AH 1050 (AD 1640-41) which indicates the fact that the palanquin had been manufactured at Delhi and the name of the emperor on the *palki* suggests another fact that it had been in the personal use of the emperor.

XIV. An example of religious tolerance, is contained in an inscription of Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707) from Udbal (Illus.6) in Bidar District of Karnataka. It records that this house, obviously a mosque, was constructed by Ramchand, son of Pakharmal Kayath (i.e. Kayasth) Mathur, the servant of the royal court, in the year AH 1072 (AD 1661-62). The record throws light on the harmonious atmosphere and communal amity then prevailing in the region.

XV. A metrical Persian record of Aurangzeb, speaks about the construction of a *ribat* (i.e. inn) by Lashkar Khan in AH 1080 (AD 1669-70) at Lashkarnagar. This important inscription comes from the place called Sarai Lashkar Khan in Ludhiana District of Punjab. The builder Lashkar Khan has been a well-known figure under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. His original name was Yadgar Beg and his father Zabardast Khan was a *Walashahi* (i.e. Bodyguard) of Shah Jahan. In the 19<sup>th</sup> regnal year (AD 1645-46) of Shah Jahan, he was appointed ambassador to Persia<sup>14</sup>. It was in the 25<sup>th</sup> regnal year (AD 1651-52), when he was bestowed the title of Lashkar Khan. Under Aurangzeb also, he had various important assignments. His daughter was married to Lutfullah Khan, son of Sadullah Khan, the Prime Minister of Shah Jahan<sup>15</sup>. In this inscription, the place name is referred to as Lashkarnagar, obviously after the name of the builder, but now the place bears the name Sarai Lashkar Khan.

XVI. Another record of Aurangzeb from Nahargarh in Kota District of Rajasthan, assigns the construction of a fort to Qutbud Din, son of Nahir Dil, of the Rajput clan, in AH 1090 (AD 1679). Nahir Dil of our record can be identified with Nahir Dil Chela who is reported to have intercepted a secret letter of Shah Jahan to Dara Shikoh and submitted the same to Aurangzeb<sup>16</sup>. It was his





5. Bada Bagh, Jaisalmer Dist., Rajasthan : Mughal Persian inscription, dated AH 1008/AD 1599-1600, saying that when Nawwab Amir Muhammad Masum Bakkari (Nami) was directed by the servants of Akbar to return from Qandahar, he passed through this place i.e. Bada Bagh. *AREp.*, 1990-91, C 76.





6. Udbal, Bidar Dist., Karnataka : Inscription of Aurangzeb in Persian, assigning the construction of this house i.e. a mosque, to Ramchand s/o Pakhar Mal Kayath Mathur in AH 1072/AD 1661-62. *AREp.*, 1984-85, C 97.

son Qutbud Din who named the village and the fort after his father as Nahargarh. This is a rare piece of information as gleaned from this inscription.

XVII. With rare pieces of information, are the two Mughal records of Aurangzeb from Kanchipuram in Tamil Nadu, being complements of each other. One of them records that Shaikh Islam<sup>17</sup> founded a market (*Painth*) and named it after himself as Islampur during the governorship of Nawwab Daud Khan in AH 1116 (AD 1704-05). It further recounts that the revenue accruing from the said market, would be utilized for a noble cause of running a free kitchen for the destitute. The responsibility for the collection of revenue and spending the same for the said purpose, would devolve upon Yella Palla Thulkarni (divisional accountant) and his sons.

The other record dated AH 1117 (AD 1705-06), contains an official order pertaining to the revenue demands of the government and informing the dwellers of Islampur that the first-grade-weaving-industries would pay two *Falams* (small gold coin of South India) whereas the second-grade (or) other industries, one *Falam* every month. Likewise, the shopkeepers occupying the front row in the market, would pay two *Falams* a month. As regards the Wednesday-Market, the shopowners would pay their taxes according to the usual practice. These two records, engraved on the obverse and reverse sides of the slab, represent the two sides : official notification and in response to it what shopkeepers of Islampur had to do, taking into account the rates of government demand from them.

XVIII. Among the later Mughals, Muhammad Shah (AD 1719-48) is represented in a record from Pipli in Puri District of Orissa, saying that during the 16th regnal year (AH 1147/AD 1734) of the said king, a lofty threshold i.e. a tomb, was built during the governorship of Nawwab Muhammad Taqi Khan under the guidance of Shaikh Fathullah; son of Shaikh Fasihullah, the native of Unam (i.e. Unnao) in the *Sarkar* of Lucknow in the *Subah* of Awadh. Nawwab Muhammad Taqi Khan, mentioned in the inscription, was the son of Nawwab Shujaud Din Khan (AD 1727-39). He was the deputy of his father in Orissa. He was a shrewd diplomat who earned much notoriety in his administration. He had been a great builder of monuments<sup>18</sup>. He died in AH 1747 (AD 1734) and lies buried at Qadam Rasul in Cuttack<sup>19</sup>.

XIX. One more epigraph of Muhammad Shah comes from Indore, a district headquarters of Madhya Pradesh, which states that the gun named *Tup-i-Kubak* belongs to Nawwab Ali Muhammad Khan Bahadur, having been manufactured under the supervision of Fath Khan, the *Khan-i-Saman* (House-Steward) in the 25<sup>th</sup> regnal year AH 1155 (AD 1742-43) and which was given under the charge of Bazid Khan Darugha. Nawwab Ali Muhammad Khan of our record is better known as Muhammad Khan Rohila who became chief of the Afghans in AD 1744, establishing his independent authority over the Rohilkhand region.

XX. The last but not the least is the inscription from Bara Banki in Uttar Pradesh, belonging to the famous Nawwab Wajid Ali Shah (AD 1847-56) of Awadh. This new Persian inscription is of the post-deposition-period of Wajid Ali Shah, assigning the erection of a mosque to Amir Mahal,<sup>20</sup> in AH 1285 (AD 1868-69), the metrical text having been composed by the Nawwab himself, pen-named Akhtar. Amir Mahal, the builder of the mosque, was one of the secondary wives of Wajid Ali Shah who entered his harem during his princehood at the

age of eighteen. She was a beautiful dancing girl, with besetting melodious voice, popularly known as Karam Bakhsh Wali. After his deposition in AD 1856, when the Nawwab left for Calcutta, he offered to divorce those wives who were not desirous of accompanying him. One of them was Amir Mahal who remarried the *Qadi* of Bara Banki named Asghar Ali and after death lies buried at Bara Banki.<sup>21</sup> In the light of this inscription, this fact is established that even after the divorce, relation between the two remained intact and cordial. It was out of past love and affection that the deposed Nawwab composed the metrical text of the inscription for Amir Mahal, referring to her therein as *rashk-i-hura (n) az mahalha-i-hudur* i.e. (once) the pride of enchanting women, one of the consorts of the court. This inscription is a literary specimen of great historical importance, denoting Wajid Ali's lucid style in composing Persian verses.



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Largest number of inscriptions come from Uttar Pradesh (Nos. 448), followed by Karnataka (214) and Maharashtra (185).
2. 20 inscriptions from old collection, now representing Pakistan.
3. Among the dynastic inscriptions, 95 epigraphs belong to the Mughals.
4. For detail, Dr. M. Ilyas Quddusi, 'Inscriptions of Kerala with special reference to Epitaph from Baliapatam', *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India (JESI)*, Volume Twenty Five, 1999, pp.29-36.
5. Rizwi, S.A., ed., *Adi Turk Kalin Bharat* (Aligarh, 1956), p.66.
6. Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Calcutta, 1862), p.578; Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 428-29.
7. Sikandar Manjhu, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Eng. trans., Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, Education Society's Press, p. 26; Bayley, Sir. E.C., *History of Gujarat* (N. Delhi, 1970), p.135.
8. Begley, W.E., *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India* (Illinois, 1985), No. 26, pp.60-61.
9. Shamsud Din Ahmad, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol.IV (Dacca, 1960), pp.25-26, 190-91; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, Vol. XXXIX, 1870, p.295; *JASB*, Vol. XLI (1872), pp.102-7.
10. Habib & Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V (*The Delhi Sultanat*). N.Delhi, 1970, pp.843-44; *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, Vol. IV (Bombay, 1977), pp. 37, 45, 52, 63.
11. *Medieval India- A Miscellany*, Vol. IV, pp. 20-21, 24-25; *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1967, p.37.
12. Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), pp. 271, 273; Nizamud Din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Eng. trans. B.De, Vol. III, Pt. I (Calcutta, 1939), pp.623, 629; Day, U.N., *Medieval Malwa* (Delhi, 1965), p. 336.
13. Firishta, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 49, 65, 67; Verma, D.C., *History of Bijapur* (Delhi, 1974), pp. 221-22.
14. Lahuri, *Badshahnama*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1868), pp. 492-93.
15. Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maathirul Umara*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 168-71.
16. Faruki, Z., *Aurangzeb and His Times* (Rep. Delhi, 1972), p. 63.
17. A metrical record from Kanchipuram assigns the construction of an *Idgah* to him in AH 1116 (AD 1704-05), during the governorship of Nawwab Daud Khan Panni, the famous noble under Aurangzeb.
18. Ray, B.C., *Orissa under the Mughals* (Calcutta, 1981), pp.61-66; Haque, M.A., *Muslim Administration in Orissa* (Calcutta, 1980), pp. 180-86.

19. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1953-54, App. C, No. 118.*
20. For detail, M.I. Quddusi, 'Inscription of Nawwab Amir Mahal from Bara Banki', *JESI, Volume Twenty Three, 1997, pp. 58-65.*
21. Tasadduq Husain, *Begamat-i-Awadh (Lucknow, n.d.), pp. 241-44.*

## EXAMPLES OF COMMUNAL HARMONY AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION AS GLEANED FROM PERSO-ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS

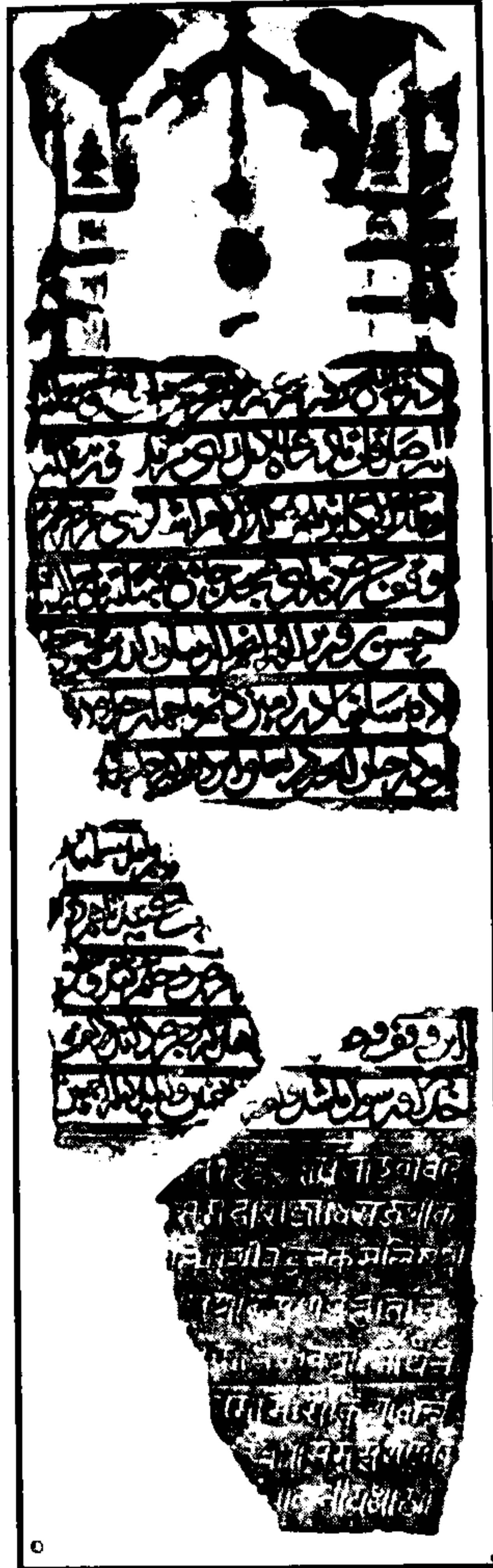
**T**he archaeological finds help the scholars of history in filling the gaps in our historical knowledge as well as cast light on the noble examples set by people in the past, guiding people to learn fine principles of Co-existence in a pluralistic society. Such an objective study is very necessary to the cause of national integration. Popularisation of something best in our national legacy serves the righteous cause. Hence Dr. K.V. Ramesh remarks :

“Such and other instances as are already known and which may come to be known as and when power interpolation are brought to light can play a major role, if properly published, in promoting all over the country communal harmony which is the greatest need of the hour. If nothing else, these considerations of national integration and communal harmony should be enough justification for giving proper fillip for epigraphical studies and publications.”

It was late Shri N.M. Ganam, Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, A.S.I., Nagpur, to have suggested me to deal with Perso-Arabic inscriptions, throwing light on communal harmony and religious toleration. There are 28 inscriptions, representing 19 towns, spreading over nine states of India. The states are: Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. These inscriptions range in their dates from the 13th century to the 19th century AD. These inscriptions bespeak the spirit of cooperation which prevailed amongst the Hindus and Muslims in the past. They have set good examples for all of us to follow now and in the days to come. I have discussed a few inscriptions only and not all.

The earliest inscription<sup>2</sup> is in Arabic coming from Somnath Patan<sup>3</sup> (District Junagadh, Gujarat). It is dated AH 6(62) / AD 1264, recording the construction of a mosque at Somnath by Nuru'ud-Din Firuz, son of Abu Ibrahim, son of Muhammad al-'Iraqi, the prince among seamen, and prince of the princes of merchants, during the time of Amir Ruknu'ud-Din<sup>4</sup> (ruler of Hormuz), with the collaboration of (Sri Palugi) Dev, Bhimsinh Thakur, Somesar Dev and Ram Dev. It also records some endowment for the expenses of the mosque. The Sanskrit version, engraved on a separate slab, gives more details and mentions the ruling Vaghela king of Gujarat Arjundeva (AD 1261-74)<sup>5</sup>. Even during the days of the Vallabhis, as reported by the Arabs, the Balhara rulers had been well wishers of the Muslims in their dominion, providing all





7. Vadodara (originally from Sampa), Dist. headquarters, Gujarat : Perso-Sanskrit Inscription of Raj Karna Dev Vaghela, recording that one Tajud Din Hasan s/o Mahmud Khatib made an endowment of the village Samba (Sampa) with all its revenue, for the Jami mosque of Kambayat (Khambat), in AH 704/AD 1304. *AREp.*, 1980-81, C 98.

facilities for their settlements and livelihood.<sup>6</sup> They maintained cordial relations with the Muslims who had full religious freedom.

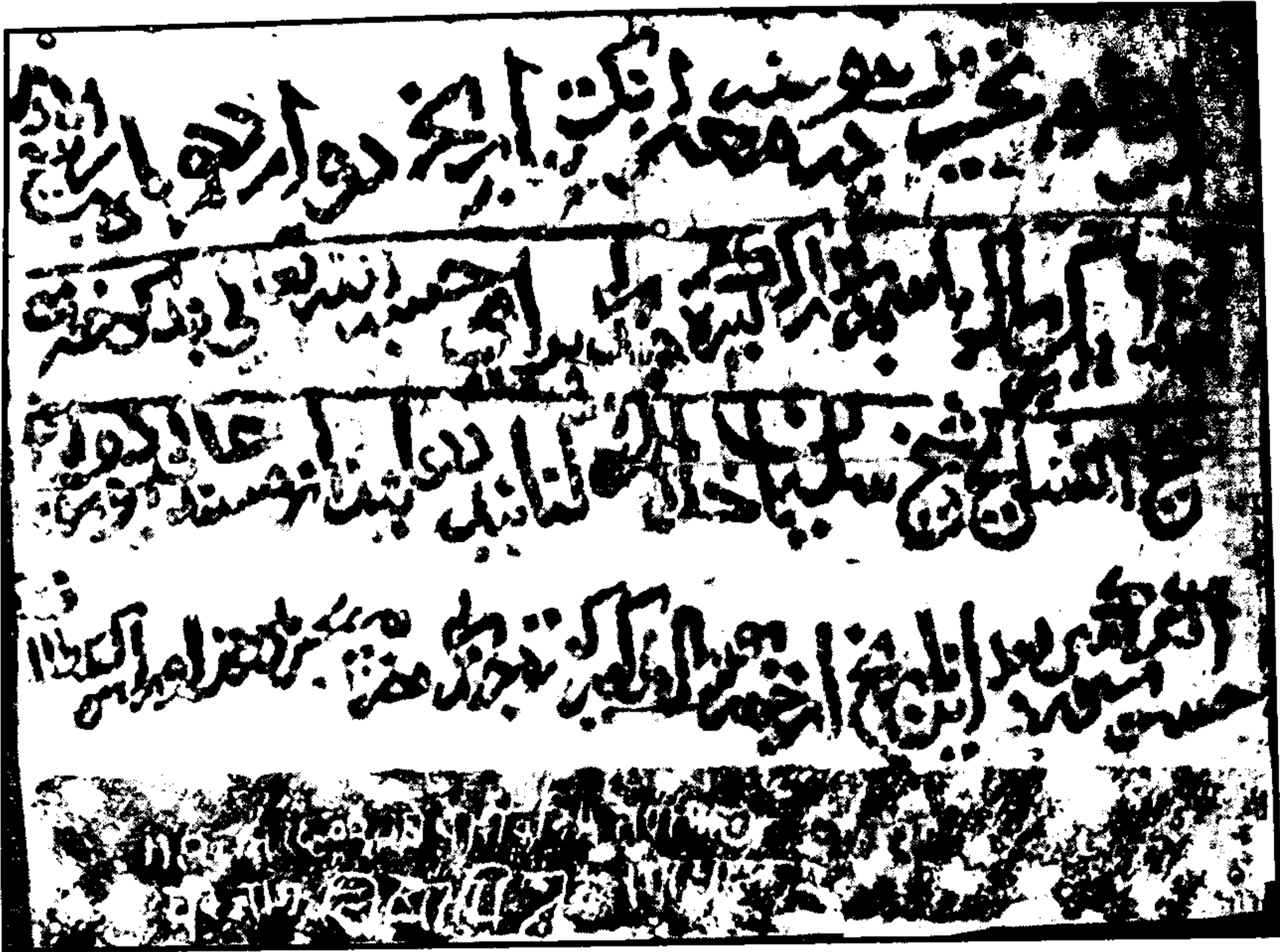
One more example of the communal harmony and open-heartedness of another Vaghela king of Gujarat is the bilingual inscription from Sampla (District Vadodara, Gujarat), now in the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Indian History, M.S. University of Baroda (Illus.7). It is of immense historical interest, throwing valuable light on and clearing up some aspects of the conquest of Gujarat by 'Alaud-Din Khalji (AD 1296-1316). It is dated AH 704/AD 1304 and records that through the charitable intentions of the just king, Rai Karna Dev (AD 1296-1303-04) and of Malikul Akabir (lit. Prince among the Great) Balchaq and Malikul-Umara (lit. Prince among the nobles) Shadi, Najmju'd-Din Mahmud made an endowment of the village Sampa in the *Kanam*<sup>7</sup> land with its revenue for the Jami mosque of Kambayat (Cambay).<sup>8</sup> From the two inscriptions, discussed above, it is inferred that even the Vaghelas, during their regime, had set an example of co-operation with the Muslims in their dominion.

Besides Gujarat, other regions of India have produced instances of religious toleration and mutual cooperation between the Muslims and the Hindus. It will not be out of place to mention one or two, other than Arabic and Persian inscriptions, throwing light on communal harmony. An interesting inscription<sup>9</sup> is recorded from Virapandyapattanam of Tirunelveli district in Tamil Nadu, which is an instance of Hindu munificence towards Islam. It is dated in Kollam 563/ AD 1387 recording the grant of 1/4 *panam* for every 100 *panam* worth of goods exported or imported, at the port of Sonadukondanattanam, to the Jumattupalli (mosque) of the place which was to be named as Udayamattandapparumpalli. Abu-Bakr (Abu Vahkar), the *Qadi* of the place was given the title Udayamattandak-Kadi. This grant must have been made with the consent of the king Udayamarttanda who may be identified with his namesake who was the ruler of Travancore in this period and this port on the east coast must have been held by the Travancore rulers.

An inscription,<sup>10</sup> bespeaking the spirit of co-operation between Hindus and Muslims, comes from Kalyana in Bidar district of Karnataka, of the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq (AD 1326). From this inscription, we learn that, in the chaotic days of the rebellion of Bahau'd-Din Gurshaps,<sup>11</sup> the people of Karnataka discontinued the worship of the god Madhukesvara, installed at a temple in Kalyana. When peace was restored, there arose a controversy among the people of the locality, about resuming worship in the temple again. Then a man Tahkkura Mala by name, had access to Khoja (Khwaja i.e. head) and represented the case. The Khoja translated their request into action and soon *Shivalinga* was re-installed in the temple and worship resumed as earlier.

Another interesting bilingual record<sup>12</sup> of Muhammad bin Tughluq from Karkhadi (District Vadodara, Gujarat), now in Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery at Vadodara and dated AH 740/AD 1340, states that in accordance with an order, issued to Malik





8. Jodhpur (originally from Nagaur), Dist. headquarters, Rajasthan : This bilingual i.e. Persian and Sanskrit inscription records that the holy saint Shaikh Sulaiman got vacated the pusal of Bhattark Kirat Chand and had it handed over to him by Masnad-i-Ali Yusuf Khan in AH 959/AD 1552. *AREp.*, 1952-53, C 107.



9. Taragarh, Ajmer Dist., Rajasthan : Persian inscription dated AH 1222/AD 1807-08, stating that Rao Bala Ingliia constructed the *dalan* in the Dargah of Husain Khing Sawar, at the latter's instance in a dream. *AREp.*, 1953-54, C 20.



Muzaffar by the king, a mosque and a well in the village Karkari were constructed by Mokha Mehta son of Keta Mehta Hindi (i.e. Hindu). The construction of a mosque by a Hindu is quite significant.

A bilingual inscription<sup>13</sup> of the Sur period, dated AH 959/ AD 1552, originally from Nagaur, now in Sardar Museum at Jodhpur (Illus.8) in Rajasthan, records that a Jaina *Pusal* (religious building), standing in the name of Bhattark Kirat Chand, was got vacated and handed over to the original owners, by Masnad-i-'Ali Yusuf Daulat Khan Husain Sur, most probably the governor of the place at the pleading of His Holiness, the Shaikh of the Shaikhs, Shaikh Sulaiman who was descendant of Qadi Hamidud-Din of Nagaur. It further warns that anyone who causes inconvenience or harm to Kirat Chand, shall incur the oath of divorce (*Talaq*). This incident is indicative of not only broad outlook and high traditions of tolerance on the part of the Muslim saints and divines, but also the respect and reverence the authorities and the non-Muslim residents of the town, had for Shaikh Sulaiman, referred to above. It is an example of equity and tolerance whereby a Muslim divine used his good offices and influence to get a *pusal* of the fellow townmen, professing another faith, vacated. His sense of justice and uprightness must have inspired the minds of the local Jaina community.<sup>14</sup>

An important element in the evolution of the composite culture and communal harmony, was the establishment of the *khanqahs* of Muslim saints even prior to the existence of Muslim kingdoms in India. They had no arms except humanitarianism and brotherhood of man. They had the entire humanity in their view and heart. They had been preaching the universality of the basic principles of different religions and trying to forge coherence among the followers of various sects. The teachings of Muslim *faqirs* and Hindu savants supplemented the efforts of the rulers to encourage cordial relations between the two communities. These spiritual persons tried their best to root out the artificial social barriers and inferiority complex. The house of every saint was a popular rendezvous for both the Hindus and Muslims, irrespective of status, caste and creed.

The Hindu masses had learnt to revere Muslim saints and paid visits to the celebrated shrines. No less the Hindu chiefs had respect and reverence for them and what they have done for the saints is presented below.

A record from Taragarh near Ajmer, dated AH 1222/AD 1807-08 states that Rao Bala Ingliia constructed the *dalan* in the *Dargah* of Husain Khing Sawar (Illus.9) at the latter's instance in a dream.<sup>15</sup> Another epigraph from the same place, records the construction of a hall (*dalan*) in the *Dargah* Shah Husain (at Taragarh) by Rao Gumanji Sindhia in AH 1227/ AD 1812-13 and that of a fence (*ihata*) two years later.<sup>16</sup> Rao Bala Ingliia and Gumanji Rao *alias* Tantia Sindhia were the governors of Ajmer on behalf of Daulat Rao Sindhia (AD 1794-1827) of Gwalior from AD 1803 to 1808 and 1809 to 1815, respectively.

Four records from Madhi (District Ahmadnagar, Maharashtra), refer to Khande Rao Dabhar, Pilaji (Rao) Gaekwar<sup>17</sup> and Chimaji Bhagat Sawant who paid their respects and reverence to the *Dargah* of Pir Shah Ramdan (died AD 1390).<sup>18</sup> Another record at the same place states that Pilaji Rao Gaekwar restored the *Rauda* (of Pir Shah Ramdan) in AH 1139/ AD 1726-27. It also mentions Chimaji Bhagat, son of Vithuji, son of Bapji Sawant, the *Muqaddam* of the villages Pargaon and Sirgaon Gor Amrah (Gor Umrah).<sup>19</sup> These inscriptions are important to show the reverence in which the Maratha leaders mentioned in them, held Pir Shah Ramdan.

One epigraph from Nagore (District Tanjavur, Tamil Nadu), records that Pratap Singh, the Maratha chief of Tanjavur, ordered for the construction of a tower in AH 1166/AD 1753 in the *Dargah* of Hadrat Qadir (AH 910-978/ AD 1504-70), the saint at Nagore Bandar. It also refers to the foundation of *Qadir Penth*, after the name of the saint.<sup>20</sup>

Four epigraphs from Achalpur (District Amravati, Maharashtra), refer to the construction of three gates in the tomb of the saint Rahman Ghazi,<sup>21</sup> between AH 1189-1192/ AD 1775-79 by the orders of the Raja Mudhoji (AD 1772-88), the Bhonsla king of Nagpur, as thanks-giving for the fulfilment of his wishes (Illus.10-13). The construction work was carried out by Shaikh 'Izzud-Din under instruction of Jham Singh.<sup>22</sup> One more inscription from the same place, assigns the construction of the tomb of the above-mentioned saint, to Maharaj Raghuji Bhonsla (AD 1788-1816) at the instance of Mir Mahdi in AH 1195/AD 1781.<sup>23</sup> (Illus.14)

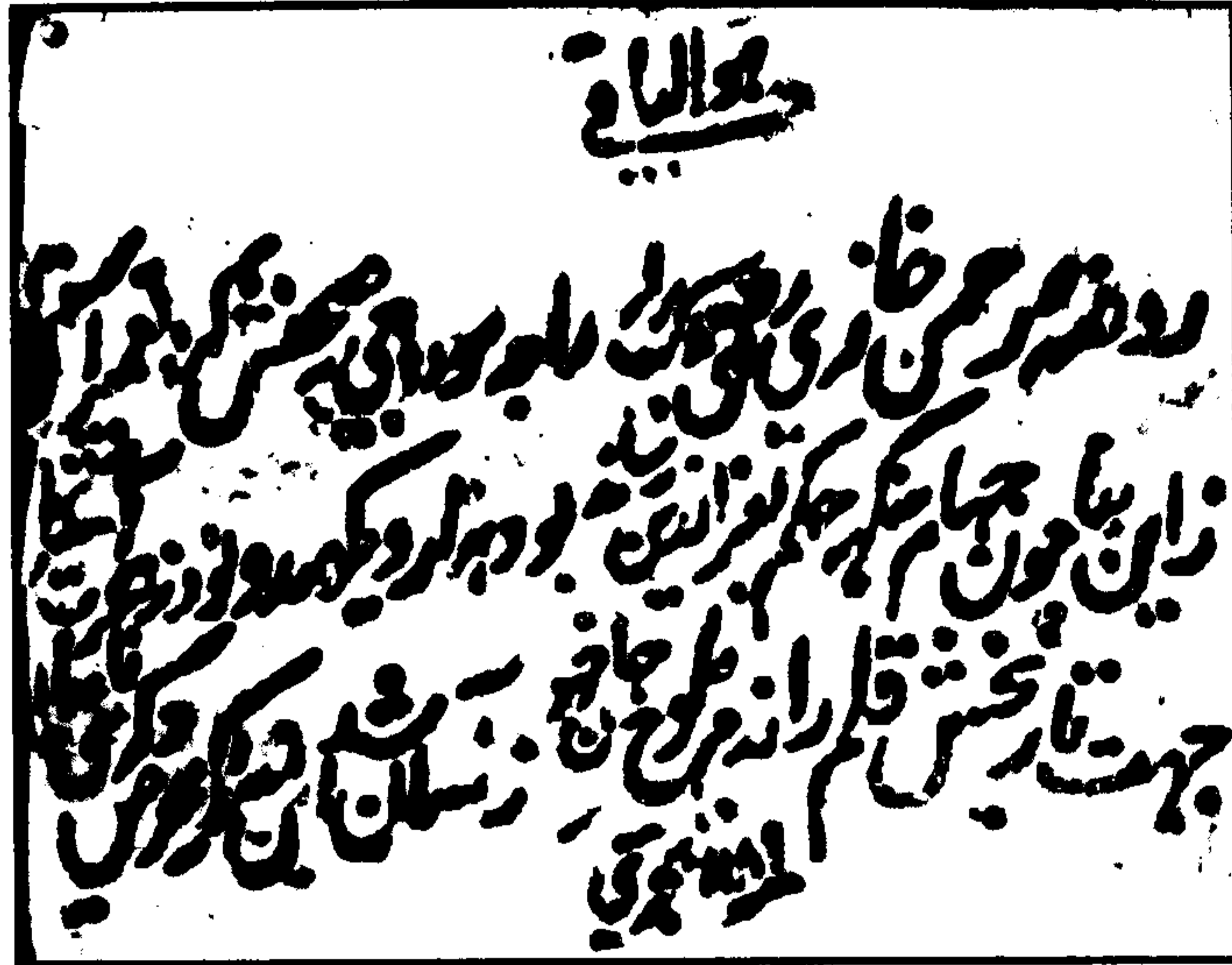
The inscriptions discussed above clearly show how the Hindu chiefs held the Muslim saints in reverence and it was out of respect for the saints that they carried out so many building activities in and around their graves.

Of great interest is an epigraph from Udbal (District Bidar, Karnataka), of Aurangzeb. It records the construction of a mosque in AH 1072/AD 1661-62 by the servant of the royal court, Ramchand son of Pakharmal Kayath (i.e. Kayastha) Mathur.<sup>24</sup> Another record from Ranod (District Shivpuri, Madhya Pradesh), assigns the construction of the gate (of the mosque) to Nardal Rathor in the 30<sup>th</sup> regnal Year, AH 1079-80/AD 1686-87 of Aurangzeb.<sup>25</sup>

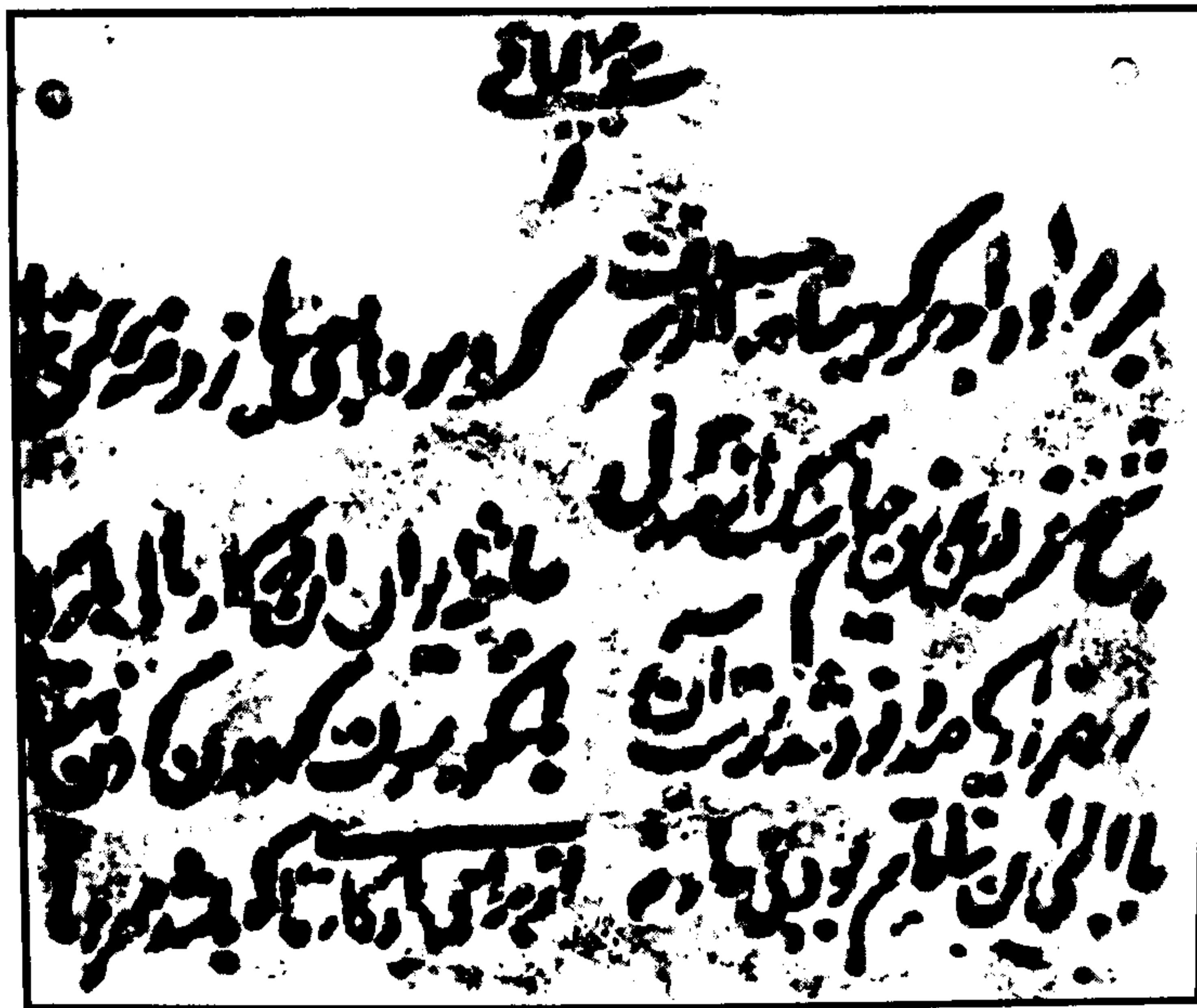
A bilingual record<sup>26</sup> from Sambhar (District Jaipur, Rajasthan) dated AH 1184, V.S. 1827 (AD 1770) purports to be an order issued by the Maharaja (of Jodhpur). It states that the lands endowed for the *thakurdwaras* of the Jains, Vaishnavites and Brahmins and (those for the) *Qadi* and his brothers, the poor and strangers will be exempted from survey and measure for the purpose of tax (Illus.15). This record is an example of public welfare to all, irrespective of caste and creed.

From Bhagalpur, a district headquarters in Bihar, comes a bilingual record, stating that Grant Esqr. who bore the Persian title Diau'l-Mulk, constructed a Hindu temple and a tank in AD 1793.<sup>27</sup>





10. Achalpur, Amravati Dist., Maharashtra : Persian inscription of the Bhonsla ruler, assigning the construction of the structure i.e. gate in the tomb of Rahman Ghazi, to Raja Modhaji in AH 1189/AD 1775-76. AREp., 1964-65, D 111.

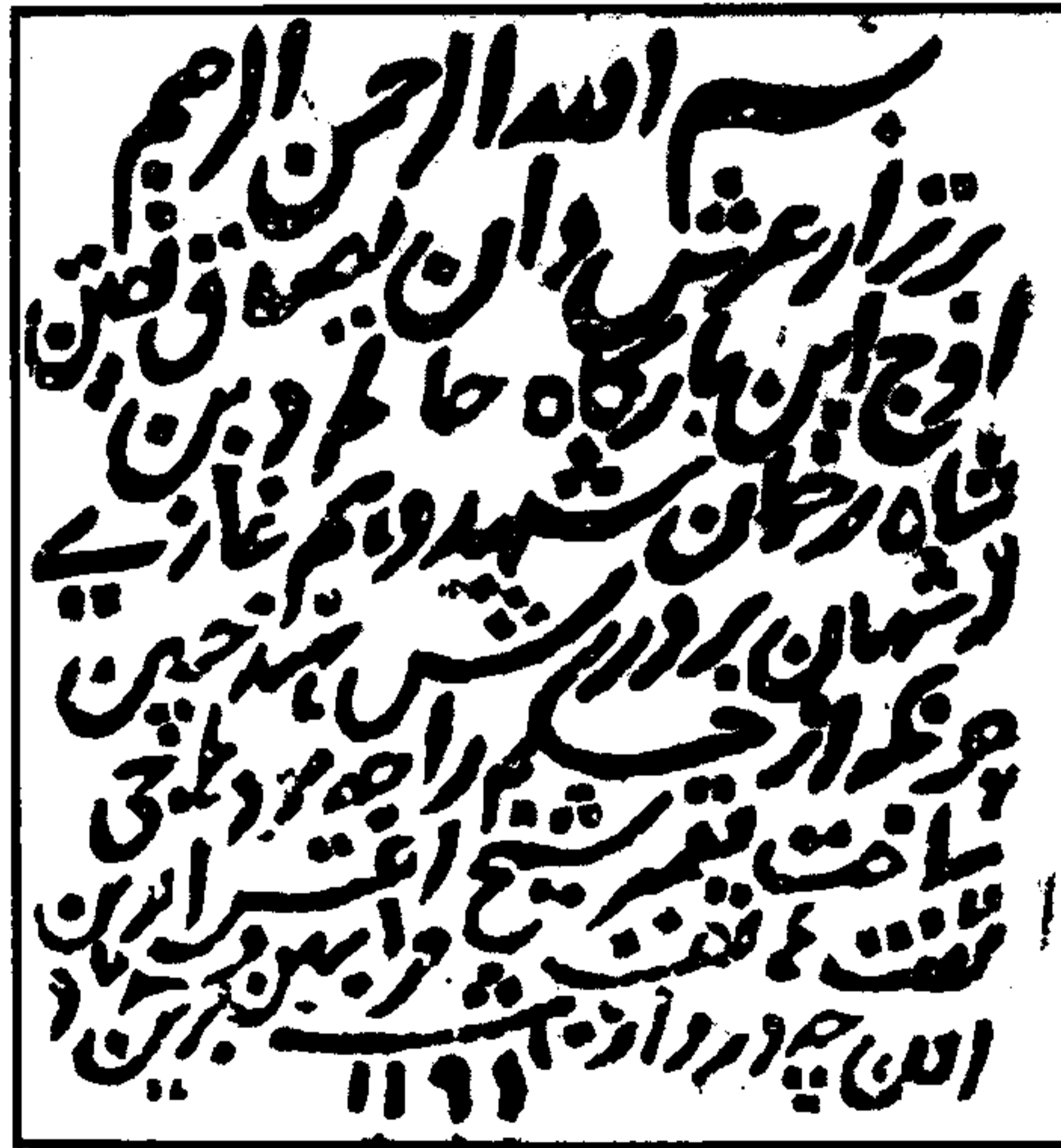


11. Achalpur : Persian inscription dated AH 1190/AD 1776-77, recording that by way of an offering on behalf of Modhaji to the holy tomb, at the wish of Raja Raghuvendra, Shaikh Izzud Din built the lofty tomb. AREp., 1964-65, D 112.

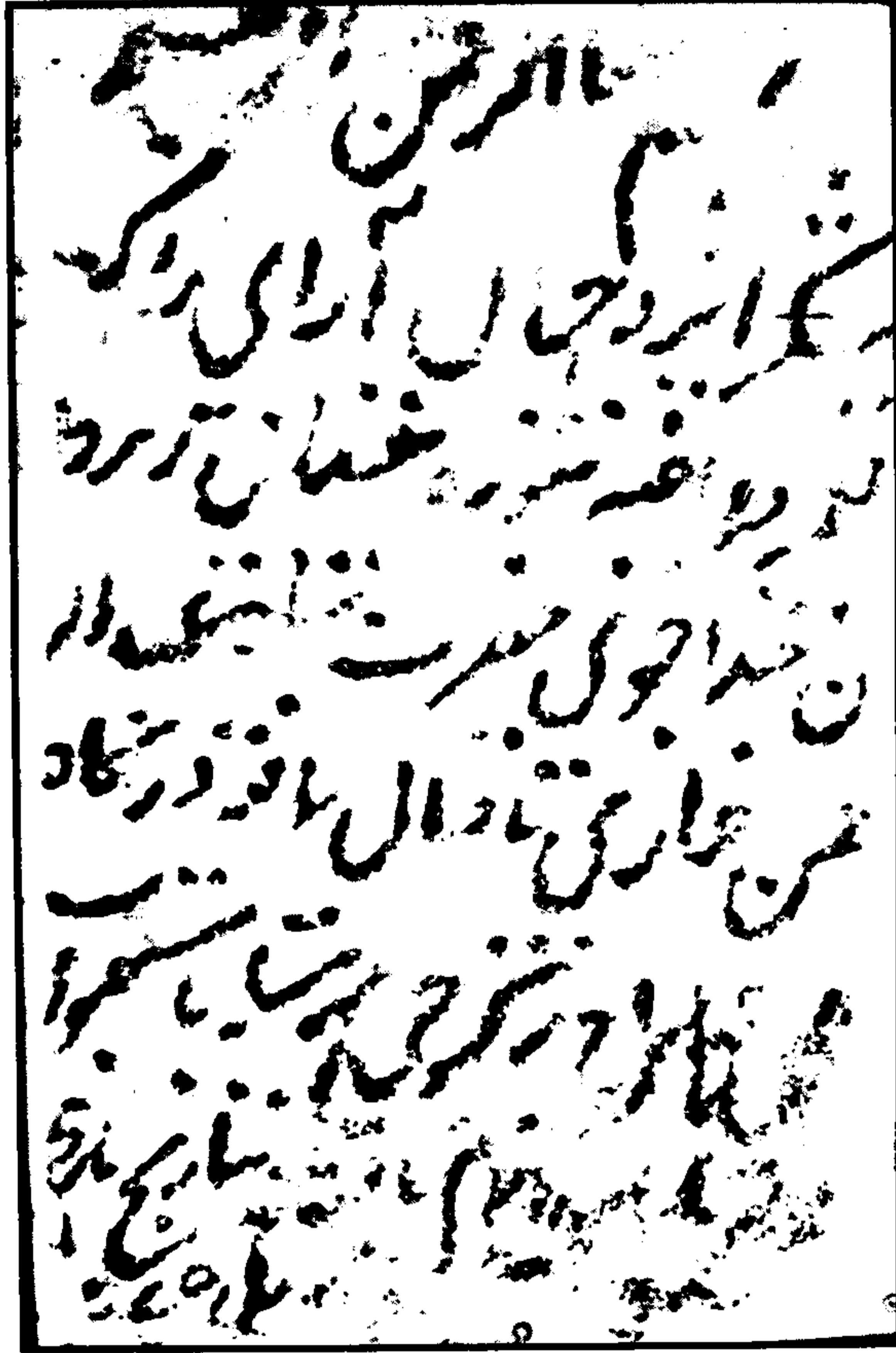




12. Achalpur : Persian record composed by Farhad, of the same Bhonsla ruler, assigning the construction of the gate of Shaikh Aizzud Din (evidently Izzud Din) in AH 1191/AD 1777-78. *AREp.*, 1965-66, D 113.



13. Achalpur : Persian record of the same Bhonsla ruler, saying that when Raja Modhaji attained the completion of his desire through the blessings of the said saint, Shaikh Izzud Din, friend of Jham Singh, built the beautiful gate in AH 1192/AD 1778-79. *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 114.



14. Achalpur : Persian inscription, assigning the construction of the tomb of Shah Abdur Rahman Ghazi, to Maharaj Raghoji Bhonsla, at the instance of Mir Mahdi in AH 1195/AD 1781.  
AREp., 1959-60, D 65.



15. Sambhar, Jaipur Dist., Rajasthan : This Perso-Sanskrit inscription dated AH 1184, V. S. 1827/ad 1770, comprises an order issued by the Maharaja that the lands endowed for the *thakurdwaras* of the Jains, Vaishnavites and Brahmins, and those for the *Qadi*, etc., will be exempted from survey and measure for purpose of tax. *AREP.*, 1955-56, D 148.

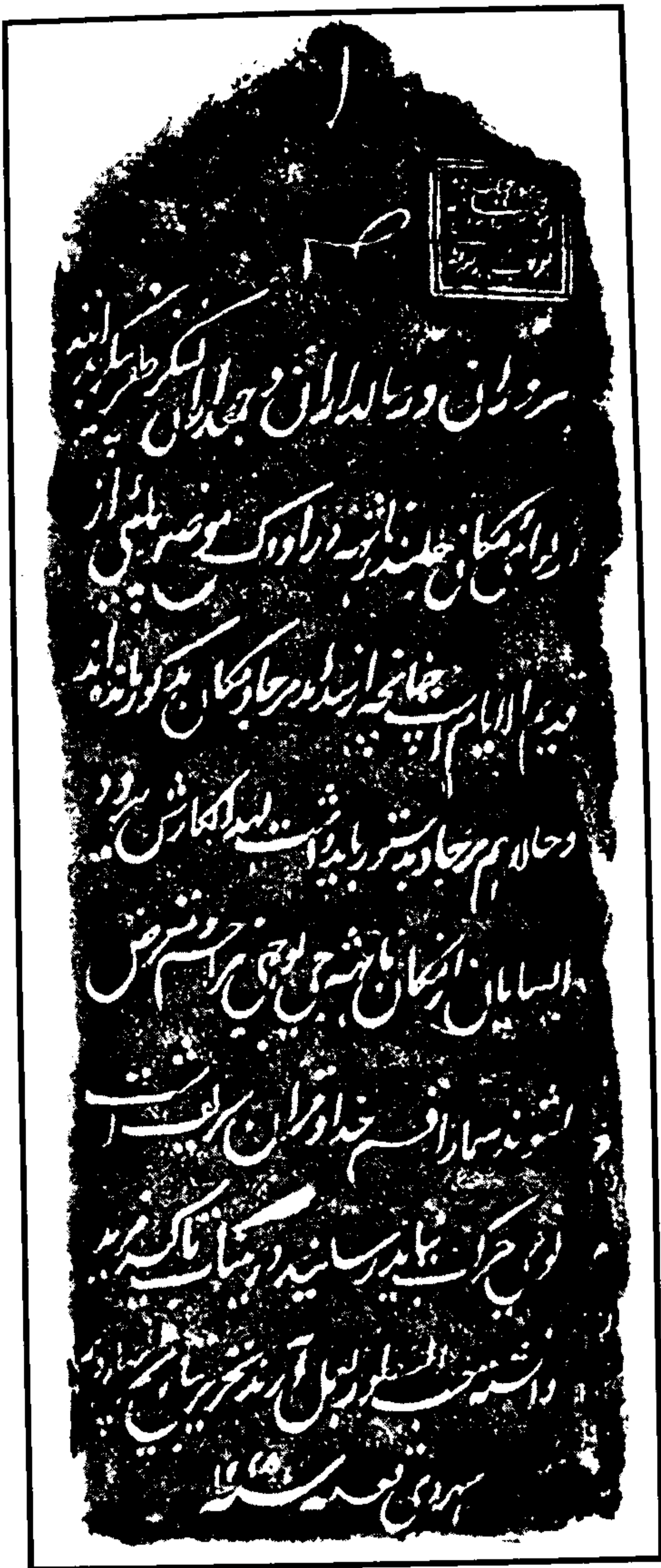


The spirit of mutual co-operation between the Hindus and the Muslims reflected in a late record in Urdu, dated AH 1262/AD 1845-46, comes from Cumbum (District Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh). The sum and substance of the inscription is that when the 7<sup>th</sup> company of the 10<sup>th</sup> battalion arrived at Cumbum, Ghulam Ahmad, an inhabitant of Nathar Nagar, carried out repairs to the ruined mosque in the local fort through the help of both the Hindus and the Muslims.<sup>28</sup>

An example of mutual cooperation and communal harmony is contained in the inscription from Merta (District Nagaur, Rajasthan), dated AH 1222/VS 1864 (AD 1807-08). It states that Raja Dhonkal Singh Bahadur a supposed posthumous son of Maharaja Bhim Singh (AD 1794-1804) and a pretender to the chieftaincy of Jodhpur and all chiefs of Naukoti-Marwar, passed orders for the repair of the Jami mosque, originally built during the days of Aurangzeb, lying closed and unattended to. The record further warns the future *Rajas* and agents against creating hurdles in the working of the mosque and against misappropriation of the rent of the shops attached to the mosque.<sup>29</sup>

A very interesting example of religious toleration of a Muslim chief is furnished by a record, dated AH 1228/AD 1813, from Niwai (District Tonk, Rajasthan) (Illus.16). It contains an order issued by Nawwabu'l Mulk Muhammad Shah Khan Bahadur Mukhtiyaru'd-Daula Daigham Jung, a trusted lietenant of the Tonk ruler, Amir Khan (AD 1806-34),<sup>30</sup> advising his soldiers and officers not to violate, in any circumstances, the sanctity of the old temple of Jalandhar Nath, situated in the village Pala'i.<sup>31</sup> Here, I am reminded of an interesiting document from Bhopal, regarded by some scholars as Babur's last will and testament to Humayun saying that India is the land of diverse religions hence you should not allow religious prejudices to haunt your mind; administer impartial justice, taking into account the religious customs of all sections of people. Never destroy places of worship of any community. You will, thus, bind the people of the land to yourself with ties of gratitude.<sup>32</sup>

From the above survery of the epigraphical evidences, certain points are as clear as the day. The religious tolerance and communal harmony,<sup>33</sup> among the rulers and the ruled of various communities and sects, is a very significant character of the Indian Culture. Despite the social and economic disparities, continuous attempts have been made to achieve social harmony in the societies. Today, every community in India, can take pride in the fact that it has its role and share in the development of Indian Culture. The bird's eye-view of the epigraphical survery, also indicates the fact that greater part of today's India, in the past, cherished religious toleration and communal harmony.



16. Niwai, Tonk Dist., Rajasthan : Records a farman in Persian issued by Nawwab Muhammad Shah Khan in AH 1228/AD 1813, stating that the officers of the army should know that in Niwai, the temple of Jalandhar Nath situated in the rent-free land of the village Palai should be respected and not to be interfered with, any way. AREP., 1962-63, D 242.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Dr. K.V. Ramesh, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I (Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi), p. 40.
2. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1954-55, No. C 162; *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1961, pp. 12-13, pl. II (b).
3. A brief historical and descriptive account of Praphas Patan will be found in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII, Kathiawar (Bombay, 1884), pp.607-11; H., Cousen, *Somnath and other Medieval Temples in Kathiawad* (Calcutta, 1931), etc.
4. When the kingship of Hormuz devolved upon Sultan Shihabu'd-Din, the last ruler of his line, Malik Ruknu'd-Din, endowed with great ambition, won over many officials of the king with gifts and presents and even won over the queen, who at his order poisoned her husband to death. Consequently, in AH 647/AD 1249, he became undisputed ruler of Hormuz and breathed his last in AH 685/AD 1286 after a rule of three decades. Amin Ahmad Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, M.S. State Library, Hyderabad, F.16 b; *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 11, f. n.5.
5. *Epigraphia Indica (EI)*, Vol. XXXIV, pt. IV, pp. 141-150.
6. Dr. Ishwar Topa, *Hindi Musalman Hukmarano ke Siyasi Usul* (Aligarh, 1961), pp. 14-15; Qadi Athar Mubarakpuri, *Hindustan Men Arabon Ki Hukumaten* (Delhi, 1967), pp. 58-60.
7. The land to the north of Sampla in Vadodara district is called *Wakal* while that to the south and east of the railway line forms part of the tract called *Kanam* occupying a considerable portion of Bharuch and Vadodara districts. *Kanam* is the name applied to the black cotton soil for which Bharuch district is famous. It is easily tilled and of great depth, containing a fair proportion of organic matter hardly requiring manure. *EIAPS*, 1975, pp. 17-18, 20; M.R. Majumdar, *Cultural History of Gujarat* (Bombay, 1965), p. 52.
8. *AREp.*, 1980-81, No. C 98; *EIAPS*, 1975, pp. 13-20 pl. 11 (a).
9. *AREp.*, 1963-64, No. B 311 and Introduction, p. 25.
10. *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 165-70, pl. XXXIII, pp.71-76; Dr. K.V. Ramesh, *op.cit.*, p. 39.
11. Bahaud-Din Gurshasp was the son of Tughluq's sister. He held the fief of Sagar near Gulbarga. He rebelled against Muhammad bin Tughluq in AD 1326-27. For details, see *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1960), pp. 61-64.
12. *AREp.*, 1963-64, No. D 85.
13. *Ibid.*, 1952-53, No. C 107; *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 63, pl. XVI (a).
14. *EIAPS*, 1968, pp. 35-36.
15. *AREp.*, 1953-54, No. C 20; *EIAPS*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 53-54, pl. XII (c).
16. *AREp.*, 1953-54, No. C 17; *EIAPS*, 1959 and 1960, p. 54, pl. XIV (a).
17. For an account of Khande Rao Dabhare (d. AD 1720) and Pilaji Gaekwar (d. AD 1732), see Grant Duff,



*History of the Mahrattas*, Vol.I (ed. 1918).

18. He is also called Shah Ramdan Mahi Sawar and Hindus call him Kanuba. Formerly, he is reported to have been a Hindu. In AD 1350, he embraced Islam at the hands of a Muslim saint of Patan, Sa'adat 'Ali Khan. He came to Madhi in AD 1380 where he breathed his last in AD 1390. For his *Dargah*, Mughal Emperor Shah 'Alam I (1707-12) granted 200 acres of land as *Inam* and Raja Shahu granted the entire village Madhi for its maintenance. Abdul Qadir, *Tarikh-i-Ahmadnagar* (Taj Office, Bombay), p. 441.
19. *EIM*, 1933-34, pp. 16-17, Pls. IX a-e.
20. *AREp.*, 1963-64, No. D 163. For fuller account of the saint see, S.M.H. Qadiri, *Sawanih Hayat-i-Hadrat Qadir Wali* (Madras, AH 1379); *Gazetteer of the Tanjore District*, Vol. I (1915), pp. 60-61; Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. V, pp. 1-5; B.S. Baliga, *Tanjore District Handbook* (Madras, 1957), pp. 409-10.
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22. *AREp.*, 1964-65, Nos. D 111-14.
23. *Ibid.*, 1959-60, No. D 65.
24. *Ibid.*, 1984-85, No. C 97.
25. *Ibid.*, 1961-62, No. D 87.
26. *Ibid.*, 1955-56, No. D 148.
27. *Ibid.*, No. D 58.
28. *Ibid.*, 1953-53, No. C 36.
29. *Ibid.*, 1962-63, No. D 212. For details about Dhonkal Singh see, Rajasthan District Gazetteers, *Jodhpur District* (Jaipur, 1979), pp. 51-53.
30. For the career of Amir Khan see, Akbar Shah Najibabadi, *Nawwab Amir Khan Bani-e-Riyasat-i-Tonk* (Lucknow, 1931); Rajasthan District Gazetteers, *Tonk District* (Jaipur, 1970), pp. 23-25.
31. *AREp.*, 1962-63, No. D 242.
32. Dr. Ishwar Topa, *op.cit.*, pp. 115-19; S. R. Sharma, *Akbar The Great* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 14-15.
33. For other examples see, Dr. K.V. Ramesh, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-40; Prof. A. Sundara, his Presidential address, "Archaeology and National Integration", *Indian History Congress* (45th Session, 1984) at Annamalai University; H.K. Sherwani, "Deccan, the region of co-existence and integration", *Medieval India-a miscellany*, Vol. Four (Aligarh Muslim University), pp. 139-50; S.R. Sharma *op.cit.*, 32; Maulana Sayyid Muhammad Miyan, *Hindustan Shahan-i-Mughaliya ke 'Ahd Men* (Delhi, 1964).

## HINDUS' CONTRIBUTION TO INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE

India's contact with the Muslims was an epoch-making event in the religious history of the Indo-Pak-Bangladesh subcontinent. The initial contact of commercial nature led to the growth of friendly relations between the Hindu rulers and the Arabs. Ultimately, this led to the development of a new culture termed as Hindu-Muslim culture.

Under the Sultans of Delhi (AD 1206-1526) and the Mughals (1526-1857), a search for a new order was made. The teachings of Muslim saints and Hindu savants supplemented the efforts of the ruling class to encourage cordial relations among diverse communities.

During the Muslim period, Persian had been the state or official language in the sub-continent at the central as well as provincial centres of power, right from beginning of the Muslim rule i.e. 1206 upto 1857, spanning six centuries and a half. Persian has been one of the major vehicles of creative expression used by Muslims, the other being Arabic, was introduced into the sub-continent together with the advent of Islam, by humble-looking *sufis*, who earned popularity due to their pious character and disdain for materialism and worldliness.<sup>1</sup>

The period of the Indo-Persian literature is of great importance in the cultural history of Iran, the motherland of the Persian language. Pertaining to Indo-Persian literature, worthy of mention is the fact that Hindus who started learning Persian under the Lodis regularly, became full-fledged Persian authors and literateurs under the Mughals in the fields like history, poetry, lexicography, astronomy, medicine, mysticism, biography, morality, music, calligraphy, administrative manuals, epistolary composition, astrology, romantic tales, mathematics, rhetorics, revenue information and administration, historical monuments, anecdotes, grammar, prosody, memoirs, Mughal administration and Hindu sex education, besides Hindu religious works.

Pertaining to our theme of the paper, scholars like Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadavi<sup>2</sup>, Dr. Syed Abdullah Chaghtai<sup>3</sup>, Dr. Narendra Nath Law<sup>4</sup>, Professor Jafar Hadi<sup>5</sup>, D.N.Marshall<sup>6</sup>, Dr. M.L. Choudhury<sup>7</sup> and Dr. B.K. Sahay<sup>8</sup> have thrown welcome light in their learned writings. For thorough acquaintance with Hindu's contribution to Indo-Persian literature, one can glance through laudable works like *Adabiyat-i-Farsi men Hinduon ka Hissa* (Delhi, 1942) by Dr. Chaghtai. It contains

*of Indo-Persian Literature* (Delhi, 1995) by Nabi Hadi, *Maqalat-i-Sulaiman* (Pt. I, Azamgarh, 1966, ed. Syed Sabahuddin) and *Mughals in India* (A Bibliographical Survey of Manuscripts) by Marshall.

The sub-continental Indo-Persian literature has the distinction of encompassing almost all categories of knowledge. India's Persian has been distinct from the Persian of motherland Iran because of certain factors. Oddly enough, the Indianization of Persian never warmed the hearts of Iranians, who had traditionally been sensitive in regard to the purity of their language<sup>9</sup>.

More than a century had passed since Muhammad Ghauri's arrival in India. There had already begun a racial intermixture and a linguistic intercourse between the Hindus and the Muslims, caused by the pressure of natural laws. The Muslim invasions of India had marked the beginning of momentous changes not only in the socio-political spheres but also in the arena of education and learning. The settlement in India of a foreign nation with its own ideals and culture and their acquisition of political paramountcy in India, naturally placed indigenous ideals and culture at a disadvantage. Thus, the Hindu system of education was for a time deprived of the royal patronage which now applied itself to the promotion of Islamic studies. In the words of Dr. Law:

"These were, however, the days of unrest and transition of the travails of a new birth when the old order was changing, yielding place to new"<sup>10</sup>.

The day was yet distant when we should find Muslim monarchs patronizing the education of their Hindu and Muslim subjects alike and on equal footing. In these early days, the personal character of the sitting sovereign was the most important factor, affecting popular well-being. He was the largest fountain from which the educational institutions and literary persons drew a very large portion of their livelihood. The changes in his will and desire made themselves felt in all directions of national activity. Thus, the emperor's taste was a barometer of the then literary atmosphere.<sup>11</sup>

Firuz Tughluq (1351-88) was the first Sultan who took care to preserve archaeological remains in the country that struck him worthy of his attention. The precautionary and exorbitant way in which the two Asokan pillars, one from Topra and the other from the vicinity of Meerut, were brought to his capital, shows the imperial taste for archaeology and a respect for Hindu monuments—such a spirit being quite rare in those days. It was during his reign, when the Hindus and the Muslims were gradually learning each other's languages.<sup>12</sup>

It was Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) who for the first time made effective efforts for propagating study of Persian language among the Hindus.<sup>13</sup>



We see in Akbar (1556-1605), perhaps for the first time in Muslim history, a Muslim monarch sincerely eager to further the education of the Hindus and the Muslims alike. His reign is distinguished from that of other Muslim rulers by the broad principles of toleration which governed every branch of his administration. Akbar's was a systematic and well-planned deliberate policy of protecting Hindu learning, which manifested itself in the lavish provisions he made for the education of Hindu youths in their own culture in the *maktabs* and *madrasas*, alongwith the Muslim boys. Under Akbar, *maktabs* and *madrasas* were in full bloom as Hindus and Muslims received instruction together. Akbar had great political sagacity. Coupled with a strong desire to bring Hindus and Muslims together, he and his successors observed some of the Hindu festivals. He had matrimonial alliances with the Rajputs. His political acumen convinced him that Mughal throne was safe and secure only when Hindus and Muslims had common loyalty to the emperor.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, Akbar's generous policy towards the Hindus was largely responsible for the growth and permeation of Persian learning among the Hindus. Blochmann remarks that by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century itself, Persian-study had reached the upper classes of the Hindus.<sup>15</sup>

According to the study conducted by Dr. Law, the Hindus from the 16<sup>th</sup> century took so zealously to Persian education that before another century had elapsed, they had fully come up to the Muslims in point of literary acquirements.<sup>16</sup> Another scholar holds the view that almost one half of Indo-Persian literature of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries could develop mainly due to the efforts of the Hindus.<sup>17</sup>

Among the Hindus, the *Kayasthas* have been deeply associated with the study of Persian language. Even under the Mughals, they were dominant in imperial service. Durga Prasad Nadir, in his work *Tazkiratun-Nisa* records that even *Kayasth* women were acquainted with Persian. In AH 990/AD 1582 when Raja Todar Mal issued a royal order, declaring Persian as the state language instead of Hindi, the *Kayasth* class hailed this decision in view of the fact that the *Kayasthas* had traditionally been associated with the study of Persian in pre-Mughal days. Next to the *Kayasth* class, among the Kashmiri Brahmins, the *Supru Pandits* took initiative in learning Persian right from the time of Sultan Zainul Abedin (1420-70) who had taken special measures to encourage the study of Persian among the Hindus in Kashmir.<sup>18</sup>

It is these two classes, the *Kayasth* and the *Suprus*, who produced the major part of the Indo-Persian literature. Besides them, the *Khatris*, so also other castes have produced Persian scholars and authors, historians and literateurs. As a matter of fact, it was an economic indispensability that drew the attention of the Hindus towards the Persian-learning. They rightly felt that until they were well-versed in the court language i.e. Persian, they would not be entitled to royal service. At the same time, it reflects the Hindu spirit-feeling the pulse of and moving with the time so as to gain all sorts of benefits and benediction.<sup>19</sup>

Under Akbar, learning of Persian by Hindus commenced with great zeal and zest, but the outcome in the form of books by Hindus is extremely meagre. The reason for this is the fact that Hindus so far had not attained mastery over the language, which was deemed indispensable for an author.<sup>20</sup>

After Akbar, the period from Jahangir to Farrukh Siyar, encompassing the entire 17<sup>th</sup> century (1605-1712), was important one wherein the Hindus produced excellent literature. Works produced during the reign of Jahangir (1605-27) are mainly translations. During the time of Shah Jahan (1628-58) and Aurangzeb (1658-1707), royal correspondence and historiography received great impetus. Particularly in the field of historiography, Hindus attained laudable eminence. Next period, encompassing the 18<sup>th</sup> century (1712-1806), was the climax of the Indo-Persian literature, produced by the Hindus, that surpassed with regard to the number of poets and historians. Production of abundant literature was due to the fact that with the establishment of independent states: Awadh, Hyderabad, Bengal, Murshidabad, Azimabad, Bhopal, Punjab, Mysore, Tonk, Alwar, Bahawalpur, etc. became centres of literary and academic activities. During this period were born Hindu lexicographers like Rai Anand Ram Mukhlis, Siyalkoti Mal Warasta and Tek Chand Bahar. Their works are the epitome of Hindu contribution to Indo-Persian literature. *Mustalahat-i-Warasta* and *Bahar-i-Ajam*, these two lexicons are of great literary importance. During this period, Hindus had become enamoured of Persian poetry. Tazkiras like *Safina-i-Khushgo*, *Gul-i-Rana*, *Anisul Ahibba*, *Chamanistan-i-Shuara*, *Hamisha Bahar*, etc. hold great importance for the literary history of Persian poetry.<sup>21</sup>

Lachhmi Narayan Shafique stands prominent among the historians of this period who by authoring *Bisatul Ghanaim*, a contemporary history of the Marathas, provides us a good deal of new information.<sup>22</sup>

During the last period from 1806 onwards, so to say the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a lot of Indo-Persian literature was produced by the Hindus, but full of useless imitation and defective composition. For the revival, though temporary, and propagation of Persian, Munshi Nawal Kishore played vital role by publishing hundreds of Persian books, but it was destined to face its doom under newly established foreign i.e. British political power.<sup>23</sup>

With this historical panorama and before I conclude, it is worthwhile to mention the prominent but selected Hindu contributors to the Indo-Persian literature during the Mughal period (1556-1857), about whom detailed information regarding their Persian works, can be gleaned from the laudable works of Dr. Chaghtai and Professor Nabi Hadi, quoted above.

Under Akbar, mention may be made of Raja Todar Mal, Mirza Manohar and Krishna Das.<sup>24</sup> From the time of Jahangir upto the accession of Farrukh Siyar, mention may be made of Har Karan, Mathura Das Hindu, Chandra Bhan Brahman,

Bindraban Das, Sujan Rai, Bhim Sen, Narayan Kaul, Isar Das, Banwali Das, Munshi Madho Ram, Malik Zada Munshi, Munshi Udai Raj, etc.<sup>25</sup> Among those who belonged to the climax-period of Indo-Persian literature produced by the Hindus, include Khush Hal Chand, Rai Zada Chaturman, Lachhmi Narayan Shafique, Bindraban Das Khushgo, Anand Ram Mukhlis, Siyalkoti Mal Warasta and Munshi Tek Chand Bahar.<sup>26</sup> Those who belonged to the last phase, include Kaliyan Singh, Sada Sukh Niyaz, Basawan Lal Shadan, Munshi Sohan Lal, Rai Kripa Ram, Munna Lal Falsafi, Munshi Sil Chand, Amar Nath Akbari and Kanaiha Lal Hindi.<sup>27</sup>

To conclude, under the Mughals the Hindus had full intellectual, academic and literary activities, so vast and so varied in nature. Their contributions to Indo-Persian literature is, above all, a reliable and authentic source for writing on any aspect of Mughal history and administration, in view of the fact that Indo-Persian literature is the product of mainly the royal Hindu employees.<sup>28</sup>



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. See his article, 'The Literary Progress of the Hindus under Muslim Rule', *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad), Vol. XIII, 1939, pp.401-26.
3. Dr. Syed Abdullah Chaghtai, *Adabiyat-i-Farsi men Hinduon ka Hissa* (Delhi, 1942).
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8. His research work, *Education and Learning under the Mughals, 1525-1707 A.D.* (Bombay, 1968).
9. Nabi Hadi, *op.cit.*, p.XIII.
10. Dr. Law, *op.cit.*, pp.XLV-XLVI.
11. *Ibid.*, p.XLVII.
12. *Ibid.*, p.65.
13. *Maqalat-i-Sulaiman*, pt. I, ed. Syed Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman (Azamgarh, 1966), p. 14; Dr. Chaghtai, *op.cit.*, p.236.
14. Dr. Law, *op.cit.*, pp. 160, 171; Dr. Chaghtai, *op.cit.*, p.23.
15. Dr. Chaghtai, *op.cit.*, p.12.
16. Dr. Law, *op.cit.*, p. 76, f.n.
17. Dr. Sahay, *op.cit.*, p.61.
18. Dr. Chaghtai, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-11, 17 ,29, 31, 232-36.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
20. *Ibid.*, p.31.

21. *Ibid.*, pp.45, 54, 55, 94-100.
22. *Ibid.*, p.101.
23. *Ibid.*, pp.192-96.
24. *Ibid.*, pp.56-87.
26. *Ibid.*, pp.204-13.
28. *Ibid.*, pp.93-94.

## ARABIC AND PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM UTTAR PRADESH-A BIRD'S EYE-VIEW

Epigraphy occupies an important place in the arena of historical research. Epigraphs fill up lacuna or unconfirmed gaps in our knowledge of India's past. Being contemporary and genuine records, they constitute first hand source-material and provide valuable definite data for the varied aspects of the history of different periods in different regions. They correct mis-statements, supply correct dates of events, corroborate or contradict statements of historians or supply details left out by them. They provide much more data for the local history and the political status of a particular region at a given time. They are extremely valuable for the proper study of architecture and for dating the monuments and edifices of various description.

In the present article, I want to give a bird's eye-view of the survey of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions in the former Uttar Pradesh.<sup>1</sup> During the last half a century, 2175 inscriptions<sup>2</sup> from 47 districts<sup>3</sup> out of 70<sup>4</sup> have been so far copied by the Office of the Director (Epigraphy) for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur, and were listed in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*<sup>5</sup>.

323 inscriptions from 42 districts, covering 311 places, belong to 17 different dynasties (including 7 provincial dynasties), while the remaining 1852 inscriptions are the miscellaneous ones. The break-up of the dynastic inscriptions is as follows:

(1)	Ghaznavid	-	1
(2)	Ghori or Mamluk	-	7
(3)	Mamluk	-	16
(4)	Khalji	-	12
(5)	Tughluq	-	23
(6)	Sayyid	-	4
(7)	Lodi	-	8
(8)	Mughal	-	204
(9)	Sur	-	10
(10)	Sharqi	-	10



(11)	Sultans of Bengal	.	5
(12)	Sultans of Malwa	-	1
(13)	Rulers of Kalpi	-	1
(14)	Rohilla	-	1
(15)	Nawwabs of Awadh	-	15
(16)	East India Company	-	3
(17)	Nawwabs of Rampur	-	2

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Among the 17 dynasties, totally 53 rulers' are represented in the inscriptions. Among 311 places, Budaun alone represents the inscriptions of as many as 6 dynasties.<sup>7</sup> Largest number of Mughal inscriptions (204) were copied from 96 places situated in 38 districts. No inscriptions belonging to the Nawwabs of Farrukhabad (1713-1846) have been found so far.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During the later Ghaznavid period, Muslim traders, merchants, saints and savants peacefully penetrated into the country and settled at a number of important places. Nearly half a century before the Ghurid conquest of Northern India (AD 1192-1206), isolated Muslim culture-groups had secured a foothold in the region. Ibn-i-Asir writes about Banaras, modern Varanasi :

"There are Musalmans in that country since the days of Mahmud bin Subuktigin (998-1030)".

In AD 1018 Mahmud of Ghazna took Bulandshahr.<sup>8</sup> Mahmud's general Salar Ghazi<sup>9</sup> is said to have fallen at Bahraich in AD 1033 fighting against Suhil Deo, Raja of Gonda. Maulana Radiud Din Hasan Saghani<sup>10</sup>, the famous author of *Mashariqul Anwar*, was born in Budaun<sup>11</sup> long before the Ghurid occupation of that town. The existence of a Muslim colony at Kannauj<sup>12</sup> is borne out by the early Arab accounts.<sup>13</sup>

In some towns of Uttar Pradesh, there are Muslim shrines attributed by local tradition to pre-Ghurid period. It is difficult to challenge local traditions with regard to the historicity of these graves.<sup>14</sup> The Muslim colonies attained to a high level of culture. Text books were in Arabic and teaching was perhaps in Persian.<sup>15</sup>

Under the Ghurids, Qutbud Din Aibak was appointed general in *Hindustan* (northern India). He organised his forces to establish a military foot-hold in the Upper Doab. Important places like Meerut, Aligarh (Koil) and Bulandshahr (Baran) were

under the Rajputs. Aibak occupied Meerut in 1192, followed by Bulandshahr. The conquest of these two places had great significance.<sup>16</sup>

Aibak subjugated Aligarh in 1194.<sup>17</sup> Afterwards Kannauj, Delhi, Kalinjar, Mahoba and Budaun were also captured.<sup>18</sup> Muslim military stations were located at Banaras and Asni, while Budaun and Ayodhya held the seats of local governors. The Slave dynasty of Delhi (AD 1206-90) was followed by the Khaljis (1290-1320) and the Khaljis being followed by the Tughluqs (1320-1414). The town Jaunpur<sup>19</sup> was founded during the reign of Firuz Shah (1351-88). After the death of Firuz Shah, there began disintegration of Delhi kingdom. In 1394, Khwaja-i-Jahan, governor of Kannauj, Oudh, Kara and Jaunpur declared his independence and founded the Sharqi kingdom. For more than 8 decades, the Sharqi dynasty (1394-1479) ruled from Jaunpur over the greater part of Uttar Pradesh, contributing much to architecture, literature, painting, music and mysticism.<sup>20</sup>

The first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century saw a succession of puppet rulers or usurpers at Delhi or Kannauj, while Doab, Rohilkhand and Bundelkhand were the scenes of rising by the Hindus. The Sayyid dynasty, founded after the decline of the Tughluqs in 1414 by Khidr Khan, governor of Multan under Firuz Shah, ruled at Delhi and Budaun for about four decades (1414-51.)<sup>21</sup> In 1451, the Lodi dynasty (1451-1526) was founded by Bahlul Lodi (1451-88) who started the task of crushing the petty local rulers and breaking the important Sharqi power of Jaunpur.

Besides historical records, there is epigraphical evidence to show that some parts of Uttar Pradesh were under the domination of the Sultans of Bengal and the Sultans of Malwa.<sup>22</sup>

Babur founded the Mughal kingdom in 1526 by defeating Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26) at the battle of Panipat. Sher Shah (1539-45) gained victory over Humayun at Kannauj in 1540 and won the throne of Northern India. In 1545 he died while besieging Kalinjar. During next decade, the Suri power fell to pieces. With the arrival of Akbar (1556-1605), besides a few events, Uttar Pradesh had a period of comparative peace and good government which was to last for a century and a half. Magnificent forts were built at Agra and Allahabad. A splendid mosque and palatial buildings were erected at Fatehpur Sikri. Jahangir (1605-27) also added palaces in the royal forts at Agra and Allahabad. Taj Mahal is the jewel and master-piece of Mughal architecture of Shah Jahan's reign (1628-58).

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, in less than half a century, 8 rulers sat on the throne of Delhi. The dissolution of the empire was due to the incompetence of these degenerate rulers. It was hastened by the repeated attacks of growing Hindu powers; the Jats on the west, the Sikhs on the north and the Marathas on the south. The Persian and Afghan invaders further worsened the situation.



From 1719-20, commenced the history of the new states which began to be formed within the provinces and became practically independent though acknowledging the Mughal rulers as their nominal lord. Chief among such states was Awadh.

The Afghans or Pathans had first become important in these provinces under Sher Shah Suri. Muhammad Khan, a Bangash Pathan, founded the city Farrukhabad and established a practically independent power (1713-1846) in the Doab. In 1740, a man of uncertain origin named Ali Muhammad Khan who had been consolidating the Rohillas, was appointed governor of Rohilkhand. He later on defeated Raja Harnand and occupied Rohilkhand in 1742.

Najib Khan, a Pathan, was in possession of the north of the Meerut and Bareilly Divisions independently of the Rohillas, who held the rest of Rohilkhand. In 1774, British troops defeated and killed Hafiz Rahmat Khan, the veteran Rohilla chief, near Miranpur Katra in Shahjahanpur district. According to a new treaty with Asafud Daula (1775-97), the Britishers obtained the sovereignty of most of the Banaras Division. British administration commenced soon thereafter.

The Marathas captured Agra, Mathura and the northern Doab in 1787, so also held the central Doab. Saadat Ali (1798-1814) of Awadh ceded to the British the fort of Allahabad. In 1801, he in return for a guarantee of protection made over to the British Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand divisions, including other districts viz., Allahabad, Fatehpur, Kanpur, Etawah, Mainpuri, Etah, the south of Mirzapur and the Tarai *parganas* of Kumaun Division.

In 1802, the Nawwab of Farrukhabad surrendered his shrunken dominions to the British. In 1803, Lord Lake captured Aligarh, Delhi and Agra. The result was the acquisition from the Marathas of Meerut Division, rest of Agra Division, Banda and Hamirpur districts along with small tracts of Jalaun. Between 1840 and 1853, Jhansi, rest of Jalaun and part of Hamirpur were acquired from petty rulers by Doctrine of Lapse. Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) annexed Awadh in 1856.<sup>23</sup>

### EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES

Perso-Arabic inscriptions in Uttar Pradesh are found on religious and sectarian edifices like mosque, tomb, *Gurudwara*, *Qadam Rasul*, *Idgah*, *Imambada*, *madrassa* and on secular buildings like *sarai*, well, fort, gateway, palace, school, pillar, *chhatra*, etc. However, a vast majority of these lithic records are found on religious structures like mosques and tombs. Modes of writing in these epigraphs are *Naskh*, *Naskh in Tughra*, *Naskh in Tughra-i-Makus*, *Nastaliq*, *Thulth*, *Nastaliq* and *Nagari*, *Nastaliq* and Roman, and *Shikasta*.

Pieces of information we get from these inscriptions relate to foundation of *Gurudwara*, *Imambada*, garden, *sarai*, tomb, *khanqah*, cistern, *madrassa*, reservoir,



*kachehri*, rest-house, gate, well, step-well, mosque, fort, *hazira*. There are epigraphical records referring to the foundation of town, endowment of land, revenue, shop, rehabilitation of town, planting of fruit-bearing trees and excavation of canal, etc.

Terms and designations of the officials or their posts and ranks met with in these inscriptions are: *Amal* (governorship), *Ard-i-Mukarrari* (Chief of Examination and Confirmation of appointments), *Amirul Umara* (Chief among the Chiefs), *Ayalat* (governorship), *Darugha* (Superintendent), *Dadbek* (Judge), *Kotwalbek*, *Faujdar*, *Hukkam*, *Ispahsalar* (Commander-in-Chief), *Jamadar*, *Karori* (Tax-collector), *Kotwal* (Police Superintendent), *Mimar* (Architect), *Chashnigir* (Superintendent of the royal kitchen & food), *Munshi* (Secretary), *Naib* (Viceroy, Chief Minister), *Mir-i-Adalat* (Judge), *Naib-i-Mir Bakhshi*, *Nazir* (Registrar of the court), *Nazim* (Superintendent), *pargana*, *Mir-i-Imarat* (Superintendent of buildings), *Pesh Imam* (Prayer-leader), *Qadi*, *Rais* (Chief), *Shiq* (Revenue division), *Shiqdar* (Official in charge), *Mir-i-Adl*, *Suba*, *Subedar*, *Sanna* (artisan), *Ushr-i-Doabi* (tax levied on land in the province of Doab), *Mir Bakhshi* (pay-master general), *Wazir* (minister) and *zamindar* (fiefholder).

There are epigraphs which supply a list of officials with their places of fief or duty and thus throw a welcome light on events unrecorded elsewhere. Such officials are: Amir *Ispahsalar*; Abd-i-Khals, *Wazir*; Masnad-i-Ali Rustam Khan, governor; Bilak Rustam Khani, *Shiqdar*; Sayyid Wali, *Kotwal*; Shah Muhammad, *Munshi*; Dindar Khan Khwishgi, *Jagirdar*; Shaikh Budha, *Karori*; Ilhamullah Khan, *Jagirdar*; Mirza Amir Beg, *Faujdar*; Rai Saha Chand, Fiefholder; Amirud Daula, *Naib*; Yahya Khan, *Wazir*; Nawwab Asaf, minister; Rai Nahmal Das, *Nazim*; Nawwab Nasir Jang Bangash, *Naib*; Nathu, *Darugha*; Shaikh Mubarak Husain, *Nazir*; Buddhu Khan, *Subedar*, etc.

With the help of some of these epigraphs, we can prepare a list of the names of artisans and masons. A few among them include: Ustad Ghulam Ali (AH 945/1538-39), Muhammad Khan (1143/1730-31), Natthu (1194/1780), Yadullah (1215/1800-01), Faqirullah (1215/1800-01), and Pir Khan (1259/1843).

Likewise, there are lithic records which register the names of calligraphers, for instance Ilyas (AH 782/1380-81), Mulla Mubarak (994/1585-86), Abdur Rasul (1034/1624-25), Muhammad Salih (1035/1625-26), Abdul Haq Amanat Khan<sup>24</sup> (1046/1636-37), Muhammad son of Adam (1143/1730-31), Muhibullah Rajgiri (1147/1734-35), Muhammad Yasin (1190/1776), Khuda Bakhsh (1195/1780-81), Mir Ghulam Husain (1211/1796-97) etc.

A list of literary men, known and unknown, can also be drawn from these epigraphical records. Among such literary luminaries, mention may be made of Sharif (968/1560-61), Shukri (976/1568-69), Ahmad Ali Laharpuri (976/1568-69), Ridai (1006/1597-98), Lutfi (1016/1608-09), Damghani? (1023/1614), Muhammad Mah? (1034/1624-25), Muhammad Salih Kashfi (1035/1625-26), Fidai (1056/1646), Wasli

(1057/1647), Shah Muhammad (1059/1649), Mudtar (1072/1661-62), Ghulam Muhammad (1102/1690-91), Mina (1138/1725-26), Shah Abdul Qadir (1147/1734-35), Shamim (1168/1754-55), Thamin (1193/1779), Nazir Akbarabadi (1246/1830-31), and Faiyad (1252/1836-37).

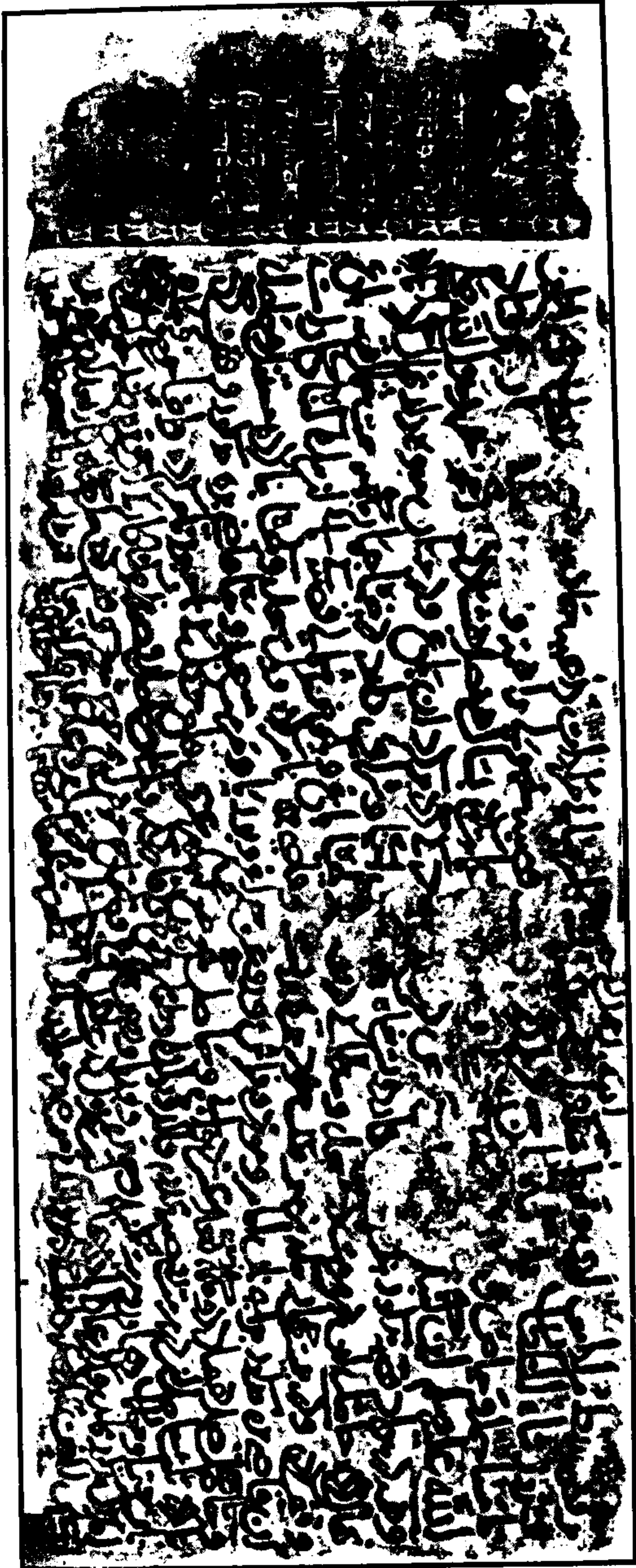
Similarly, we have a number of inscriptions mentioning Muslim communities, for instance, *Shaikh* community and *Nurbafan* (weavers) community; professions like *Atashbaz* (manufacturer of fire-works), *Mimar* (mason), *Durudgar* (carpenter), *Rangriz* (dyer), *Sangtarash* (stone-cutter), *Tabib* (physician), *Nurbaf* (weaver), *Tawaif* (dancer), *Rafugar* (darner) and *Tajir* (trader). A list of such communities provides interesting study in the pattern of occupation and profession. Some of the epigraphs mention tribes' names: *Karamali* tribe, *Pathan* tribe, *Qibchaq* tribe, *Son Shahi* tribe, etc.

In the history of every nation, saints and savants have played very significant role in the socio-religious life of the people. They have left indelible mark on the social and cultural institutions. Their annual fairs and *urs* are held regularly to commemorate them, and people, irrespective of caste or creed throng at such places which remind us of the profound respect which these religious personalities had inspired in their hearts at large. Their *khanqahs* became important rendezvous for the exchange of views between persons belonging to different religions and speaking different languages. The saints became a symbol of harmony and humanism. From Uttar Pradesh also, the following saints have come to light through epigraphs. To mention a few of them are: Abdur Rahman (AH 956/1549-50), Shaikh Abdur Rahman (976/1568-69), Mir Abdullah (1035/1625-26), Shaikh Nazir Shah (1057/1647), Sayyid Arif Ali Shah (1072/1661-62), Abdul Qadir (1147/1734-35) and Shah Lal (1195/1781). In some of the epigraphs, certain *sufi* orders are also mentioned, such as Chishti, Naqshbandi, Qadiri, Qalandari and Suhrawardi.

I would like to highlight some important inscriptions discovered in Uttar Pradesh in their chronological order, comprising both dynastic and miscellaneous epigraphs.

In this regard, the first one is a slightly damaged bilingual record (Persian & Sanskrit)<sup>25</sup> of Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-88) from Lorpur, Faizabad District (Illus.17). Dated in AH 782 (1780-81), it records that one Taj Farid? rehabilitated the town Sanjholi or Sinjhauli which was lying desolate and deserted and constructed a tomb and a cistern and laid out a garden round it planting fruit-bearing trees. The record further furnishes the information that all the land in the vicinity of the town Sinjhauli belonged to one Daulat Shah? who constructed mosques, wells, cisterns, a tomb for himself and laid out gardens in different plots of land and also excavated a canal in the 24 *bighas* of land which was his own property and named it *Qadi Jara*. He also populated the village which is read as Khakhar, situated towards west, having





17. Lorpur, Faizabad Dist., U.P. : Perso-Sanskrit inscription of Firuz Shah Tughluq, dated AH 782-83 (AD 1381), V.S. 1438, Saka 1303, recording that one Taj Farid rehabilitated the town Sinjhoii and constructed a tomb and a cistern and laid out a garden around it and planted fruit-bearing trees, etc. *AREP*, 1982-83, C 105.



fort in the forest and named it Tajpur. It further mentions that Daulat Shah endowed the revenue of the whole land after *Ushr-i-Doabi* (one-tenth of the produce, tax as levied on land in the province of Doab) for meeting the expenses on repairs of mosques, wells, cisterns, tombs and also on food for the *Imams, Muadhhdhin* and *farrash* and the expenses on carpets and oil for lamps. The text was written by Ilyas. The epigraph has another date AH 783 (1381) which is probably that of setting up of the slab. This epigraph is important from the historical point of view which speaks of philanthropic and welfare measures of Taj Farid and Daulat Shah. It may be added that during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq who began a beneficent rule, taxation was reduced and money was available for works of public utility.

An inscription<sup>26</sup> from Daipur, Farrukhabad District, is a new record of the king Islam Shah (1545-52). It records the construction of a mosque in AH 952 (1545-46) under the supervision of Sayyid Hasan son of Muhammad. Evidently a modern copy of an old inscription, it gives the place-name where the said mosque was built, as Shergarh (old name of Daipur). There does exist here even today a ruined castle named Shergarh whose foundation, tradition assigns to Islam Shah's father and founder of the Sur dynasty Sher Shah (1539-45). This record provides the epigraphical evidence that formerly Daipur was called or named as Shergarh.

According to a weather-beaten inscription<sup>27</sup> found at Jalesar in Etah District, the dome of the tomb of Miyan Sayyid Ibrahim, a local saint, was constructed in AH 954 (1547) during the governorship of Masnad-i-Ali Rustam Khan, at the instance of Miyan, by the *Shiqdar* of the *parganas* of Jalesar, Bilak? Rustam Khani. This record is important as it provides the name of the two officials, Masnad-i-Ali Rustam Khan, during whose governorship the construction work of the tomb was carried out and the *Shiqdar* of *Pargana* Jalesar, Bilak? who was the former's retainer as his appellation Rustam Khani suggests. It is surprising that a person of the position of the *Masnad-i-Ali*, a title held by prominent nobleman under the Lodis (1451-1526) and Surs (1539-55), does not find mention in historical works.

An important record<sup>28</sup> from Piran Kalyar in Saharanpur District, records the construction of the tomb of Rai Sher Khan son of Ahmad under the supervision of Bashir in AH 1011 (1603). The identity of the Rai, it is rather difficult to establish, but it can be safely presumed that he was a man of local importance and belonged to the family of Rajput converts of which the district had a considerable population. This epigraph under reference also furnishes the name of the artisan namely Ustad Bhajju, the carpenter (*Durudgar*) who hailed from-another interesting piece of information-Chitorara Sadat.

Of great importance is a record from Agra, the district headquarters, registering the demise in AH 1011 (1602-03) of an old lady Pija (or Bija) Gul.<sup>29</sup> Pija is evidently Pija Jan Anga<sup>30</sup>, one of the wet-nurses of Emperor Akbar (1556-1605).

This epigraph is valuable as it provides information about the last resting-place of the wet-nurse, so also the date of her death.

A Mughal inscription<sup>31</sup> pertaining to Emperor Jahangir (1605-27) from Bijnor, a district place, records the construction of a well and probably a garden by Muhammad Muhsin in AH 1024 (1615-16). Muhammad Muhsin can be identified with Muhsin Khan who took part in the Bengal expedition under Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan in the reign of Akbar.<sup>32</sup> He is evidently the same Mughal official who is known to us from three other epigraphs from Uttar Pradesh: one dated AH 975 (1567-68) from Jaunpur<sup>33</sup> and two dated AH 976 (1568-69) and AH 977 (1569-70) from Akbarpur<sup>34</sup> in the same district. That Muhammad Muhsin survived in the reign of Jahangir is known only from the present record under study.

Two almost identical lithic records<sup>35</sup> of Shah Jahan (1628-58) from Kotra, Jalaun District, which were composed by Shah Muhammad, the *Munshi* (secretary) of the renowned nobleman Abdullah Khan Firuz Jang<sup>36</sup>, record the erection of a mosque (when the place was held in *jagir* by) the late Sayyid Chawan and his son Sayyid Wali, by the *kotwal* of the city Qadi Ibrahim, a Sayyid, in AH 1059 (1649). Thus, these epigraphs furnish names of local officials being useful for regional history.

Historically far more important are the bilingual inscriptions<sup>37</sup> from Kapildhara, Varanasi District, which contain respectively Persian and local dialect, Persian and Sanskrit, and Persian and Kannada versions of the self same record. They record the excavation (most probably re-excavation or the dredging work) of the tank in the village Kapildhara in AH 1065 (1655), by Sivap Nayak (Sivappa Nayak, 1645-60) and his brother Venkatap Nayak (Venkatappa Navak, 1660-61), the joint kings of Kamatak and the loyal officials of Emperor Shah Jahan (1628-58). The importance of these bilingual inscriptions cannot be overstressed since they are the only source for the interesting information that these two Ikkeri (Keladi) Chiefs owed allegiance to the Mughal emperor, thus throwing new light on the attitude of these minor chiefs of the south towards the latter. On the other hand, there was strained relation between the Mughals and the Adil Shahis and hence full political advantage seems to have been taken by the Keladi Chiefs who drifted closer to the Mughals. They needed an ally which was strong enough to rescue the Keladi kingdom from the powerful Adil Shahis. It is therefore, not unlikely that Sivappa Nayak or his predecessor had gone over to the Mughal side. Future territorial expansion of the Mughals in the south had been foreseen by the Keladi Chiefs who possibly deemed it a political sagacity to earn the good-will of the imperialists by accepting their suzerainty.<sup>38</sup>

Pertaining to the above-mentioned Kapildhara records, it may be noted that other versions do not make any mention of Shah Jahan, as the Persian version does. However, this is an example of later Kannada rulers of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, taking interest in the welfare activities in Kashi (Varanasi). It also shows the contacts between the Kannada people of the south and the holy place of the north.<sup>39</sup> It is clear from

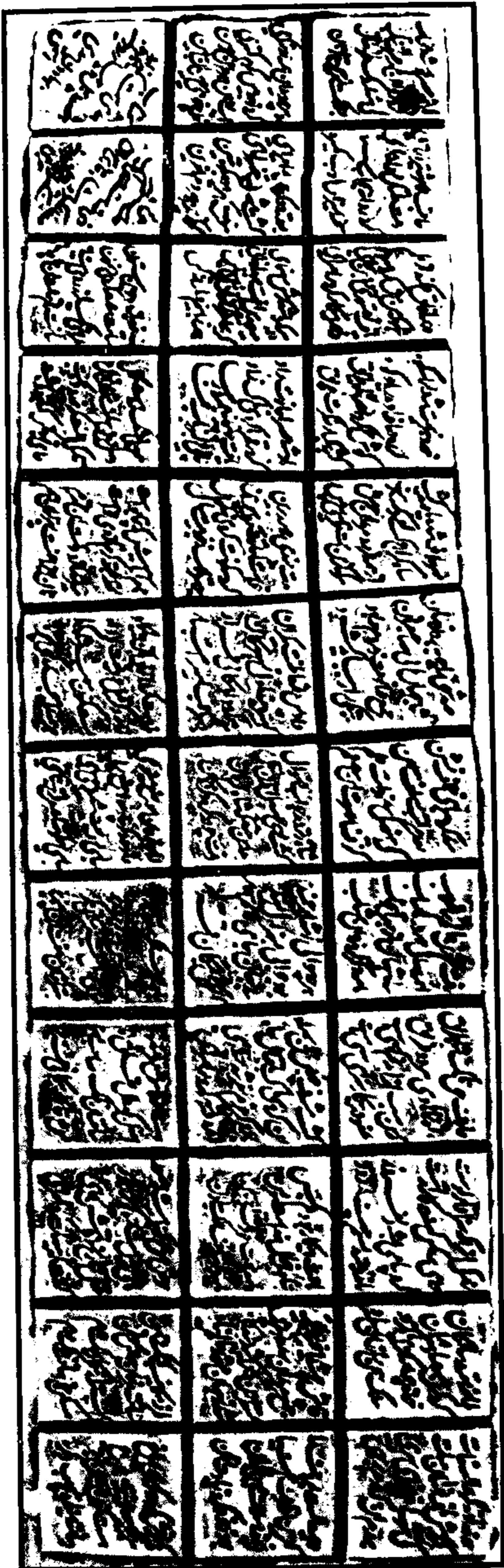


the records that the Keladi rulers of the south had undertaken the pilgrimage to Varanasi in the north for the fulfilment of their religious obligations without inviting any kind of political hindrance. This also proves that there were no restrictions of men and rulers of one faith, going to the territories of other rulers for the performance of their religious rituals or doing some meritorious acts. They also illustrate extra-territorial integration and the spirit of religious toleration which prevailed between the Hindus and the Muslims in the past.

An inscription<sup>40</sup> from Dehradun (Illus.18) is an extremely interesting document recounting the circumstances which led to the succession of Guru Ram Rai to Guru Har Rai and foundation of a *Gurudwara*. This valuable epigraph is dated 31st regnal year of Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) corresponding to AH 1099 (1688) and Samvat 1744. It also states that Dara Shikuh, subsequent upon his defeat at the hands of Aurangzeb, gave out that he was going to Guru Har Rai, the 8<sup>th</sup> successor to Guru Nanak Shah (1469-1539), but ultimately fled towards Multan. It further records that the Guru, summoned by the Emperor to the royal court, excused himself from coming due to infirmity but, in compliance with the imperial wish that he should send the best one from among his sons, sent Guru Ram Rai. The latter had meeting with Aurangzeb who, being greatly pleased with his answers to his questions or queries, showed great favours to the Guru. After some time, Ram Rai having sought royal permission, left the court. After the death of the Master (Guru Har Rai), Ram Rai once again went to Agra where the emperor assigned him lodgings on the bank of the tank of Itibar Khan. There, he stayed for two decades. At the thought of impending death, he chose the village Kahrauda in a fertile and pleasant valley in the mountainous tract of Garhwal as his last resting-place. Raja Fath Singh of the place granted him four other villages, besides Kahrauda. Two months prior to his eternal departure, the Guru took another wife, Panjabu by name. When the Guru breathed his last (23 Aug., 1688), his disciple Nanak constructed one edifice at the place of his death, another at the place of bathing his dead-body? and also at his *samadhi*. A garden was also laid out. The inscription also mentions that the site has become a place of pilgrimage for all and sundry.<sup>41</sup> Although a recorded event, but we get more and detailed information in this inscription.

A lengthy inscription<sup>42</sup> composed in cumbersome style from Kampil, Farrukhabad District, refers to the reign of Shah Alam II (1759-1806) and records the construction of a *Bishrant* i.e. Rest-House in AH 1214 (1799-1800) on the bank of the sacred river (Ganges) for the benefit and comfort of the people who come for the holy dip, by Rai Nahmal Das, son of Lala Khub Chand, the *Nazim* i.e. the Superintendent, who was born at Qasba Godhnhr. The builder was a high revenue official under Aminud Daula, the Deputy in the time of Nawwab Nasir Jang Bangash, the viceroy of the Mughal emperor. Those who strove for the construction, were Barguzar Parshad, Mulchand, Faqirullah and Ibadullah of Kunwarpur and under the overall supervision of Ram Ganga Sahib. The epigraph under reference also indicated



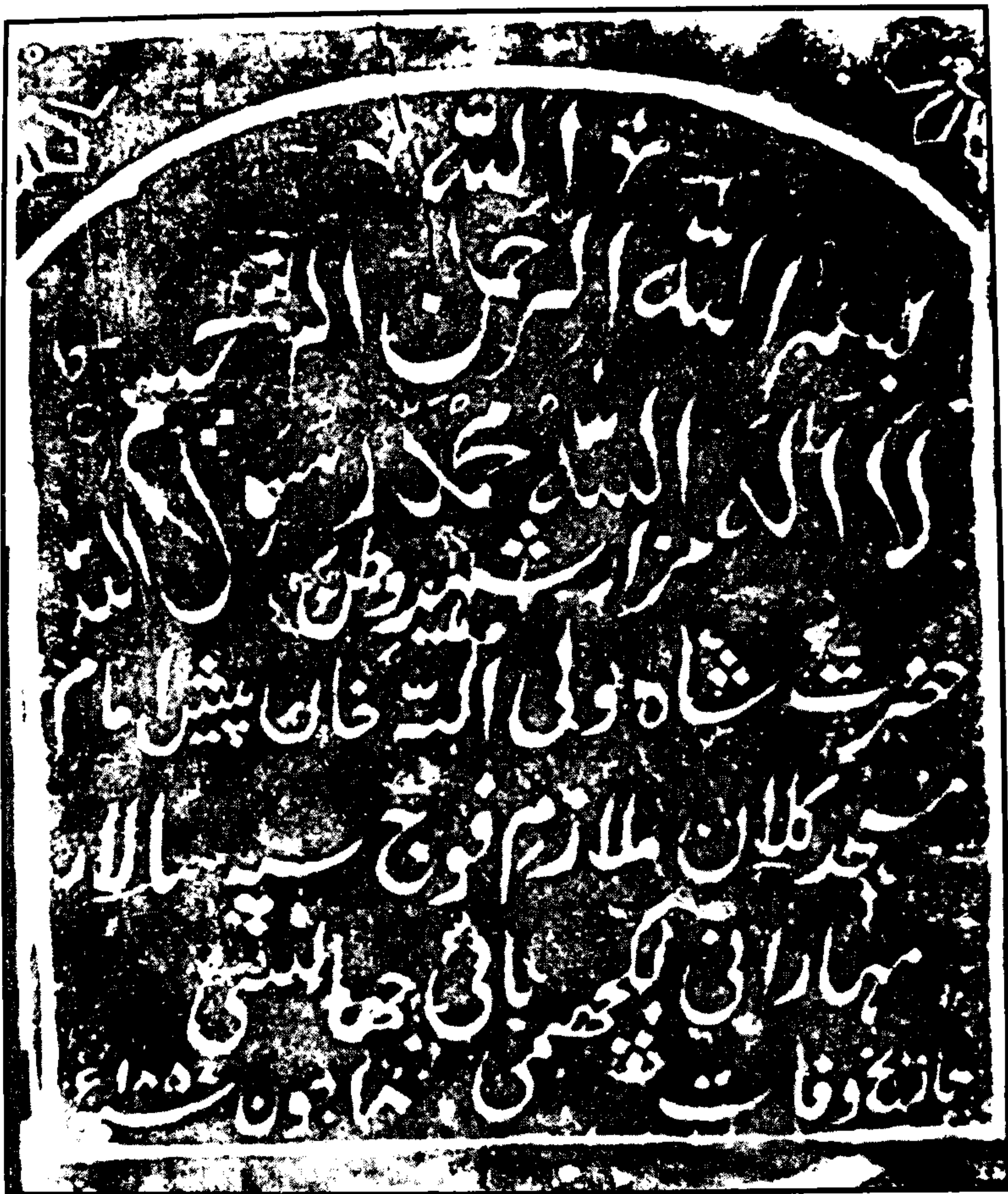


18. Dehradun, Dist. headquarters, Uttaranchal : Persian inscription of Aurangzeb, dated AH 1099, V.S. 1744 (ad 1688) besides providing other details, gives an account of the circumstances which led to the succession of Guru Ram Rai to Guru Har Rai and foundation of the Gurudwara and various buildings therein. ARep., 1974-75, D 328.

the fact that by this time the British had established their hold on India. The metrical text of the inscription was composed by Azizullah Asi of the Qadizada family of Shamsabad.

Though comparatively a recent record<sup>43</sup> obtained from Jhansi, a district headquarters, it supplies an interesting information, saying that Shah Waliullah Khan, *Pesh Imam* (prayer-leader) at the city's main mosque and member of the commander-in-chief of Rani Lachhmi Bai, attained martyrdom in 1857 (Illus.19). This epigraph confirms the involvement of Muslims of even religious field or vocation in what has been termed as the First War of Indian Independence (1857).

These inscriptions from Uttar Pradesh, it is hoped, will provide useful material for the regional history as well as for a study of mural calligraphy then prevalent.



19. Jhansi, Dist. headquarters, U.P. : Urdu inscription dated AD 1857 pointing to the grave of the martyr Shah Waliullah Khan, prayer-leader of Masjid-i-Kalan and a member of the army of the Commander-in-chief of Maharani Lakchhmi Bai. *AREp.*, 1978-79, C 213.



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Former Uttar Pradesh lay between 23° 52' and 31° 18' N. and 77° 3' and 84° 39'E. *Imperial Gazetteer of India (IGI)*, Vol. XXIV, Oxford, 1908, p. 132. Western part of Uttar Pradesh has been created as a new state named Uttaranchal w.e.f. 1st November 2000.
2. Historically important inscriptions from undivided Uttar Pradesh are published in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1911-12; *ibid.*, 1913-14; *ibid.*, 1917-18; *ibid.*, 1925-26; *ibid.*, 1933-34; *ibid.*, 1937-38; *ibid.*, 1939-40; *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)* 1951 and 1952; *ibid.*, 1953 and 1954; *ibid.*, 1955 and 1956; *ibid.*, 1961; *ibid.*, 1962; *ibid.*, 1964; *ibid.*, 1965; *ibid.* 1966; *ibid.*, 1967; *ibid.*, 1968; *ibid.*, 1969; *ibid.*, 1972; *ibid.*, 1975; *ibid.*, 1977.
3. These districts are: Agra, Aligarh, Allahabad, Azamgarh, Bahraich, Ballia, Banda, Barabanki, Bareilly, Basti, Bijnor, Budaun, Buland Shahr, Dehradun, Deoria, Etah, Etawah, Faizabad, Farrukhabad, Fatehpur, Ghazipur, Ghaziabad, Gonda, Gorakhpur, Hamirpur, Hardoi, Jalaun, Jaunpur, Jhansi, Kanpur, Kheri, Lucknow, Mainpuri, Mathura, Meerut, Mirzapur, Moradabad, Muzaffarnagar, Pratapgarh, Rae Bareilly, Rampur, Saharanpur, Shahjahanpur, Sitapur, Sultanpur, Unnao and Varanasi.
4. Unrepresented districts include: Almora, Bageshwar, Chamoli, Champawat, Haridwar, Nainital, Pauri Garhwal, Pithauragarh, Rudrapur, Tihri, Udham Singh Nagar, Uttarkashi, Bhadohi, Ferozpur, Garhwal, Kanpur (rural), Lalitpur, Maharajganj, Mau, Padrauna, Pilibhit, Siddharthnagar and Sonbhadra.
5. *AREp.*, 1952-53 onwards upto *AREp.*, 1995-96 (39 issues).
6. These rulers are : (Ghaznavid) Mahmud of Ghazna (AD 998-1030); (Mamluk) Qutubud Din Aibak (1206-10), Iltutmish (1210-35), Radiya (1236-39), Nasirud Din Mahmud (1246-65), Balban (1265-87), Kaiqubad (1287-90); (Khalji) Alaud Din Muhammad Shah (1296-1316), Iqrit Khan (1296), Mubarak Shah (1316-20); (Tughluq) Ghiyathud Din (1320-25), Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51), Firuz Tughluq (1351-88), Nasirud Din Muhammad Shah III (1389-92); (Sayyid) Mubarak Shah (1421-34), Alaud Din Alam Shah (1443-51); (Lodi) Ahmad Khan (1478), Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517), Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26); (Mughal) Babar (1526-30), Humayun (1530-40, 1555-56), Akbar (1556-1605), Jahangir (1605-27), Shah Jahan (1628-58), Aurangzeb (1658-1707), Shah Alam I (1707-12), Farrukh Siyar (1712-19), Muhammad Shah (1719-48), Ahmad Shah (1748-54), Shah Alam II (1759-1806), Akbar II (1806-37); (Sur) Sher Shah (1539-45), Islam Shah (1545-52), Muhammad Adil (1552-56); (Sharqi) Ibrahim Shah (1402-40), Mahmud Shah (1440-57), Husain Shah (1458-79); (Sultans of Bengal) Barbak Shah (1459-74), Saifud Din Firuz Shah (1486-89), Alaud Din Husain Shah (1493-1519), Nasirud Din Nusrat Shah (1519-32); (Sultans of Malwa) Dilawar Khan (1401-05); (Rulers of Kalpi) Mahmud (1388 onward); (Rohilla) Dhul Faqar Khan (1784-85); (Nawwabs of Awadh) Shujaud-Daula (1756-75), Asafud Daula (1775-97), Ghaziud Din Haidar (1814-27), Muhammad Ali Shah (1837-42), Amjad Ali Shah (1842-47), Wajid Ali Shah (1847-56); (Nawwabs of Rampur) Ahmad Ali Khan (1794-1840), Kalb-i-Ali Khan (1865-87); and East India Company or the British.
7. These dynasties are: Mamluk, Tughluq, Sayyid, Lodi, Sur and Mughal.

8. For the history of Bulandshahr, monuments and inscriptions; see *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (DGUP)*, Vol. V, pp. 206-07; A. Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), p. 45; *AREp.*, 1962-63, D, 250-63; *EIAPS*, 1964, pp. 2-4; *ibid.*, 1966, pp.1, 16; *ibid.*, 1968, p. 28 ,etc.
9. No contemporary reference to Salar Masud Ghazi is available in any work of the Ghaznavid period. *A Comprehensive History of India*, Volume five, *The Delhi Sultanat*, ed. M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (N. Delhi,1970), p. 138, f.n.30.
10. For his career, see *ibid.*, pp. 140-41; *Religion and Politics in India during the 13<sup>th</sup> century*, pp. 152-54.
11. For history and historical remains of Budaun, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XI (Calcutta, 1890) pp. 1-11; *DGUP*. Vol. VI, Budaun (Allahabad, 1907), pp. 131-62, 183-96; A. Fuhrer, *op.cit.*, pp.21- 23. Inscriptions of Budaun have been published in *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 22; *ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 30-31; *EIAPS*, 1964, pp.7, 19; *ibid.*, 1965, pp. 11-18; *ibid.*, 1966, pp. 14-18; *ibid.*, 1967, pp. 33-35, etc.
12. For history and inscriptions of Kannauj, see Anwar Husain, *Guldasta-i-Qannauj* (1871); Maulavi Said Ansari, 'Athar-i-Qannauj', *Maarif*, Vol. XI, No. I, Jan. 1923, pp. 45-49; Thomas William Beale, *Miftahut Tawarikh* (Kanpur, 1867), pp.250-51, 268, 280; *AREp.*, 1963-64, D, 321-48; *EIAPS*, 1975, pp. 44-45.
13. *Delhi Sultanat*, p. 138.
14. The graves of Miran Mulhim Shahid in Budaun, of Khwaja Majdud Dir in Bilgram, of Lal Pir at Gopamau and the Ganj-i-Shahidan at Asiwani in Unnao-all considered to belong to the pre-Ghurid period.
15. *Delhi Sultanat*, p. 140.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
17. For history and inscriptions of Aligarh and its suburbs, see *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteer*, Vol. XI, Aligarh (Allahabad, 1909), pp. 163-70, 197-208; Jamal Muhammad Siddiqi, *Aligarh District : A Historical Survey* (Delhi, 1981), pp. 28-172, 221-79; *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 22-26; *ibid.*, 1925-26, pp.8-9; *EIAPS*, 1966, pp. 8-11; *ibid.*, 1967, pp. 39-40.
18. *Delhi Sultanat*, pp. 167-70; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XXIV (Oxford, 1908), p. 150.
19. For history and monuments of Jaunpur, see A. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, Vol. XI, Calcutta, 1880, Rep. Varanasi, 1968, pp. 102-26; A. Fuhrer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, Calcutta, 1889, Rep. Varanasi, 1971; *DGUP*, Vol. XXVII, Jaunpur (Allahabad, 1908), pp. 231-49; Maulavi Muhammad Fasihud Din, *The Sharqi Monuments of Jaunpur* (Allahabad, 1922); Sayyid Iqbal Ahmad, *Tarikh-i-Shiraz-i-Hind Jaunpur* (Jaunpur, 1963); Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. II (Bombay, 1942), pp. 43-47; *EIAPS*, 1964, p.12; *ibid.*, 1969, pp. 68, 74; *ibid.*, 1975, pp. 21-25.
20. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh (JASB)*, Vol. XX, No. 2, Aug. 1975, pp. 41-52.
21. *Delhi Sultanat*, pp. 630-62.
22. J.N. Sarkar, ed., *History of Bengal*, Vol. II (Dacca, 1948), pp. 104-05; M.R. Tarafdar, Epigraphic and Numismatic notes bearing on the history of pre-Mughal Bengal, *JASB*, Vol. XX, No. 3, Dec. 1975, pp. 1-22; *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 47-48; *AREp.* 1963-64, D, 386.

23. For the history of Uttar Pradesh, see *IGI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 150-59.
24. For his career, see W.E. Begley, "A Mughal Caravan Sarai built and inscribed by Amanat Khan Calligrapher of the Taj Mahal", *Indian Epigraphy* (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 283-89.
25. *AREp.*, 1982-83, C, 105.
26. *Ibid.*, 1977-78, D, 131.
27. *Ibid.*, 1975-76, D, 232.
28. *Ibid.*, 1975-76, D, 255.
29. *Ibid.*, 1980-81, C, 129.
30. Abul Fadl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1877), p. 44.
31. This inscription is partly published in *Muraqq-i-Akbarabad* (Agra, 1931) by Sayeed Marehravi, p. 191.
32. Abul Fadl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1886), p. 173.
33. *EIAPS*, 1960, p. 60, Pl. XVIII (a).
34. *Ibid.*, 1969, pp. 71, 74, Pls. XX (a) and XIX (a).
35. *AREp.*, 1978-79, D, 199-200.
36. For his career, Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maathirul Umara*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 77-89.
37. *AREp.*, 1963-64, B, 484-86; D, 387-89; M.I. Quddusi, 'Three Bilingual Inscriptions from Kapiladhara, *EIAPS*, 1977, pp. 79-86, Pls. XVII a, b, c.
38. For the description of Keladi Chiefs, see *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. V (ed. Hayaviana Rao), pp. 1230-38.
39. S.L. Shantakumari, 'Kasi & Karnataka', *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. X, 1983, pp. 73-74.
40. *AREp.*, 1974-75, D, 328.
41. William Irvine writes, 'Har Rai had joined the standard of Dara Shukoh son of Shah Jahan, when that prince fled to Lahor in order to continue his contest for the throne with his younger brother, Aurangzeb. As soon as the issue of the war of succession was clear, and Dara Shukoh had been overthrown, Har Rai prudently returned to his home at Kiratpur, sending his oldest son, Ram Rai, to make his excuses to Aurangzeb. The emperor received Ram Rai in a kindly manner, but thought fit to retain him as a hostage. The Guru lived in peace at Kiratpur and died there in 1661. *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 77.
42. *AREp.*, 1977-78, D, 123-24.
43. *Ibid.*, 1978-79, D, 213.



## INSCRIPTIONS OF KERALA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AN EPITAPH FROM BALIAPATAM

### I HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

From the earliest times, traders from various centres of the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf used to frequent the Kerala ports in search of spices and other valuable products.<sup>1</sup> When Islam swept over Arabia, its influence was felt immediately in Kerala also where it began to spread both by conversion and by settlements of Arab traders.<sup>2</sup> According to a doubtful tradition, at the instance of Cheraman Perumal, Malik Ibn Dinar (d. AD 748) and his family came to Kerala and founded a series of mosques between Mangalore and Quilon. At the time of Sulaiman's visit in AD 851, the number of Muslims was not large in Kerala.<sup>3</sup> Among the notable Arabian travellers, Ibn Khurdadhbih (d. AD 911) and Abu Zaid (AD 916) speak of Kerala ports and their commercial activities, while Ibn Hauqal, writing in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, speaks of mosques in Kerala.<sup>4</sup>

From the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the Zamorin's relations with the Arab traders became intimate and Calicut attained pre-eminence in the trade of pepper and other spices and the Muslims monopolized the external trade of the coast.<sup>5</sup> Arab merchant-princes had established mainly at Calicut and Cannanore. Their influence was mainly with the rulers of these two states whose prosperity depended mostly on the export trade. In Calicut, there were Muslim traders from Hormuz, Cairo, Abyssinia and Tunis who had built mosques there. The Zamorins of Calicut enjoyed the support of Muslims who contributed largely to the prosperity of their kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

In the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Zamorin authority of Calicut extended from Cannanore in the north to Cochin in the south, to whom the local Kolathiri Rajas of Cannanore paid tribute.<sup>7</sup> The Zamorin's tolerant policy towards the Arab traders and the local Muslims, contributed greatly to the socio-economic progress of the Calicut kingdom.<sup>8</sup> Their land armies consisted of a sufficient number of Muslims, while their naval power was mainly dominated by the Muslims. Coastal Muslims had been traders and merchants and because of their intense religiosity, most of them, annually performed pilgrimage to Mecca for *Haj*, hence navigation made great progress under them. Kunj 'Ali Marakkar's family had been the hereditary admiral of the Zamorins, whose progeny are still found settled in Ponnani.<sup>9</sup> The tolerant policy and outlook of

the Zamorins, was a patent factor for the rapid progress of Islam in the region, as indicated in *Tuhfatu'l Mujahidin*, a work by Shaikh Zainu'ddin (16<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>10</sup>

From Cannanore to the south along the coast, principally in towns, Arab Muslim traders had their warehouses and settlements and a local Muslim community grew up around these settlements. Their leadership was in the hands of the Arab merchant-princes, mainly stationed at Cannanore and Calicut. The Zamorins through these Arab traders were able to equip their army with better arms and Arab horses.<sup>11</sup> By the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Muslims occupied a very influential position in the public life of Kerala.<sup>12</sup>

Another dynasty that played very important role in the history of Kerala was the 'Ali Rajas of Cannanore, the only Muslim royal house, that came into prominence in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. To begin with, the 'Ali Rajas were the feudatories of the Kolathiris. They had established their political power in and around Cannanore city and enjoyed virtual monopoly of trade in the area. On account of economic affluence obtained through maritime trade and encouraged by the internal dissensions of the Kolathiris, they began to assert their political independence.<sup>13</sup> This caused sometimes strained relations between the Kolathiris and the 'Ali Rajas.

The 'Ali Rajas maintained the Hindu custom of the matrilineal succession. Their fifth ruler 'Ali Musa conquered Maldives in AD 1183-84, probably as an admiral of the Kolathiris. Laccadive islands were bestowed on the 'Ali Rajas as *jagir* for their meritorious services to the Kolathiris and the former had to pay an annual tribute of 1800 *fanams* at Baliapatam fort to the latter. The *jagir* of these islands and assignments of the port of Cannanore and a few villages in the mainland made the 'Ali Rajas quite strong. Under them, Cannanore had become an international trading centre, carrying on brisk trade in goods of all sorts from great port cities surrounding the eastern rim of the Arabian sea. Being a Muslim principality, the 'Ali Rajas maintained friendly relations with Bijapur and other Muslim kingdoms of the south, so also with the Ottoman empire. They were known as the lords of the deep sea or *Sultanul Bahr*,<sup>14</sup> issuing their own silver and gold coins. Throughout their period, they rendered yeoman service for spread of Islam and building mosques in northern Kerala.<sup>15</sup> This historical background is hereby followed by an epigraphical bird's eye-view of Kerala.

## II INSCRIPTIONS OF KERALA

From Kerala with a 580 kilometer long sea-coast,<sup>16</sup> so far, 171 Perso-Arabic inscriptions<sup>17</sup> from 28 places,<sup>18</sup> situated in 11 districts (out of 14 districts) of the state, have been copied, which range in their dates between AH 471<sup>19</sup> and AH 1379<sup>20</sup> (AD 1078-1960), spanning the period of about nine centuries. Great majority of these inscriptions, is the death-records including those of saints and scholars,



harbour-masters, merchants and ship-masters, while the remaining others pertain to construction of mosques, pulpits (of the mosques), *madrassa*, tomb and *'Idgah*. Most of the extant records are comparatively recent, but not without importance. Epitaphs of men and women from various walks of life, though contain merely the name and date of the deceased, they have that the deceased had performed *Haj*. Some of them mention the native place of these newcomers or their progeny, thus furnishing data for the study of the relationship and communications between particular places of the two countries.

A vast majority of the inscriptions from Kerala are written in Arabic in *Naskh* characters. Persian with other languages is used in a couple of epigraphs,<sup>21</sup> Urdu in seven and Malayalam in the same number (including three inscriptions<sup>22</sup> wherein Malayalam is written in Arabic script). Apart from *Naskh*, other styles used in some of the epigraphs include *Nasta'liq*, *Thulth*, *Kufi*, *Naskh* in *Ma'kus* – forming an important aspect in the field of calligraphy – a branch of fine arts, providing us in whatever form a good number of specimens of Islamic calligraphy in Kerala. Largest number of inscriptions, numbering 49, come from District Kozhikode, followed by Alleppey, 36, Malappuram, 29, and Cannanore, 26. Inscriptions dated between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries come from Cannanore, Kozhikode, Malappuram, Palghat and Ernakulam Districts.

Place-wise, Alleppey tops the list with recent 36 inscriptions<sup>3</sup> (dated between AD 1810-1921), followed by Kozhikode with 17 epigraphs. From Baliapatam, Cannanore, Kondotti and Ponnani come 12 inscriptions each. In the entire lot, the only Muslim royal dynasty that finds representation is that of the 'Ali Rajas of Cannanore, and that too surprisingly in a solitary record<sup>23</sup> from a local mosque at Cannanore.

According to Dr. Z. A. Desai, former Director (Epigraphy), in South India, comparatively speaking, Kerala is still the most inadequately represented state, and he gives the reason thereof as under :

“It may partly be due to its being far away from the centre of Muslim authority, which has one of reasons of non-currency of Persian and Urdu languages there and also due to the highly perishable medium of inscription used there, namely wood instead of stone. Otherwise, the region's close contacts with the Arabs from the earliest period – which explains the currency of Arabic language among the Muslims (including a large number of the descendants of the Arab settlers) – to the present day should have been responsible for a large number of inscriptions.”<sup>24</sup>

After this panoramic view of Kerala inscriptions, we come to the main discussion about the valuable epitaph from Baliapatam.



### III EPITAPH FROM BALIAPATAM

I had an official occasion to conduct epigraphical survey of the Cannanore District during the month of October 1990. My joy knew no bounds when I came across an unexpected chance-discovery of a fragmentary loose epitaph<sup>25</sup> of a grave on a chest-high platform near the *Dargah* of Imam Bukhari in the locality called Kakulanagara in Baliapatam (11 55' N. & 75 22'E), about 8 kilometers to the north of Cannanore.

Cannanore region has a distinct history<sup>26</sup> of its own, figuring prominently in the early traditional history, connected with the origin and spread of Islam in Kerala. Some of the ancient mosques believed to have been founded by Malik Ibn Dinar on the west coast, are located in the Cannanore District.<sup>27</sup>

The travel accounts left by the Arab travellers from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, contain ample references to important towns in the Cannanore District and the products and spices they exported. Baliapatam, Bekal and Kasargod are some of the places, figuring prominently in the Arab accounts. Ibn Khurdadhbih (AD 844-48) mentions a place called 'Babattan', which has been correctly identified with the modern industrial town Baliapatam on the south bank of the Valarpattanam river. Dimishqi (AD 1325) refers to the place as 'Buddfattan' with the following observations about it :

"Most of the inhabitants of Buddfattan are Brahmins... who hate the Muslims; for this reason there are no Muslims living amongst them".<sup>28</sup>

Ibn Batuta (AD 1345) also refers to the place as 'Buddpattan' and gives the remark about it as under :

"It is a large city, situated upon a mouth of the sea. At the coast of the sea is situated a mosque where stay the Muslim travellers, as there are no Muslims in the city. The port of the city is extremely beautiful."<sup>29</sup>

Baliapatam earlier called Valarpattanam, has been quite rich in historical associations. One of the Perumals is reported to have built a Siva shrine along with a fort to protect it. Chirakkal which lies in proximity to the south of Baliapatam was the seat of the Kolathiri Rajas who held sway over the whole of north Kerala. Presently, there are a dozen mosques in the town, the oldest of which is believed to have been erected by Malik Ibn Dinar.<sup>30</sup>

This is the historical background of Baliapatam, possessed of the precious epitaph under our perusal.



20. Baliapatam, Cannanore Dist., Kerala : Fragmentary loose inscription in Arabic in *Kufi* characters, recording the death of Ali s/o Kasnuri in AH 471/AD 1078-79. *AREp.*, 1990-91, C 54.

It is a fragmentary loose epitaph in the Arabic language, in *Kufi* characters in low relief on a single rectangular block of yellow sandstone, of which almost half of upper part bearing Quranic verse (Ch. III, part of verse 18), is missing. The extant portion measuring 20 by 17 centimetre bears Quranic text (in continuation with that of the missing upper part), followed by an obituary notice, saying that 'this is the grave of 'Ali bin Kasnuri, who passed away in (AH) 471 (AD 1078-79).

The text of the epitaph executed in *Kufi* characters is plain and without any ornamental flourishes or designs, containing a famous verse<sup>31</sup> from the *Quran*, usually found in epitaphs elsewhere and also in India. With the help of the extant portion of the slab, it is not difficult to conjecture that the solid single block of the epitaph contained in all probability ten lines of writing – 4 lines in the missing upper part and 6 lines, as obvious, in the surviving text (Illus.20). The last four lines of the surviving text pertains to the obituary notice. The surviving text is read as under:

### TRANSLITERATION

(In continuation with the Quranic text, Chapter III, verse 18).

- 1) *Huwa'l 'Azizu'l Hakim. Inna'd-*
- 2) *ina 'indallahi'l Islam.*
- 3) *Hadha qabru 'Ali bin Kasnu-*
- 4) *ri rahmatu'llah tuwaffa fi*
- 5) *sinatin ihda wa sab'ina wa*
- 6) *arba'u miyatin wa sallallahu 'ala Muhammad.*

### TRANSLATION

- (1-2) He, the Exalted in Power, the Wise. The Religion before Allah is Islam (submission to His Will)<sup>32</sup>.
- (3-4) This is the grave of 'Ali son of Kasnuri, the mercy of God (be upon him) who died in
- (5-6) the year one and seventy and four hundred (i.e. AH 471/AD 1078-79). And may God's blessings be upon (His Prophet) Muhammed.

This chance-discovery from Baliapatam is very important from various points of view. Indian Islamic inscriptions, as a rule, date from the last decade of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, with the exception of about a dozen bearing earlier dates, discovered at Sonapat<sup>33</sup> in Rohtak District and at Narnaul<sup>34</sup> in Mahendragarh District of Haryana and at Bhadreswar<sup>35</sup> in Kutch District of Gujarat. Much earlier records



dated in 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries in Kerala and elsewhere are reported in traditional accounts from western and southern coastal regions, but none was actually found so far. Our valuable epitaph from Baliapatam happens to be the earliest authentic Muslim record discovered so far in India, not to mention Pakistan in the sub-continent where one of still earlier date AH 243/AD 857 has been traced and published.<sup>36</sup> I deem it necessary to clarify that our epitaphic record under reference pertains to the Indian soil and was not brought from outside the country, as we are possessed of other older inscriptions housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and one of them fixed in the Red Fort at Agra, having been brought from various parts of the Islamic world.<sup>37</sup>

Other specimens of inscriptions in *Kufi* style bearing later dates (than the Baliapatam epitaph), come from Cambay<sup>38</sup> and Bhadreshwar<sup>39</sup> in Gujarat and from Ajmer<sup>40</sup> and Ladnun<sup>41</sup> in Rajasthan. Our epitaph under study is not only the earliest dated record but also the earliest *Kufi* inscription from the Indian soil. All the early stone records in Arabic both from within including that of Baliapatam and from outside have their own historical importance and very interesting on palaeographical grounds. On the basis of their collective study, their styles of writing display various phases of the *Kufi* script, variety known as ornamental *Kufi* as employed in certain inscriptions stored in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and in a number of epitaphs at Bhadreshwar, and the variety termed as plain *Kufi*, as employed in the epitaph under study.

It is also interesting to note that the epitaph was set up at a time when India was still alien to Muslim rule. It indicates the extent of the permeation of the Muslims with peaceful pursuits and engaged in commercial activities in Kerala, corroborating the statements of the early Arab travellers about the existence of Muslim settlements in various towns, besides indirectly providing evidence of the relations between Western India and other Islamic countries.

To conclude, it may be remarked that the present record from Baliapatam is an addition to our source-material for the assessment of the early contact and settlements of the Muslims at various coastal places of Kerala in general and at Baliapatam in particular in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It indicates the fact, though indirectly, that Muslim settlements were not confined to Cannanore alone and because of immense commercial activities, apart from Cannanore, Arab Muslims had settled in Baliapatam also in view of local, foreign and international commercial activities conducted from these two nearby sea-ports at the Kerala coast. The deceased 'Ali bin Kasnuri, of the epitaph probably belonged to the trading community of the region whose grave there confirms his close association with Baliapatam.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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3. Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 184.
4. Panikkar, *op.cit.*, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 20, 26.
7. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. IV, Leiden, 1978, p. 547.
8. Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 52.
9. Nadvi, Syed Sulaiman, *'Arabon-ki-Jahaz-Rani* (Urdu ed., Bombay), pp. 222-23.
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11. Panikkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 10, 15, 20.
12. Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 185.
13. K.K. N., Kurup, *The Ali Rajas of Cannanore*, Trivandrum, 1975, p. 1.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3, 6.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 91, 94.
16. Menon, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-4.
17. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp)*, 1953-54, Appendix, C, No. 111; *ibid.*, 1959-60, D 170; *ibid.*, 1965-66, D 36-114; *ibid.*, 1973-74, D 161-203; *ibid.*, 1990-91, C 49-70; *ibid.*, 1992-93, C 30-34.
18. These places are: (1) Alleppey, District Alleppey; (2) Beypore (3) Chaliyam (4) Kollam (5) Quilandy (6) Paravanna (7) Kozhikode (8) Iringal (9) Pudi Angadi (District Kozhikode); (10) Baliapatam (11) Madayi (12) Cannanore (13) Kottayam (14) Tellicherry (District Cannanore); (15) Cochin (District Ermaculam); (16) Kasargod (District Kasargod); (17) Thazathangadi (District Kottayam); (22) Betat Pudiangadi (23) Kaveriparkarpalli (24) Tanur (District Malappuram); (25) Ponnani (District Palghat); (26) Quilon (District Quilon); (27) Srinarayanapuram (District Trichur) and (28) Trivandrum (District Trivandrum).
19. It is from Baliapatam. *AREp.*, 1990-91, C 54.
20. It is from Quilandy. *AREp.*, 1965-66, D 82.

21. One record is from Trivandrum which is in Arabic and Persian. *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 203. The other record is from Alleppey which is in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. *AREp.*, 1992-93, C 41.
22. These are from Ponnani in Palghat District, Cannanore and Tellicherry. *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 187; *Ibid.*, 1990-91, C 63, 67.
23. *AREp.*, 1965-66, D 92.
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30. *KDG, Cannanore*, p. 708.
31. *Quran*, Chapter III, verse 18.
32. *The Holy Quran*. English translation of the meanings and Commentary, revised and edited by the Presidency of Islamic Researches (Madinah, H. 1413), pp. 144-45.
33. It is dated AH 481/AD 1088. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 303.
34. *AREp.*, 1972-73, D 31-32.
35. *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1965, pp. 1-8.
36. Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, 'A Kufic Sarada Inscription from the Peshawar Museum', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1925-26, pp. 27-28, pl. XI b.
37. Two epitaphs dated AH 174 (AD 790-91) originally from Persia and the African coast, respectively, are preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (*AREp.*, 1952-53, C 25; *ibid.*, 1970-71, D 3). Dr. Z. A. Desai, 'Inscriptions from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay', *EIAPS*, 1957 and 1958, p. 2. Of the four *Kufi* records, three are dated AH 326 (AD 938), AH 410 (AD 1019) and AH 421 (AD 1030). The inscription at Agra belongs to Mahmud of Ghazni (AD 998-1030). See Mohd. Ashraf Husain, 'Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Agra Fort', *EIAPS*, 1951 and 1952, pp. 1-2.
38. *AREp.*, 1956-57, D 49; *ibid.*, 1959-60, D 116.
39. *EIAPS*, 1965-66, pp. 1-8.
40. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 307.
41. *Ibid.*, 1968-69, D 420.



## MUGHAL KHANDESH: AN EPIGRAPHICAL SURVEY

**M**ughal Khandesh was not exactly in the Deccan, but more to the north-west of the region, lying below the kingdoms of Gujarat (AD 1403-1572) and Malwa (AD 1401-1561), between the 20° - 22° of N. Latitude.<sup>1</sup> Before the Mughal annexation, its length from Borgaon (near Handia) to Laling, on the borders of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, was 75 *kos* and its breadth from Jamod, adjoining Berar, to Pal on the frontier of Malwa 50 *kos*, and in some parts tapering to 25 *kos* only. It was encircled by Berar to the east, Malwa to the north, Galna to the south and the southern of the mountain chains of Malwa, to the west.<sup>2</sup>

According to Firishta, Khandesh was a Rajput state with Asirgarh as its principal fortress before Alaud Din Khalji's invasion of Deogiri in 1294.<sup>3</sup> Under Muhammad Tughluq (AD 1325-1346), it was administered from Ellichpur. By 1347, Khandesh had become part of the Bahmani kingdom (AD 1347-1527). Later on, it once more passed into the hands of local chieftains until the establishment of the Faruqi dynasty (AD 1382-1601).

The founder of the Faruqi dynasty was Malik Raja (1382-99)<sup>4</sup> who traced his descent to the second Caliph of Islam, Umar Faruq (634-44) and hence the epithet 'Faruqi' was adopted by all the 13 rulers of this dynasty. The six rulers (AD 1399-1520)<sup>5</sup> who succeeded Malik Raja were known as 'Khans', hence the name Khandesh<sup>6</sup> (i.e. country of the Khans), became current in medieval times. It was under them that Khandesh grew into an important state, paying the way for their later other six successors (AD 1520-1601)<sup>7</sup> to rise higher from 'Khans' to the rank of 'Shah' or king.

Hemmed in on all sides by strong neighbours, the Faruqi rulers were shrewd enough to maintain a political equilibrium among the warring states of Malwa, Gujarat, Berar (AD 1484-1574) and Ahmadnagar (AD 1496-1636) and successfully held their own through deft diplomacy and remarkable tenacity. Moving with time, they changed sides in their relationship with their neighbours. It was the peculiar geographical location of Khandesh, that compelled them to adopt such a policy. On the other hand, Deccan kingdoms, Golconda (AD 1489-1687) and Bijapur (AD 1490-1686) were keen on using Khandesh as their shield and a buffer state against the Mughals.

Babur (AD 1526-30) and Humayun (AD 1530-40, 1555-56) had little time to interfere in the politics of Khandesh, but Akbar (AD 1556-1605) quite early in his

reign, made up his mind to subjugate Khandesh. As early as 1564, Akbar conceived a scheme for its conquest, but it had to be put off as several parts of north India had yet to be brought under Mughal rule.

The conquest of Malwa at the end of March AD 1561 brought Akbar into contact with Khandesh, followed by a more direct contact with this kingdom in AD 1564 when Akbar dashed to Malwa to chastise the rebel governor Abdullah Khan Uzbek. The conquest of Gujarat in AD 1572 brought the southwestern frontier of the Mughal Empire into contact with Khandesh and spurred Akbar's interest in it until its final annexation (AD 1601). During the span of 36 years among the last four Faruqi rulers, particularly Raja Ali proved himself an unreliable vassal and Akbar soon realised how unenthusiastic his vassal – Raja Ali had been in letting his state be used by the Mughals as a spring-board to conquer other Deccan states.

Akbar, with a shrewd political acumen decided to conquer Khandesh as the first step towards the reduction of other Deccan kingdoms. After the death of Raja Ali, he ultimately conquered Asirgarh fort from Bahadur Shah Faruqi (AD 1597-1601), partly by arms and partly by ruse, being helped by prevalence of epidemic at the same time.

This brought to an end the Faruqi kings' veiled hostility and dubious role with the Mughals and its amalgamation served the great imperial cause for the southern expansion, as Khandesh provided a territorial link between the north and the south. For a century and a quarter (AD 1601-1724), Mughal Khandesh played a vital role in the history of medieval Deccan.

With this historical background, a review could be made of Perso-Arabic epigraphs, copied from various parts of Khandesh. Mughal Khandesh under Akbar and Jahangir (AD 1605-27) comprised an area of 7,861 square miles, while under their successors, Shah Jahan (AD 1628-58) and Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707), it spread over an area of 23,000 square miles, following the addition of new territories to it for administrative convenience.

About half a century inscriptions have been copied by the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, from various parts of Khandesh viz., Burhanpur, Asirgarh, Khandwa, Bhikangaon, Khargon, Muhammadpur, Chainpur, Kasrawad, Bahadurpur, Raver, Shendurni, Tondapur and Nandurbar, spreading over today's four districts of East and West Nimar in Madhya Pradesh, and Dhule and Jalgaon in Maharashtra. Largest number of inscriptions (21) were copied from Burhanpur, followed by Asirgarh (10).

These inscriptions are found on religious and secular structures dated between AH 1009 (AD 1600-01) and AH 1130 (AD 1717-18) and record references to the expeditions to Khandesh and the Deccan, conquest of the region, construction of *Rang Mahal*, kitchen, well, *sarai*, town-gate, mosque, tomb, dome, *sarai*-enclosure,



battery, tomb-wall, garden with well, *Idgah*, bath, step-well, manufacture of gun and death of eminent persons of those days.

Majority of the inscriptional records are written in Persian; some in Arabic, some partly in Arabic and partly in Persian, providing unique specimens of calligraphy of this region.

The evidences relate to the history of the building and the political or social status of its builder and that of the local or provincial governor. Many officials are known through these epigraphs. They also shed light on events unrecorded in history, preserving the names of places and persons with more details about them. On the administrative side, one comes across designations and posts as were current in different regions, some idea of revenue division or subdivisions and the terms designating them. The list of builders, poets and calligraphers provide an interesting study in social status and professions. Above all, these inscriptions constitute the most valuable source on the history of architecture in Khandesh.

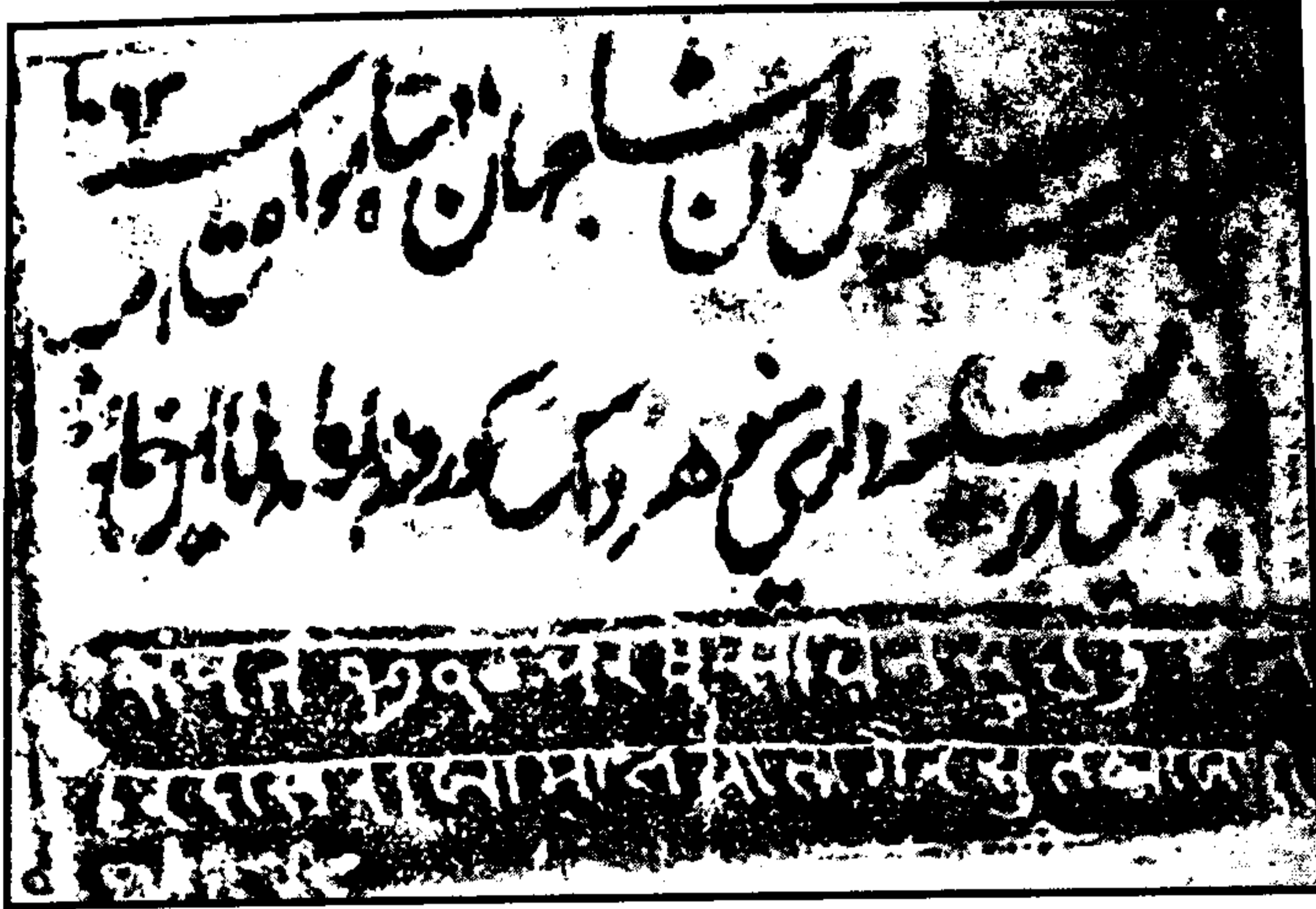
In the collection, there are seven<sup>8</sup> inscriptions of Akbar from Burhanpur, Asirgarh and Kasrawad in Khandesh and Maheshwar in Malwa, all recording his conquest of Khandesh, the text of the epigraphs composed and written by famous calligrapher Mir Muhammad Masum Nami.<sup>9</sup> One of them records the homage paid to Emperor Akbar by the last Faruqi ruler Bahadur Shah and the former having pardoned the latter's life.<sup>10</sup>

Among the ten epigraphs of the time of Jahangir, copied from Nandurbar, Burhanpur and Khandwa, the earliest<sup>11</sup> one dated AH 1016 (AD 1607-08) from the *Hammam* (public bath) near Jahangiri Sarai at Burhanpur, records its construction by the order of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan under the supervision of Muhammad Ali Kark. The second one is a loose record,<sup>12</sup> written by Khalaf Tabrizi, that refers to the construction of a mosque in Burhanpur in AH 1017 (AD 1608). This famous calligrapher whose four calligraphical specimens in the form of inscriptions come from Burhanpur, has been ignored by historians and biographers, including Abdul Baqi Nihawandi who composed the voluminous work *Maasir-i-Rahimi*.

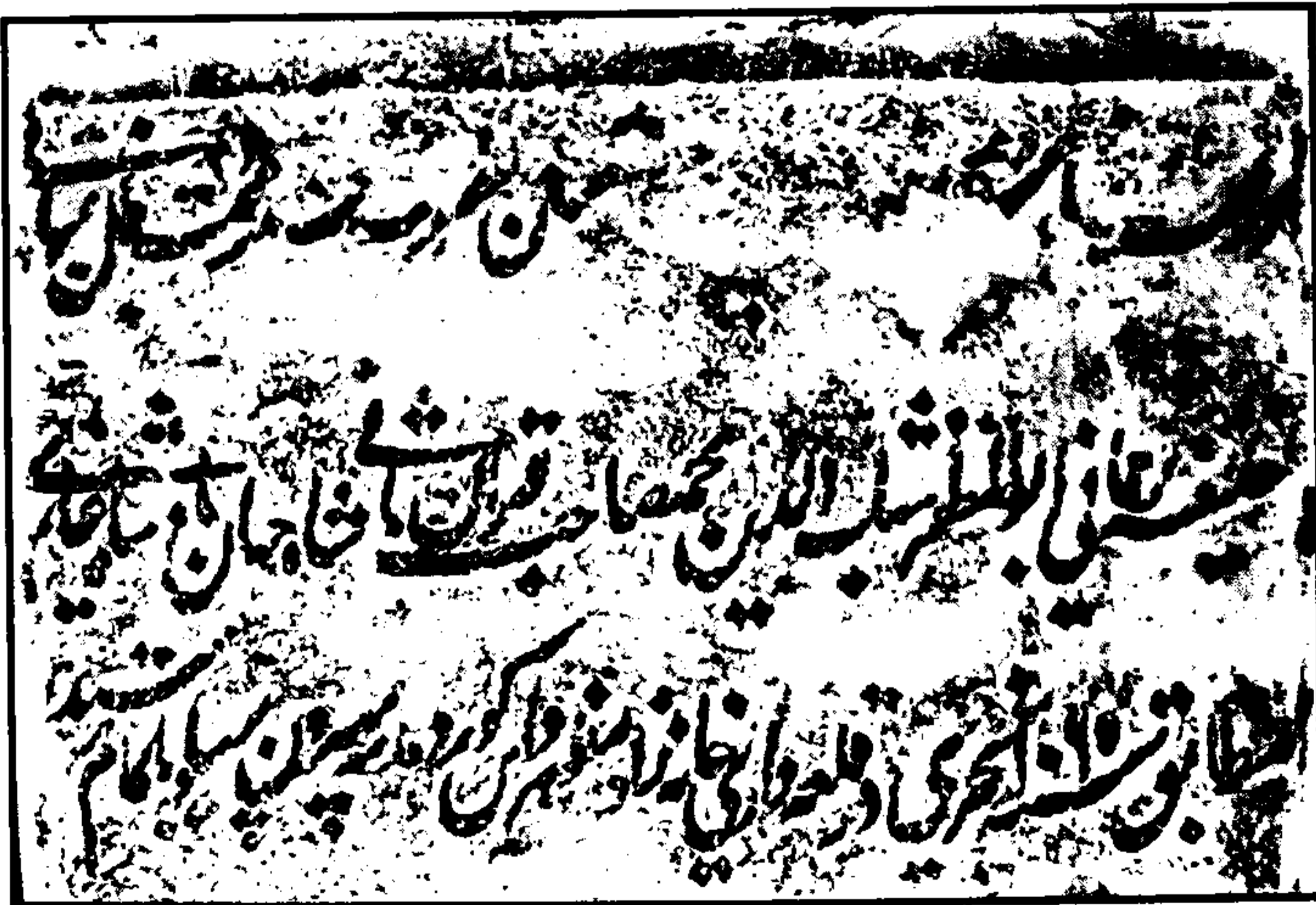
Two other records<sup>13</sup> (third and fourth) speak about the death in AH 1018 (AD 1609) of Mir Abdul Malik Husaini Arqandi of a noble Sayyid family of Khurasan and Mir Ali Beg, son of Shaban Beg Zangana, who seem to have been prominent persons of the time. The next from the Jahangiri Sarai, fixed over the main gate,<sup>14</sup> assigns the completion of the caravansarai in AH 1027 (AD 1618), to the efforts and under the supervision of Lashkar Khan. One Yar Husain Bahsudi, son of Muhammad Beg, built a mosque at Burhanpur in AH 1027 (AD 1618), as evidenced by the sixth inscription.<sup>15</sup>

Inscribed by Khalaf Tabrizi, referred to above, another record (seventh one) of Jahangir from Burhanpur, assigns the construction of a four-walled enclosure and





21. Asirgarh, East Nimar Dist., Madhya Pradesh : Perso-Sanskrit inscription of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, assigning the construction of some building in AH 1063 (AD 1653), V.S. 1710, when Manohar Das Gaur s/o Raja Mandhata was incharge of the Fort. *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 209.



22. Asirgarh : Persian inscription dated AH 1065/AD 1654-55, recording the construction of a raised battery when Manohar Das Gaur held the charge of the Fort. *AREp.*, 1973-74, D 210.

the gate of another caravansarai, to Lashkar Khan, when Khan Khanan was the governor of the province. Its rooms were not yet built when the inscription was set up for, the text specifically expresses the hope that someone might build the rooms, and invokes anticipatory prayers for him.<sup>16</sup>

An epigraph<sup>17</sup> (eighth one) from Khandwa in the local Jami Masjid, refers to its construction in AH 1029 (AD 1619-20) during the governorship of Shah Jahan and under the supervision of Sharfuddin Husain. Two records<sup>18</sup> (ninth and tenth) from Nandurbar, respectively refer to the completion of a building called *Rang Mahal* in AH 1032 (AD 1623) by Lutfullah *alias* Bahai Khan, son of Khusrau Khan<sup>19</sup> and erection of the lofty building of the kitchen, i.e., *langar*, in the tomb of Shah Alauddin, through the efforts of Khwaja Sultan Muhammad.

There are seven inscriptions of Shah Jahan's period found at Asirgarh, Burhanpur, Bhikangaon and Khargon. The earliest<sup>20</sup> one dated AH 1037 (AD 1628) in the fort of Asirgarh, records the erection of a palatial building by Hasan Turktaz, the commandant of Asirgarh under Shah Jahan. The second epigraph<sup>21</sup> is from an *Idgah* at Bhikangaon built by Aurangzeb in AH 1053 (AD 1643-44) during his Deccan-viceroyalty. It indicates the fact that Bhikangaon was an important stage on the road to the Deccan. Husain Shirazi was the calligrapher of this epigraph. The third from Burhanpur records<sup>22</sup> the construction of a mosque in AH 1060 (AD 1649-50) by Khwaja Idrak, *Nazir* (i.e., superintendent) of Shaista Khan, and Farid Sa'd Siddiqi being its composer.

Of greater political significance is the inscription,<sup>23</sup> engraved in the right jamb of the gateway called Phuta Darwaza in the fort of Asirgarh, throwing light on the event of rebellion by Shah Jahan under Jahangir. During the revolt, Shah Jahan had taken shelter in Asirgarh. When he left the fort in AH 1034 (AD 1624-25) to the east, he deposited all his effects under the custody of Raja Gopal Das Gaur, the commandant of the fort. The valiant Raja did not allow the imperial forces to besiege the fort. Shah Jahan again returned to the Deccan and being much impressed by the Raja's valour bestowed upon him the title of 'Raja Mandhata'. When Shah Jahan became Emperor, he appointed Manohar Das, son of Raja Mandhata, commandant of Asirgarh in AH 1063 (AD 1652-53), who carried out many building activities (Illus.21+22) there, as mentioned in a number of inscriptions (fifth and sixth ones).<sup>24</sup>

The last (seventh) important inscription<sup>25</sup> is from Khargon, saying that Malik Husain having obtained the life at the orders of Aurangzeb, then the Deccan viceroy, laid out a garden with a well and a mansion in AH 1065 (AD 1654-55) for the convenience of travellers. The builder (Mir) Malik Husain, son of Mir Abul Maali, was the foster-brother of Aurangzeb, who later on received the title of Khan Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jang Kokaltash and rose to become the Deccan viceroy under Aurangzeb.<sup>26</sup>



لَمَّا بَدَأَ كَتَبْتَ عِيَانًا لَكَ كَرِيمًا  
 شَهَابًا لَدِينِ جَلِيلٍ بِسَمِيٍّ عَظِيمٍ  
 إِذَا مَا لَبَسَ خَفِيرَ بَطْرِفَانِهِ  
 عَجَبًا قَلْنَا لَنَا تَرْبِيَانًا بِبَيْتِ الْحَرَامِ

23. Burhanpur, East Nimar Dist., Madhya Pradesh : This metrical Arabic record dated AH 1104/AD 1692-93, assigns the construction of the dome of the tomb of Shah Bhikari, to one Shihabud Din. *AREp.*, 1956-57, D 137.

سَادِقُ كَاشْمِيرِي صَاحِبُ الْإِبْرَاهِيمِ  
 زَيْنَابِ لَيْتَا نَشْطِ مَشْرِوْءِ الْهَيْدِ  
 رَوْدِ الْبَارِكَةِ بِسَمِيٍّ عَظِيمٍ  
 رَوْدِ الْبَارِكَةِ بِسَمِيٍّ عَظِيمٍ

24. Burhanpur : Metrical Persian inscription, assigning the renovation of the old wall of the tomb of Shah Bhikari, to Sadiq Kashmiri in AH 1109/AD 1697-98. *AREp.*, 1956-57, D 136.



There are nineteen inscriptions pertaining to the time of Aurangzeb recorded from Khandesh. Of these, six<sup>27</sup> are the death-records, five from Burhanpur and one from Asirgarh. The names of the deceased are: Daulat Muhammad (d. AH 1079/AD 1668-69), Mirza Muhammad Husain, son of Haji Mirza Beg (AH 1091/AD 1680), Mir Zahiruddin Muhammad (AH 1091/AD 1680), Ahmad Khan (AH 1092/AD 1681), Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim (AH 1111/AD 1700) and Sayyid Inayat (AH 1112/AD 1700-01). These were perhaps prominent personalities who had settled in and around Burhanpur, a great centre of learning in the Mughal days.

The earliest epigraph<sup>28</sup> dated AH 1069 (AD 1658-59) and historically of great interest (from the Asirgarh fort) records the accession of Aurangzeb and his order about the appointment of Ahmad Najm Sani as the commandant of the fort. A hemistich in the metrical inscription reads: *girift jai pidar ra ba quwwat-i-shamsir*, meaning 'he (Aurangzeb) snatched the seat (throne) from his father (Shah Jahan) by wielding his sword', is very interesting indeed, reminding about the fratricidal war, in which Aurangzeb had emerged victorious.

A record from Shendurni<sup>29</sup> from the mosque called Masjid-i-Kabir, dated AH 1071 (AD 1660), is historically important wherein, it is mentioned that originally the mosque was built by Bahadur Khan, the last Faruqi ruler, who was appointed governor of Khandesh on behalf of Akbar. It also refers to the tomb of Kabir Khan, probably the renovator of the mosque who lies buried in the compound. This epigraph corroborates the fact that after the death of Raja Ali Faruqi, his son Bahadur Faruqi became the ruler of Khandesh with the tacit approval of Akbar. Another important inscription,<sup>30</sup> engraved on a gun originally from Asirgarh fort and now kept in the Raj Bhawan at Nagpur, records the manufacture of the gun named *Haibat-i-Mulk*, i.e., striking terror in the (enemy's) kingdom, cast by Muhammad Husain Arab in Asirgarh fort.

Another inscribed slab<sup>31</sup> presently in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, but originally from Asirgarh dated AH 1079 (AD 1669) records the services of both Raja Gopal Das Gaur and that of his son Raja Manohar Das, who having succeeded his father as the commandant of Asirgarh in AH 1062 (AD 1652), repaired the walls, granaries, etc., of the forts of Mahabali (Mahuli), Palasgarh and Bhanderdurg. Historically of great importance is another record<sup>32</sup> from Muhammadpur, recording the erection of a mosque in the said town in the *sarkar* of Bijagarh, providing us the names of a few important Mughal officials, viz., Umdatul Mulk Mukhtar Khan, the *jagirdar*, Bahai Khan, the *shiqdar* of Muhammadpur and Miyan Iqbal, the *faujdar* and *amin* of the *sarkar* of Bijagarh.

A few inscriptions<sup>33</sup> respectively record the building of a *sarai* in AH 1089 (AD 1678-79) at Raver, construction of a dome over the tomb of Shah Bhikari in AH 1104 (AD 1692-93) by one Shihabuddin (Illus.23), erection of a mosque in AH 1107 (AD 1695-96) by one Abdus Samad, and renovation of the tomb-wall of





Shah Bhikari in AH 1109 (AD 1697-98) by Sadiq Kashmiri, a follower of the saint, at Burhanpur (Illus.24). A record from Khargon,<sup>34</sup> states that an *Idgah* was built in a garden in AH 1113 (AD 1701-02) by Qazi Najib Khan for saying *Id* prayers and recreation of the Muslims. Another epigraph dated AH 1118 (AD 1706-07) from Burhanpur records the construction of the tomb of Shaikh Nur Muhammad Rizai (d. AH 1114/AD 1702) by the composer Muhammad Shah whose father Haji Sadr Shah is said to have migrated from Bukhara to India and founded the villages Sadrpur and Shahpur near Shahjahanabad (i.e. Delhi).<sup>35</sup>

From Tondapur comes an undated epigraph,<sup>36</sup> referring to another official of Aurangzeb, Hatim Beg by name, building a step-well on the road side for public use in memory of his brother Burhan Beg. An inscription from Chainpur, records the construction of a fountain (step-well) for his own merit by a local fief-holder Bhav Singh, identified with Rao Bhav Singh, son of Raja Satar Sal, a noble under Aurangzeb.<sup>37</sup>

There are three inscriptions of post-Aurangzeb period from Burhanpur and Bahadurpur (the latter is in Jalgaon district). Of these, one<sup>38</sup> records the excavation of a well by a certain Bhagmal in AH 1123 (AD 1711-12) at Burhanpur. The second<sup>39</sup> one is from the tomb of a lady at Burhanpur, recording the demise of a lady Maryam by name in AH 1130 (AD 1718)- an expert in the science of reciting the Holy Quran (*qariyya*) in the Muslim period (Illus.25). She has been identified with Hafiza Maryam, the tutoress of Princess Zaibunnisa, daughter of Aurangzeb.<sup>40</sup> This provides information of the level of the educational attainments of women. The third<sup>41</sup> one is from Bahadurpur, referring to the erection of a gate in the town in AH 1131 (1719), under the supervision of Muhammad Wazir Khan Lodi, the deputy of Lodi Khan (*alias* Abdullah Khan), the *faujdar*.

So vast and varied are the epigraphical evidences, shedding light on various aspects of Mughal Khandesh.



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, English translation, H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1949, p. 232.
3. Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II, Kanpur, 1884, p. 277.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 276-77, for his career.
5. The six Khans were: Nasir Khan (1399-1437), Adil Khan I (1437-41), Mubarak Khan I (1441-57), Adil Khan II (1457-1501), Daud Khan (1501-08) and Adil Khan III (1508-20); for their details, Firishta, *op.cit.*, pp. 277-86; Hajji Dabir, *Zafarul Walih bi Muzaffar Wa Alih*, English translation, M.F. Lokhandwala, Vol. I, Baroda, 1970, pp. 52-59.
6. Mahdi Husain, *Khandesh in New Light*, Bangalore, 1963, pp. 9-15.
7. These six successors were: Muhammad Shah I (1520-37), Ahmad Shah (1537), Mubarak Shah (1537-66), Miran Muhammad Shah (1566-76), Raja Ali Shah (1576-97) and Bahadur Shah (1597-1601); for their political career, Firishta, *op.cit.*, 1884, pp. 284-91; Hajji Dabir, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-65.
8. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp)*, 1956-57, D 125, 135; *ibid.*, 1973-74, D 208-12, 214; *ibid.*, 1966-67, D 116; *ibid.*, 1978-79, D 76.
9. Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasirul Umara*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 326-29 (details of his career).
10. *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1962, pp. 72-73.
11. *EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, p. 116. Presently the slab is preserved in the Central Museum, Nagpur.
12. *AREp.*, 1971-72, D 117.
13. *Ibid.*, D 104, 108.
14. *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 75-76.
15. *AREp.*, 1971-72, D 99.
16. *Ibid.*, 1968-69, D 360.
17. *Ibid.*, 1966-67, D 107.
18. *Ibid.*, 1963-64, D 176-77.
19. *Ibid.*, 1958-59, D 162, Khusrau Khan lies buried at Ajmer.
20. *Ibid.*, 1973-74, D 215.
21. *EIAPS*, 1969, p. 23.
22. *AREp.*, 1956-57, D 133.

23. *Ibid.*, 1973-74, D 211.
24. *Ibid.*, D 209-10.
25. *EIAPS*, 1969, p. 25.
26. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, 1888, p. 798.
27. *AREp.*, 1961-62, D 66; *ibid.*, 1971-72, D 106-07, 114-15; *ibid.*, 1973-74, D 218.
28. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1925-26, p. 5.
29. *EIAPS*, 1962, pp. 76-77.
30. *AREp.*, 1978-79, D 85.
31. *Ibid.*, 1956-57, D 26.
32. *Ibid.*, 1966-67, D 114.
33. *Ibid.*, 1956-57, D 136-37; *ibid.*, 1971-72, D 112, 130.
34. *Ibid.*, 1966-67, D 113.
35. *Ibid.*, 1961-62, D 69.
36. *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 34; *AREp.*, 1968-69, D 378.
37. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1890, pp. 305-06.
38. *AREp.*, 1971-72, D 118.
39. *Ibid.*, 1956-57, D 134.
40. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 828.
41. *AREp.*, 1977-78, D 94.

## EPIGRAPHICAL CONTRIBUTION OF PUNJAB TO PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE

**T**his study is an attempt to highlight the epigraphical contribution of the erstwhile Punjab, mainly the Eastern Punjab on the Indian side, to Persian language and literature.

Persian language was first introduced by Mahmud Ghazni (AD 998-1030) in the Punjab. Tilak bin Jaisen, a beloved commander of one thousand under Sultan Masud (AD 1030-41) was the first Punjabi to learn Persian along with his followers. Such a necessity for learning Persian arose when the commander had to translate and explain many administrative matters to the Sultan.<sup>1</sup>

Under the Ghurids (AD 1173-1206) too, Persian language and literature flourished well. The patronage to poets and scholars under the Mamluk Sultans, Qutbuddin Aibak, Iltutmish and Nasiruddin Mahmud, attracted many people to learn Persian. It was during the regime of Balban (AD 1266-87) that Persian had greatly thrived in the Punjab. His scholarly son Prince Muhammad popular as Khan-i-Shahid (d. AD 1285) patronized the scholars of Persian when he was the governor of Punjab with his seat at Multan. He invited Shaikh Sadi twice to his court. Amir Khusrau, the greatest scholar-cum-Persian poet during Balban's reign, spent the major time of his literary activities in the Punjab.<sup>2</sup>

Alauddin Khalji (AD 1296-1316) was also a great patron of men of learning. It was during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq (AD 1325-51) that Izzuddin Khalid Khani after collecting material from Sanskrit manuscripts stored in the archives of Jwalamukhi Temple in Kangra wrote in material form his *Dalail-i-Firuz Shahi*. A notable scholar during the later Tughluq period was Yahya bin Ahmad of Sirhind who wrote his work of great value *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and dedicated it to Mubarak Shah (AD 1421-34) of the Sayyid dynasty. The period of Sayyid and Lodi Sultans (AD 1414-1526) saw further development of the Muslim sciences and languages.<sup>3</sup>

During the pre-Sultanate and Sultanate periods, the contributors to Persian language and literature in the Punjab were mostly Iranians. Colleges were opened at Lahore, Multan, Samana and Jalandhar where higher education was imparted under royal patronage.<sup>4</sup>

The Punjab was strategically the most important province of the Mughal empire. Without a complete domination of this coveted province, no Mughal monarch



could ever feel safe and secure on the throne. The Punjab was the base from where Emperor Babur (AD 1526-30) supported his future exploits and eastward expansion. Akbar (AD 1556-1605) rightly understood its strategic importance and made Lahore the capital of his empire for over a decade (AD 1585-98). Thus, with the perfect political stability, the reign of the Mughals caused multi-dimensional progress in the field of various description. The reign of the Mughals is rightly termed as the golden period of Persian language and literature.<sup>5</sup>

Various aspects of the medieval history of the erstwhile Punjab have been brought to light by learned scholars and historians like Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, Muhammad Akbar, Subhash Parihar, H. K. Phadke and (the editor) Fauja Singh.<sup>6</sup>

The Perso-Arabic inscriptions found in India cover a vast canvas. Almost all parts of the country and almost all dynasties, major and minor, provincial and regional are represented. The subjects contained in all these epigraphs including the miscellaneous ones are of varied nature supplied to us piecemeal but collectively reflecting multi-dimensional aspects of history and culture, language and literature.

Majority of epigraphical records in India is in Persian in view of the fact that it had been the official language and the language of culture and education in the sub-continent at the central as well as provincial centres of power, right from inception of the regular Muslim rule since 1206 upto 1857, spanning about seven centuries.

Inscriptions of earlier dates are in Arabic in *Kufi* and *Naskh* characters. Persian is found employed since the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and with regularity under the Khaljis.

As regards medieval Punjab i.e. eastern Punjab now comprising Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh in India, there are about four hundred Perso-Arabic inscriptions on record, noticed or published in different issues of *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, by Cunningham, *Epigraphia Indica*, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* and in the works like, C. J. Rodgers, *Report of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for the year 1888-89* (Lahore, 1891) and his *Revised List of the objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab* (Calcutta, 1891), *Report of a tour in the Punjab and Rajputana in 1883-84* (vol. XXIII, Varanasi), Subhash Parihar, *Muslim Inscriptions in the Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh* (New Delhi, 1985) and S. R. Phogat, ed., *Inscriptions of Haryana* (Kurukshetra, 1978).

In the above-mentioned sources, Persian or Perso-Arabic inscriptions (including a few others) have been reported from sixty-six places,<sup>7</sup> spread over Gurgaon, Hissar, Karnal, Rohtak, Mahendragarh, Ambala, Kurukshetra, Sonapat, Sirsa, Bhiwani and Faridabad (eleven) districts of Haryana; Bhatinda, Patiala, Gurdaspur, Jalandhar, Sangrur, Amritsar, Ludhiana and Fatehgarh Sahib (eighth) districts of Punjab; and

Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh. In the above-mentioned sources collectively, as many as 137 inscriptions from 33 places namely Hansi, Palwal, Abohar, Panipat, Sonapat, Farrukhnagar, Barwala, Rohtak, Patiala (Narnaul), Thanesar, Kaithal, Sirsa, Fatehabad, Hissar, Sadhaura, Sirhind, Maham, Narnaul, Jhajjar, Khokrakot, Chhitanwala, Samana, Sunam, Batala, Shah Chokha, Faridabad, Nur Mahal, Bhatinda, Sarai Lashkar Khan, Sarai Muhammadpur, Sewah, Sohna and Pataudi belong to various dynasties viz. the Ghurids (1), the Mamluks (19),<sup>8</sup> the Khaljis (8),<sup>9</sup> the Tughluqs (7),<sup>10</sup> the Sayyids (1), the Lodis (10),<sup>11</sup> the Surs (5),<sup>12</sup> the Mughals (82),<sup>13</sup> Nawwabs of Pataudi (3)<sup>14</sup> and Barakzai Rulers of Afghanistan (1).<sup>15</sup>

The earliest non-dynastic record in Arabic dated AH 481 (AD 1088) comes from Sonapat<sup>16</sup> and the earliest miscellaneous Persian record dated AH 531 (AD 1136-37) from Narnaul.<sup>17</sup> Hansi yields the earliest dynastic inscription in Arabic dated AH 588 (AD 1192-93) representing Muhammad bin Sam (AD 1173-1206) extremely popular as Muhammad Ghauri.<sup>18</sup> Earliest dynastic Persian (mixed with Arabic) inscription dated AH 676 (AD 1277-78) has been noticed from Sonapat which represents the awe-inspiring Mamluk Sultan Ghiyathud-Din Balban (AD 1266-87).<sup>19</sup>

These dominantly Persian inscriptions provide much more data for the local history of the Punjab and its political status at different periods. They constitute the most primary and contemporary source for the exact date of monuments of various description and the varied aspects of the history of Punjab.

The inscriptions from Punjab are written in *Kufi*, *Naskh*, *Nastaliq* and *Thulth* characters, recording construction of tomb, mosque, Jami mosque, fort, well, step-well, dome, gateway, tank, reservoir, pleasure-house, hall, screen, *sarai*, palace, portico, *naqqar khana* and garden. They also record repair or renovation of tomb or grave, remission of illegal impost, notice for public, provision made for maintenance of mosque, manufacture of gun, foundation of *imambada* or *mahal*, death or martyrdom, couplets or quatrains of literary and didactic nature, verses in praise of saintly figures or on frailty of human life.

Through these dominantly Persian epigraphical data of the Punjab, come to the fore local or regional officials of different cadres, ministers, calligraphers, composers, builders, etc. Generally speaking, the epigraphical records from Punjab being dominantly historical in nature, tend to show to what extent and in what degrees the cultivation and usage of Persian language and literature was practised in the different parts of Punjab at different periods. However, from the language point of view, these epigraphs appear a little disappointing. The epigraphs in prose being short, the Persian language used in them is plain and bereft of literary flavour. There being no chance of artifice or rhetorics either, in historical writings that put forth historical facts in an unambiguous way of narration without being dominated by figurative diction.



Earlier it has been said that there are about four hundred Perso-Arabic inscriptions on record from Punjab. But of these, only 302 inscriptions including some recent discoveries (which is about 3% of the entire Indian collection (numbering 10287), have been listed in different issues of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* since 1952-53 onwards, under a separate Appendix with an exhaustive introduction. The Epigraphy Branch of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of the Archaeological Survey of India with its headquarters at Nagpur, has been responsible for copying, editing and publication of Perso-Arabic inscriptions throughout the country so as to shed light on historical and cultural heritage of the country. So far about 2000 Perso-Arabic lithic records including those of erstwhile Punjab have been published in different issues of *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* and its continuation under the revised name *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement* (AD 1907-08 to AD 1977).

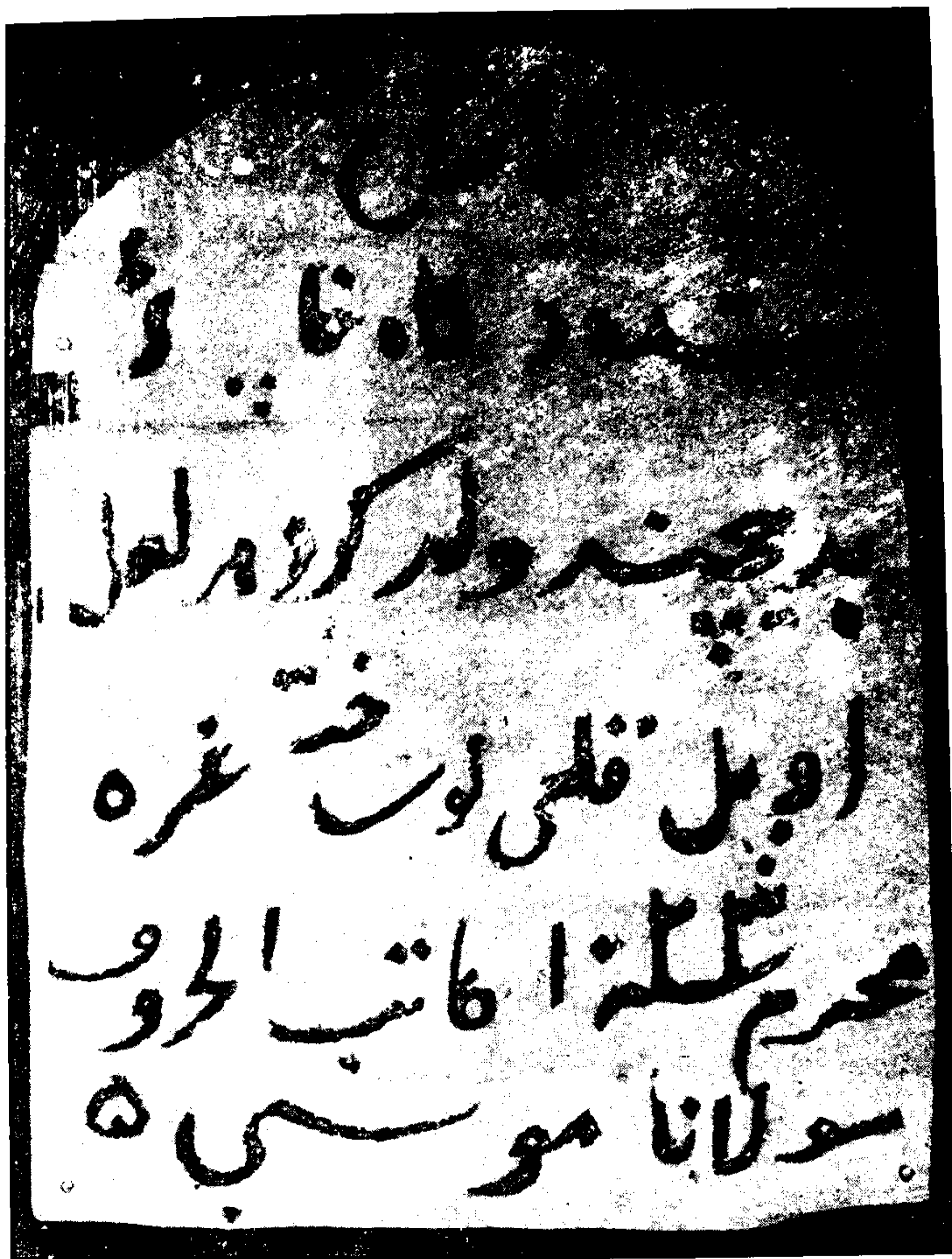
Among the listed epigraphs from Punjab with their eagle-eyed readings mostly prepared by the versatile scholar and retired Director of Epigraphy late Dr. Ziyauddin Abdul Hai Desai, the century-wise break-up of the dated epigraphs are as under. One record each is dated in 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century, four each in 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>, five in 9<sup>th</sup>, thirty-five in 10<sup>th</sup>, forty-three in 11<sup>th</sup>, twenty-one in 12<sup>th</sup> and twenty-five in 13<sup>th</sup> century Hijri.

Among the dynastic records numbering 137 in the recorded about four hundred inscriptions, only 72 were reported and listed in the authentic *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*. What about the remaining earlier noticed 65 dynastic and other miscellaneous epigraphs?

Among the listed total 302 epigraphs from Punjab, 91 records are in metrical Persian, 70 in Persian prose and 29 bilingual i.e. in Arabic and Persian, making their aggregate about 63% of the total epigraphical collection.

Punjab has had the longest association with the Muslim sovereignty which is corroborated by the epigraphs under our study. Despite this fact, what is surprising is the low number of inscriptions from Punjab. One dominant reason for the small number of these inscriptions coming to light is the communal holocaust in the wake of Partition of India in AD 1947, of which the disastrous consequences were most extensively borne by the undivided Punjab and its vicinity. The bloody partition was responsible for the damage, extinction, misappropriation, misuse, alteration of sites and buildings in the Indian side of Punjab with its neighbouring area including Delhi and Mewat region. Another reason was lack of interest nay unawareness of the importance of these epigraphs as an important source for regional history so also a primary source for the study of Indo-Persian literature in the Punjab. It is the Partition catastrophe with its bloody consequences that resulted into the loss of earlier recorded 65 dynastic inscriptions and other miscellaneous ones, referred to above. Nevertheless, we are greatly indebted to the great orientalist like H. Blochmann, Mr. Delmerick, H. B. W. Garrick, C. J. Rodgers and Mr. Paul Horn in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and





26. Bhatinda, Dist. headquarters, Punjab : Persian inscription saying that the whitewashing of the shrine (of Baba Ratan) was carried out by Badichand s/o Girdhar Lal Uppal in AH 1023/AD 1614. Maulana Musa was the calligrapher of the text. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 285.

Ghulam Yazdani and Maulavi Muhammad Shuaib in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, who had brought on record or noticed these probably no more extant precious Perso-Arabic epigraphs in the erstwhile Punjab.

Coming to the main theme of our study, it may be remarked that most of the Persian epigraphs from Punjab do not disclose the name of their authors and composers. Hence, at the most, it may be taken for granted that such of these records as are fine specimens of both prose and verse on royal buildings were composed by court scribes. In a few cases, the composers of the metrical epigraphs are indicated in the text and as a result these poets can be assigned, according to their periods and stations, to Sultanate or Mughal periods.

Out of 91 metrical records in Persian, only 13 epigraphs<sup>20</sup> (i.e. 14%) record the name of the composers. Among them are Yusufi (d. AH 889/AD 1484) from Sonapat, Muhammad Narnauli under Sher Shah Suri, Faidi (AH 955/AD 1548-49) from Dharson near Narnaul, Sultan Muhammad Samarqandi (AH 966/AD 1558/59) under Akbar from Rohtak, Muhasib (AH 990/AD 1582) from Narnaul, Husain (AH 991-1007/AD 1583-99) from Ferozepur Jhirka, Kayasth Munshi (AH 1069/AD 1658-59) from Maham, Wajahi (AH 1105/AD 1693-94) from Ferozepur Jhirka, Fida (1227/AD 1812) from Narnaul, Bedar (AH 1245/AD 1829-30) from Rehna, Shafi (AH 1271/AD 1854) from Thanesar, Asi (AH 1290/AD 1873-74) from Chhintanwala and Munshi Rafiqullah Qadiri (AH 1305/AD 1887-88) from Rewari. All these poets flourishing during the period from 15<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century, their poetical fragments preserved in the epigraphs may not be available in the poetical output recorded elsewhere. It is particularly these metrical records which are of immense value as specimens of Indo-Persian literature.

With the Persian language and literature is associated another cultural aspect. That is calligraphy. With the help of some of these epigraphs, we can prepare a list of calligraphers region-and-period-wise whose calligraphy adorn so many edifices in the Punjab. These calligraphers who find mention in the lithic Persian records were men of parts and lovers of Persian literature. Their list<sup>21</sup> comprises Radi Qutb, deputy *Qadi* of Hansi (AH 846/AD 1442-43) under Sikandar Lodi; Chainladh? s/o Nasir Mufti Hanswi i.e. of Hansi (AH 928/AD 1522) under Ibrahim Lodi; Malik Salih (AH 934/AD 1527) from Panipat under Babur; Yusuf s/o Maulana Rukn Narnauli under Sher Shah; Kabir (AH 974/AD 1566-67) from Hissar; Muhammad Qasim s/o Muhammad Baqir Husaini (AH 989/AD 1581) from Narnaul under Akbar; Ustad Ahmad s/o Dhakariyya (AH 997-98/AD 1589-90) from Batala under Akbar; Maulana Musa (AH 1023/AD 1614) from Bhatinda (Illus.26); Badruddin (AH 1025/AD 1616) from Samana under Jahangir; Abdur Rasul s/o Abdullah from Hansi under Aurangzeb; Ibrahim Muwasa Khani from Ashtal Bohar and Sulaiman from Batala (both 17<sup>th</sup> century).

Regarding epigraphical data as a source-material, it may be remarked that a few specimens of fine poetry of the 15<sup>th</sup> century of a poet settled in Punjab are preserved only in an epitaph. A *ghazal* (ode) and a few *rubais* of a high order, composed by Yusufi who expired in AH 889/AD 1484 are recorded in his epitaph at Sonapat.<sup>22</sup> The perfectly decipherable couplets from his *ghazal* are as follows:



در کمین است اجل تا شکنند بازاریت      کار خود ساز ازاں پیش که سازد کارت  
 دیده از خواب کشادر ره طاعت زان پیش      که اجل آید و از خواب کند بیدارت  
 بستہ پیش و کم دهر چناں شو که دے      که شوی فوت تفاوت نہ کند بیارت  
 ساز دینار و درم داغ دل و اشک مژہ      نہ بسی سود رسد زیں درم و دینارت  
 بدمبر چون نکئی بد کہ ترا در دو جہاں      نیک دارند اگر نیک بود کردارت

The last couplet containing the pen-name Yusufi is too damaged to admit of complete decipherment.

Yusufi's two *rubais* read as under:

خوش آنکہ بائین مروت کیشاں      راحت رسد از وی بدل درویشاں  
 از خلق نکو ہمیشہ باخلق خداے      نیکی کند و عوض نجوید زیشاں  
 خواہی رہ صحرای فنا پیمودن      در ملک بقا رسیدن و آسودن  
 باید سخت بذکرو گردی چو خموش      خاموشی تو بفکر باید بودن

Among those who find mention as the composer of the epigraphical texts from Punjab, mention may be made of a few selected ones like Faidi, Husain, Kayasth Munshi and Wajahi. Their compositions are quoted here for the scholarly personages in the field of Persian language and literature.

Faidi records the following verses in AH 955/AD 1548 about the saint Shaikh Hamza who lies buried at Dharsan near Narnaul:

کمال الحق والدین شیخ حمزہ      کہ روشن بود ازوی شمع اصحاب  
 چه گویم وصف آں قطب زمانہ      کہ اسم اوست مستغنی زالقاب  
 چون از سر منزل فانی سفر کرد      جیبی شد نہاں از چشم احباب  
 بدریا قطرہ گردید واصل      شدہ زان صد ہزاراں گوہرناب

چوں فیضی سال تاربخش طلب کرد  
 گفت ہاتف کہ رفت آں قطب اقطاب



While the composer Husain records the death of a saint and his spiritual guide Shaikh in AH 991/AH 1583 at Ferozepur Jhirka. He says:

بر صفحہ روی خویش ز خونِ جگر حسین  
تاریخ سالِ شیخ رقم زد مشائخ  
۹۹۱ھ

Kayasth Munshi both a composer and calligrapher, records the following metrical epigraph pertaining to a step-well at Maham, built by Saidu Kalal in AH 1069/AD 1658-59.

بدورِ شاہِ عالم ستاں زسیدو شد این برکہ زمزم نشاں  
چو تاریخ آں جستم از پیرِ عقل بمن گفته آبِ خیرِ رواں  
قائلہ وراقمہ کایستہ منشی  
۱۰۶۹ھ

A death-record at Ferozepur Jhirka, composed by Wajahi, in AH 1105/AD 1693-94 reads as under:

چو رفت عبد القوی از دارِ فانی گراں شد مردماں را زندگانے  
چو و جہی جستم تاریخ وفاتش خرد گفتا بدایح حیف دانے  
۱۱۰۵ھ

Among the didactic and literary verses the following deserve mention.

At Sirhind<sup>23</sup>, the tomb of Haji Muhammad bears the following couplet:

ہر کس کہ قدم براہِ دین سود چوں مردِ باغِ جنت آسود

While the tomb of Hafiz Rakhna at Sirhind<sup>24</sup> records a hemistich: کہ در زندگی خاک بودست ہم which is part of a composition from the pen of world-renowned Persian poet Shaikh Sadi. Another couplet on the same tomb reads:

بر لوحِ سر تربت خود نقش تو کندیم تاروزِ قیامت سراو قدم تست

A mosque at Mohena<sup>25</sup> in Faridabad district and a Jami mosque at Rehna<sup>26</sup> in Gurgaon district respectively, record the following verses:

اگر در خانه صد محراب داری      نماز آں به که در مسجد گذاری  
غافل مشوای عاصی با درِ ندم باش      هر دم دمِ آخر شمر و حاضر دم باش

A mosque at Jhajjar<sup>27</sup> records the following verses in praise of Allah:

آں نگارندهٔ صحایف غیب      نامش آغاز نامهٔ لاریب  
و آں کشایندهٔ خزائنِ جود      و آں نمایندهٔ ره مقصود  
پاک از آغاز بر تراز انجام      مالکِ ذوالجلال و الاکرام  
دوربینانِ بارگاهِ الست      پیش ازین پی نبرده اند که هست

The above unnamed metrical compositions from Sirhind, Mohena, Rehna and Jhajjar are now at the disposal of the bibliophiles and learned scholars of the Persian literature to solve the riddles of their composers, so also corrections if any in the above-quoted epigraphic verses.

### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab under the Sultans* (1000-1526 AD) Delhi, 1968, p. 171.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 213.
5. B. S. Nijjar, *Panjab under the Great Mughals*, Bombay, 1968, p. 206.
6. Muhammad Akbar, *The Punjab under the Mughals*, Delhi, 1974; Subhash Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in the Punjab and Haryana*, New Delhi, 1985, and *Some Aspects of Indo-Islamic Architecture*, New Delhi, 1999; H. K. Phadke, *Haryana: Ancient and Medieval*, New Delhi, 1990; Fauja Singh, ed. *History of the Punjab* (1000-1526 AD), Vol. III, Patiala, 1972.
7. Apart from the 33 places mentioned, other places include: Kotla, Jawali, Nurpur, Kangra, Ferozepur Jhirka, Palla, Asthal Bohar, Chhat, Dera Mir Miran, Sarai Amanat Khan, Balsamand, Karnal, Dang Khurd, Baliyali, Mohena, Rasulpur, Sujwari, Narhar, Rehna, Sundh, Thana Alampur, Dharson, Rewari, Dujana, Girawar, Kalanaur, Rajatal, Nakodar, Fatehgarh, Ludhiana, Kotila, Kalanaur and Abohar.
8. Among the Mamluks represented are Qutbuddin Aibak, Iltutmish, Muizuddin Bahram, Alauddin Masud, Nasiruddin Mahmud, Balban and Kaiqubad.
9. Alauddin Khalji.
10. Among the Tughluqs represented are: Ghiyathuddin, Muhammad Tughluq, Firuz Tughluq, Sikandar I and Mahmud II.
11. Bahlul Lodi, Sikandar Lodi and Ibrahim Lodi.
12. Sher Shah Suri.
13. Babar, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, Akbar (son of Aurangzeb), Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Shah and Shah Alam II.
14. Muzaffar Ali Khan and Akbar Ali Khan.
15. Abdur Rahman.
16. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1963-64, D-303.
17. *Readings*, Vol. VI, no. 6432, Epigraphy Branch, ASI, Nagpur.
18. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1911-12, p. 19, pl. XX, No. 2.
19. *EIM*, 1913-14, pp. 27-28, pl. X (b).



20. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D, 305-06; *ibid.*, 1971-72, D, 67-68; *ibid.*, 1972-73, D, 36-37; *ibid.*, 1973-74, D, 97-99, 121, 139; *ibid.*, 1977-78, D, 102; *ibid.*, 1988-89, C, 46, 82, 87, 100.
21. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D, 285; *ibid.*, 1971-72, D, 17, 19, 21, 30, 132; *ibid.*, 1972-73, D, 37; *ibid.*, 1973-74, D, 137, 140, 246; *ibid.*, 1977-78, D, 106; *ibid.*, 1988-89, C, 69.
22. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D, 305-06.
23. *Ibid.*, 1973-74, D, 97.
24. *Ibid.*, 1995-96, C, 111, 115.
25. *Ibid.*, 1988-89, C, 33.
26. *Ibid.*, 1988-89, C, 46.
27. *Ibid.*, 1971-72, D, 42.

## ROHILKHAND: AN EPIGRAPHICAL STUDY

### I

**E**pigraphy occupies an important place in the arena of historical research, filling up gaps in history or adding something new to the known facts, and in some cases forming a direct source. The Arabic and Persian inscriptions supply evidences on some aspects of contemporary life, which are usually not met with in chronicles or literary sources. The present paper is an attempt to give a bird's eye-view of the Perso-Arabic inscriptions, pertaining to the well-known historical tract Rohilkhand<sup>1</sup> (termed as Katehr<sup>2</sup> in the medieval days), spreading over an area of 12,800 square miles, that formed a triangle, bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south-west by the Ganges, and on the east by the Province of Awadh.<sup>3</sup>

Katehr i.e. Rohilkhand, right from the inception of Muslim rule in India, has been part and parcel of the Delhi Sultanate but not without causing rebellion and turbulence for some time, resulting in severe military action by the ruling authority at Delhi, against the rebels of the region.<sup>4</sup> In the reign of Akbar, the Katehr (Rohilkhand) region, formed the two *sarkars* of Budaun and Sambhal, in the *Subah* of Delhi.<sup>5</sup>

After the Second Battle of Panipat (1556), the Afghan ruling houses in different parts of India had disappeared. But there was an Afghan bid for supremacy in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century on the growing dismemberment of the Mughal empire. There was a fresh wave of Afghan immigration into Northern India – posing a serious threat to the declining Mughal empire. Their land of Indian settlement then called Katehr, now came to be known as 'Rohilkhand' from its new dominant race that originally hailed from Roh<sup>6</sup> in Afghanistan. The nomenclature 'Rohilkhand' gained currency particularly after Ali Muhammad Khan, the adopted son and successor of Daud Khan defeated Raja Harnand and occupied Katehr in 1742.<sup>7</sup>

After the death of Ali Muhammad Khan in 1748, his third son Sadullah succeeded him. As he was an extremely dissipated character, the whole administration of the Rohilla government devolved on Hafiz Rahmat Khan<sup>8</sup>, the regent (1748-74), who was not only a brave warrior but also a wise ruler. The latter's dynamic career was cut short in 1774<sup>9</sup> and Rohilkhand was annexed to the Awadh kingdom; only a

fragment of it, together with Rampur<sup>10</sup>, was left in the possession of Faidullah Khan, eldest son of Ali Muhammad Khan. In 1801, Rohilkhand formed part of the ceded provinces made over to the British by the Nawwab of Awadh.

## II

With the exception of Naini Tal District, so far 230 Perso-Arabic (including Urdu) inscriptions<sup>11</sup> from 47 places have been recorded from seven districts *viz.*, Budaun (86)<sup>12</sup>, Moradabad (67)<sup>13</sup>, Bijnor (26)<sup>14</sup>, Rampur (24)<sup>15</sup>, Shahjahanpur (9)<sup>16</sup>, Bareilly (15)<sup>17</sup> and Pilibhit (3)<sup>17A</sup>, and listed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, of the Epigraphy Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, with its Arabic and Persian Inscriptions wing stationed at Nagpur, which has been responsible for copying, editing and publication of Perso-Arabic inscriptions throughout the country. Out of 230 inscriptions, 176 are miscellaneous; the rest 54 dynastic records which are of great historical importance, copied from 22 places<sup>18</sup> of the said seven districts. The dynastic records belong to 10 different dynasties<sup>19</sup>, representing 22 rulers and ranging in their dates between AH 620 (AD 1223) and AH 1351 (AD 1932), spanning over a period of 709 years. About half of the dynastic records (25) pertain to the Mughals, representing its 7 rulers. Districtwise, Budaun District has produced 25 dynastic records from 4 places namely Budaun (18), Sahiswan (4), Alapur (2) and Islamnagar (1), followed by Moradabad District, yielding 14 dynastic records from 8 places namely Amroha (3), Sirsi (1), Sambhal (5), Sherpur (1), Azampur (1), Ujhari (1), Moradabad (1) and Firuzpur (1). Place-wise, Budaun<sup>20</sup> alone represents 10 rulers of 6 different dynasties, yielding 18 dynastic inscriptions, followed by Sambhal<sup>21</sup>, producing 5 dynastic inscriptions, representing 5 rulers of 2 different dynasties.

All these inscriptions from Rohilkhand region are found on religious buildings like mosque, tomb, *Idgah*, *Imam Bada*, *Qadam Rasul* and *Khanqah* and on secular structures like *sarai*, fort, gateway, school, pillar, etc. Majority of these lithic records are in Persian (120), while Arabic is, as usual, mostly employed for religious texts. Modes of writing used in these inscriptions are *Naskh*, *Nasta'liq*, *Thulth*, *Tughra* and *Naskh* in *Tughra* – forming an important aspect in the field of calligraphy and providing us a good number of specimens of Islamic calligraphy in the Rohilkhand region. From these inscriptions, we glean information relating to construction of mosque, tomb, well, tank, *Khanqah*, garden, mansion, *Kachheri*, fort, *Idgah*, gate, *Imam Bada*, *Qadam Rasul*, *madrassa*, canal, *sarai*; repairing and renovation of tomb, mosque and fort; recording death (or martyrdom) of persons associated with different walks of life, learned scholars and saintly persons; beautification of certain building and garden and endowment of *sarai*, bridge and shops to the local municipality. <sup>21A</sup>

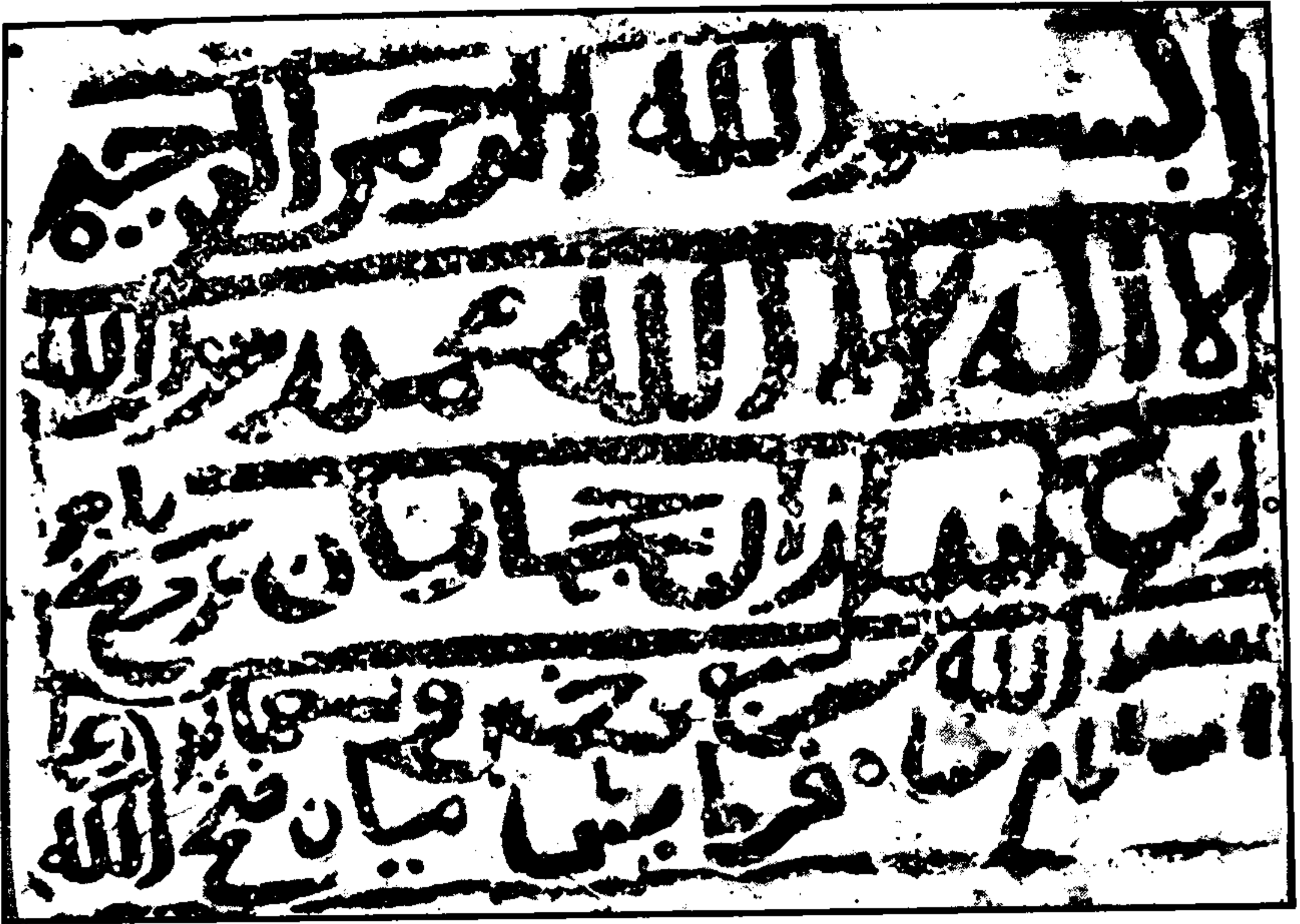
Most of the important dynastic records have been thoroughly studied by learned scholars like J. Horowitz, Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, Maulawi Ashraf Husain, Dr. Ziyaud Din Desai, Dr. Wiqarul Hasan Siddiqi and Y.K. Bukhari, and published in the



*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*<sup>22</sup> and *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*<sup>23</sup>, the research journal of the Archaeological Survey of India.

These dynastic and miscellaneous inscriptions contain valuable data about places and personages of varied status and professions such as noblemen, *jagirdars*, provincial or regional governors, poets, saints, architects or masons, scribes and calligraphers, who flourished in various periods.

With the help of these epigraphs, a list of builders associated with religious and secular architectural activities in different periods under various dynasties, can be drawn. Among such builders mention may be made of Yatgin,<sup>24</sup> identified with Malik Jamalud Din Itgin, who flourished in the time of Balban and built a mosque at Budaun in AH 683 (AD 1284); Ambar Sultani<sup>25</sup>, the governor of Amroha, erected a mosque at Amroha in AH 686 (AD 1287). Alaud Din Khalji built a fort in AH 700 (AD 1301) and Ikhtiyarud Din Malik Arshad under Firuz Tughluq (1351-88) built the tomb of Shaikh Uthman Marandi at Sahiswan<sup>26</sup>. One Fathullah in the time of Islam Shah Sur erected the tomb of Jhujhar Khan in AH 957 (AD 1550) at Budaun<sup>27</sup> (Illus.27), while one Kamalullah Alam son of Sulaiman built a Jami mosque at Azampur in AH 963 (AD 1556) during the reign of Emperor Akbar.<sup>28</sup> Other names figuring in inscriptions as builders comprise : Qinaq Khan<sup>29</sup>, governor of Amroha (mosque, dated AH 965/ AD 1557-58); Haji Muhammad Shah (mosque, AH 968/ AD 1560-61) at Chandpur; Mansur son of Shaikh Abdullah (tomb, AH 969/ AD 1561-62) and Shaikh Hamid (well, AH 981/ AD 1573-74) at Sambhal<sup>30</sup>; Ainul Mulk<sup>31</sup>, an accomplished physician and learned poet under Akbar (mosque, AH 987/ AD 1579) at Bareilly; Qutbud Din Chishti *alias* Shaikh Khubu, foster-brother of Salim Shah Ghazi i.e. Jahangir (mosque, AH 1013/ AD 1604-05), Shaikh Faidullah (Tomb of Shah Jalal, AH 1018 / AD 1609-10) and Qutbud Din Khan (mosque, AH 1021/ AD 1612-13) at Budaun; Muhammad Muhsin under Jahangir (well and garden, AH 1024 / AD 1615) at Bijnor; Khwaja Baland (mosque and well, AH 1057 / AD 1647) at Shahjahanpur; Mansur (mosque, AH 1061 / AD 1650-51) and Kamal (mosque, AH 1066 / AD 1655-56) at Amroha; Abdur Rahman (mosque, AH 1086 / AD 1675-76) at Kant<sup>32</sup>; Shaikh Afdal<sup>33</sup> (mosque, AH 1092 / AD 1681) at Budaun; Sadrud Din Muhammad under Aurangzeb (mosque and tomb, AH 1105, RY 36 / AD 1693) at Islamnagar; Shaikh Habibullah (mosque, AH 1107 / AD 1695-96) at Mughalpur; Nizamud Din (mosque, AH 1140/ AD 1727-28) at Budaun; Sayyid Abdal (mosque, AH 1141 / AD 1728-29) at Amroha; Nawwab Aminud Daula, under Muhammad Shah (mosque, AH 1143-47 / AD 1730-35) at Sambhal; Ranmast (mosque and well, AH 1155 / AD 1742-43) at Shahjahanpur; Shaikh Bhika under Ahmad Shah (tomb, AH 1163 / AD 1750) at Sambhal; Haqdad Khan (mosque, AH 1164 / AD 1750-51) at Bareilly; Qutb Ali? (Tomb of Khurram, AH 1166 / 1752-53) at Budaun; Nauroz Khan and Muhammad Khan (well, AH 1167 / AD 1753-54) at Tundpur; Muhammad Ghauth (mosque, AH 1169 / AD 1755-56) at Shahjahanpur; Mir Asadullah (mosque, AH 1172 / AD 1758-59)<sup>34</sup> and Ghulam Ahmad<sup>35</sup>



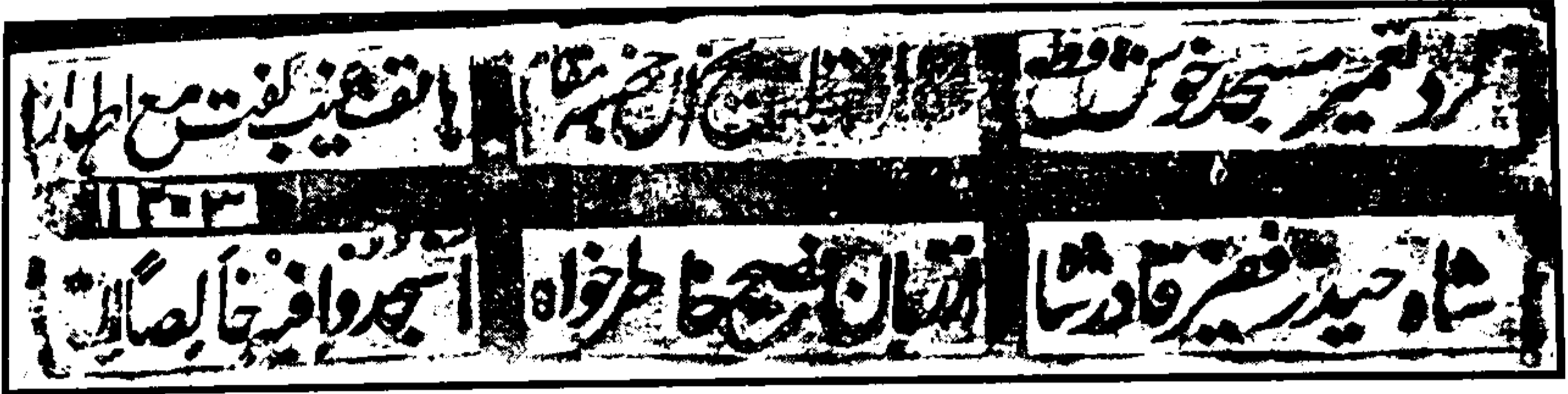
27. Budaun, Dist. headquarters, U.P. : Persian inscription of Islam Shah Sur, recording the erection of tomb of Jhajhar Khan, alias Shaikh Buddhan s/o Sadullah, at the instance of Miyan Fathullah in AH 957/ AD 1550-51. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 240.

(*Idgah*, AH 1178/ AD 1764-65) at Amroha; Ahmad Khan<sup>36</sup> (mosque, AH 1179 / AD 1765-66) and Sardar Khan Bakhshi<sup>37</sup>, the Rohilla Pay-Master (well, tank, and mosque, c. 18<sup>th</sup> century) at Aonla; Muhammad Husain son of Uthman (mosque, AH 1180 / AD 1766-67) at Kiratpur; Ibrahim Khan (mosque, AH 1181 / AD 1767-68) at Bisauli; Najib Khan Bahadur (mosque, AH 1181 / AD 1767 – 68) at Bijnor; Shakir (*Hujra* i.e. *Qadam Rasul*, AH 1185 / AD 1771-72) at Sambhal; Nawwab Burhanud Daula Bahadur Bahram Jang (mosque, AH 1194 / AD 1780) at Sirsi<sup>38</sup>; Ghulam Jilani<sup>39</sup> (mosque, AH 1197 / AD 1782-83) at Rampur; Shah Haidar (mosque, AH 1203 / AD 1788- 89) at Budaun (Illus.28); Haji (tomb of Shah Jamal, AH 1210 / AD 1795-96) at Rampur, etc.<sup>40</sup>

Similarly, there are a number of inscriptions which mention the names of persons who supervised the building activities, repaired or renovated old structures or worked as architects or masons. In this regard, mention may be made of Khwaja Jumman<sup>41</sup> (supervisor, Jami Mosque, AH 963 / AD 1556) at Sherpur; Mirza Muhammad son of Shah Wali<sup>42</sup> (beautifier, Shamsi building and garden, AH 981 / AD 1573-74) and Nawwab Shaikh Ibrahim<sup>43</sup> (supervisor, mosque, AH 1013 / AD 1604-05) at Budaun; Sayyid Qutb<sup>44</sup> (repairer, old mosque of Babar, AH 1035 / AD 1625-26) at Sambhal; Kamal Khan<sup>45</sup> (supervisor, fort, AH 1052 / AD 1642) and Yar Khan (mason or architect, mosque, AH 1066 / AD 1655-56) at Amroha; Rustam Khan (repairer, mosque of Babar, AH 1067 / AD 1656-57) and Abdus Salam (being the supervisor of the same work) at Sambhal; Muhammad Murad and Sher Muhammad (supervisor and mason respectively, mosque, AH 1179 / AD 1765-66) at Aonla; Ghairat Khan (supervisor, mosque, AH 1181 / AD 1767-68) at Bijnor and Chhattu Khan (supervisor, mosque, AH 1194 / AD 1780) at Sirsi.<sup>46</sup>

In the collection there are epigraphs whereby a list of officials with their places of duty or fief can be prepared, comprising the following names: Marrah, son of Qish *Dadbek*<sup>47</sup> (Judge) at Alapur (AH 707 / AD 1307) (Illus.29); Husain son of Husain<sup>48</sup>, *Kotwalbek* of *Khitta* Budaun (AH 726 / AD 1326) under Muhammad Tughluq; Muhammad Sultani<sup>49</sup>, official at Budaun (AH 728 / AD 1328) and Khidr son of Nasrullah<sup>50</sup>, *Kotwal* of the District Budaun (AH 792 / AD 1390) during the time of Nasirud Din Muhammad Tughluq (III); Malikush Sharq Imadul Mulk<sup>51</sup> at Budaun (AH 882 / AD 1478) in the reign of independent ruler Ahmad Khan Lodi; Malik Nikbakht Khan-i-Jahan<sup>52</sup> at Budaun (AH 898 / AD 1492-93) during the reign of Sikandar Lodi; Jamal Khan son of Khaira Sarwani<sup>53</sup>, governor at the fort of Budaun (AH 901 / AD 1495-96); Miyan Dadu son of Maghula son of Malik Ikhtiyar Khan<sup>54</sup>, *Chashnigir* i.e. Superintendent of the royal kitchen and food, under Sikandar Lodi, at Sambhal (AH 920 / AD 1514); Hindu Beg<sup>55</sup>, official under Babur at Sambhal (AH 933 / AD 1526); Qutbud Din Khan-i-Zaman<sup>56</sup>, official at Amroha (AH 965 / AD 1557-58); Sayyid Muhammad<sup>57</sup> *Adil* and *Mir-i-Adalat* (Judge) under Akbar at Amroha (AH 981 / AD 1573-74); Talib Khan<sup>58</sup>, local governor at Azampur under Akbar, passing away in





28. Budaun : Persian inscription dated AH 1203/AD 1788-89, assigning the construction of the mosque, to Shah Haidar, a disciple of Qadir Shah. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 235.



29. Alapur, Budaun Dist., U.P. : Arabic inscription dated AH 707/AD 1307, recording the name Marrah s/o Qish Dadbek (judge) of the province of Badayun, *AREp.*, 1980-81, C 190

AH 985 (AD 1577-78); Abdul Malik Qadi,<sup>59</sup> *Mir-i-Imarat* i.e. Superintendent of buildings, at Budaun under Akbar; Rustam Khan<sup>60</sup>, fief-holder of Muradabad under Shah Jahan (AH 1046 / AD 1636-37); Miran Sayyid Abdul Majid<sup>61</sup>, builder of the fort at Amroha (AH 1052 / AD 1642) and grandson of Sayyid Muhammad, *Mir-i-Adl*, under Akbar, referred to above; Sayyid Junaid Firuz<sup>62</sup>, a nobleman and high official under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, posted at Firuzpur (AH 1069/ AD 1659); Dindar Khan Khwishgi<sup>63</sup>, *jagirdar* and official under Aurangzeb at Alapur (AH 1071 / AD 1660-61); Rai Saha Chand<sup>64</sup>, *zamindar* and official at Kiratpur in 51<sup>st</sup> RY of Aurangzeb (AD 1706-07) and Nawwab Darwish Ali Khan Bahadur, Deputy *Mir Bakhshi* i.e. Deputy Pay-master general and *Ard-i-Mukarrar* i.e. Officer placing the earlier orders for confirmation, under Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah, achieving martyrdom in AH 1131 (AD 1718) and lying buried at Amroha, which was his *jagir*.<sup>65</sup>

From Rohilkhand region, the following saints and learned scholars have come to light through Perso-Arabic epigraphs. To mention a few of them along with their dates of death and places are: Khwaja Sayyid Ali Bukhari Mashhadi, AH 635 (AD 1238) and Hadrat Shaikh Ahmad Khandan, Budaun<sup>66</sup>; Shaikh Abdullah *alias* Shaikh Panju<sup>67</sup>, AH 969 (1561-62) and Maulana Kamalud Din Uthman<sup>68</sup>, AH 980 (AD 1572-73), Sambhal; Shah Azam son of Shaikh Husain<sup>69</sup>, a descendant of Hadrat Faridud Din Ganj-i-Shakar, AH 991 (AD 1582), Budaun; Sayyid Ali Shah<sup>70</sup>, AH 1072 (AD 1661-62), Ghauspur; Mulla Faqir Akhund<sup>71</sup>, AH 1206 (AD 1792) and Shah Jamal<sup>72</sup>, AH 1209 (AD 1794-95), Rampur, etc.

Epitaphic records from various parts of the Rohilkhand region register the death of the following personages including rulers and political figures: Farzand Ali son of Sultan Bayazid, AH 940 (AD 1533-34), Sambhal; Abdullah Khan, AH 1180 (AD 1767) Ujhani; Hafizul Mulk Nasir Jang Rahmat Khan, AH 1188 (AD 1774), Bareilly; Sultan Baqi, martyrdom at Budaun; Imamud Din Khan entitled Sultan Ji Ghalib Jahan, AH 1255 (AD 1839-40), Rampur; Nawwab Ahmad Ali Khan, the 4<sup>th</sup> Nawwab of Rampur, AH 1256 (AD 1840), and Nawwab Khuld Ashiyan i.e. Nawwab Kalb Ali Khan, the 7<sup>th</sup> Nawwab of Rampur, AH 1304 (AD 1887).<sup>73</sup>

Coming to the literary aspect of these epigraphs, with their help, a list of literary figures of the time, both known and unknown can also be drawn, including the names or pen-names: Sharif<sup>74</sup> at Chandpur (AH 968/ AD 1560-61); Arifi<sup>75</sup> at Amroha (AH 981 / AD 1573-74); Shaikhai<sup>76</sup> at Sambhal (AH 1024-25/ AD 1615-16); Ahrari<sup>77</sup> at Muradabad (AH 1046 / AD 1636-37); Wasli<sup>78</sup> at Jahanabad (AH 1057/ AD 1647-48); Abdullah Bahlim<sup>79</sup> (AH 1061 / AD 1650-51) and Abdul Wahid<sup>80</sup> (AH 1066 / AD 1655-56) at Amroha; Kamal and Asadi<sup>81</sup> at Sambhal (AH 1067 / AD 1656-67); Mudtar<sup>82</sup> at Ghauspur (AH 1072 / AD 1661-62), Masih and Jalil<sup>83</sup> at Sambhal (AH 1143-47/ AD 1730-35); Baqi and Arshad<sup>84</sup> at Aonla (AH 1179 / AD 1765-66).

Another important aspect of these epigraphs is the retention of some of the names of scribes and calligraphers, who contributed to Islamic calligraphy in the region. Here it may be added that some of the literary figures, mentioned above, had

an added advantage of being calligraphers also. The list of scribes and calligraphers comprise : Kamalud Din son of Adam<sup>85</sup> at Sherpur (AH 963 / AD 1556); Husain Khan<sup>86</sup> at Budaun (AH 981 / AD 1573-74); Arifi, mentioned above, at Amroha; Abdur Rahim<sup>87</sup> at Budaun (AH 1018 / AD 1609-10); Abdullah Bahlim and Abdul Wahid, mentioned above, at Amroha, and Nadhirud Din Hasan<sup>88</sup> at Bareilly (AH 1199 / AD 1784-85).

So vast and varied are the epigraphical data of the Rohilkhand, extremely useful for its varied history, architecture and also for dating of monuments of various description in the region.



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India (IGI)*, Vol. XXI (Oxford, 1908), pp. 304-08; Pir Muazzam Shah, *Tawarikh-i-Hafiz Rahmat Khani*, ed. Khan Raushan Khan (Peshawar, 1977), pp. 405-07; Sayyid Altaf Ali, *Hayat-i-Hafiz Rahmat Khan* (Budaun, 1933), p. 103; Muhammad Ifzalur Rehman Khan, *Rohilkhand Territory (Katehr) in Medieval India – 1200- 1707 AD* (Delhi, 1995), pp. 28-34. Under the Mahabharat period, this area was known as Panchal, under the Sultanate period as Katehr and under the Mughals as Rohilkhand. *Tarikh-i-Rohilkhand*, Urdu translation by Prof. Shah Abdus Salam of *Gul-i-Rahmat* (Persian) by Nawwab Saadat Yar Khan (Rampur, 2002), Foreward.
2. A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. I (Reprint, Delhi, 1972), p. 356; *IGI*, Vol. XXI, p. 305; Sayyid Altaf Ali, *op.cit.*, p.1, f.n.2. Since 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, this tract came to be known as Katehr. *Tarikh-i-Rohilkhand*, Preface.
3. This was the area called Rohilkhand, comprising, broadly speaking, today's Budaun, Moradabad, Bareilly, Bijnor, Shahjahanpur, Rampur and Pilibhit Districts and Tarai *parganas* of Naini Tal District in Uttar Pradesh.
4. For details, *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V, *The Delhi Sultanat*, ed. M. Habib & K.A. Nizami (Delhi, 1970), pp.264-65, 358-59, 617-18, 636-38, 644, 656; *The Delhi Sultanate*, ed. R.C. Majumdar (Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay), pp. 96-97, 108, 126-128, 132-33; C. Mable Duff, *The Chronology of Indian History* (Delhi, 1972), pp. 196, 230, 237, 243-47; Ifzalur Rehman, *op.cit.*, pp. 35-60.
5. Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi, 1982), Map 8A; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, English translation, Vol. II, H.S. Jarrett, annotated J.N. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1949), pp. 293-96.
6. Roh is the name of a particular mountain, extending in length from Swad and Bajaur to the town of Siwi, and in breadth stretching from Hasan Abdal to Kabul. H.M. Elliot & J. Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. VI (Rep. Allahabad, 1964), p. 568; *Tarikh-i-Rohilkhand*, p. 4.
7. Sayyid Altaf Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 2; *Tarikh-i-Rohilkhand*, pp. 15-17.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-233; Pir Muazzam Shah, *op.cit.*, pp. 401-05; Elliot & Dowson, *op.cit.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 302-12; *Tarikh-i-Rohilkhand*, pp. 36-148.
9. Sayyid Altaf Ali, *op.cit.*, pp. 221-29; *Tarikh-i-Rohilkhand*, pp. 148-158.
10. M. Ikram Alam, *Haqiqat-i-Rampur* (Budaun, 1940); *Tarikh-i-Rohilkhand*, pp. 158-168.
11. These inscriptions (except a few) are listed in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1952-53, App. C; *ibid.*, 1960-61, 1962-63, 1964-65, 1972-73, 1975-76, 1977-78, App. D; *ibid.*, 1979-80, 1980-81, 1985-86, 1994-95, 1995-96, App. C. Other inscriptions copied recently bear Acc. Nos. 12014-12023, 12030-12032.

12. Inscriptions in Budaun District come from : Atapur, Islamnagar, Bisauli, Saidpur, Budaun, Ujhani, Alapur, Dataganj, Kakrala, Usehat, Ginnaur and Sahiswan.
13. Inscriptions in Moradabad District come from : Amroha, Naugawan Sadat, Azampur, Bachraon, Hasanpur, Ujhari, Firuzpur, Moradabad, Mughalpur, Sambhal, Sirsi and Sherpur.
14. Inscriptions in Bijnor District have been recorded from : Bijnor, Chandpur, Daranagar, Ghauspur, Jahanabad, Kiratpur, Mandawar, Mubarakpur, Najibabad, Sahaspur, Tundpura and Sahanpur.
15. All the inscriptions have been recorded from the Rampur District Headquarters.
16. In Shahjahanpur District, inscriptions have been recorded from Kant, Tilhar and Shahjahanpur.
17. In Bareilly District, inscriptions have been copied from the district headquarters and Aonla, Kareli, Partapur, Fatehganj and Senthali.
- 17A. All the epigraphs have been copied from the Pilibhit District Headquarters.
18. Various dynastic records come from : Budaun, Sahiswan, Alapur, Islamnagar, Amroha, Sirsi, Sambhal, Sherpur, Azampur, Ujhari, Moradabad, Firuzpur, Najibabad, Kiratpur, Bijnor, Ghauspur, Daranagar, Sahanpur, Shahjahanpur, Kant, Rampur and Bareilly.
19. The dynasties are : (1) Mamluk – representing Iltutmish and Balban; (2) Khalji – Alauddin; (3) Tughluq – Muhammad Tughluq, Firuz Tughluq and Muhammad Tughluq III; (4) Sayyid – Mubarak Shah and Alam Shah; (5) Lodi – Ahmad Khan (independent) and Sikandar Lodi ; (6) Sur – Islam Shah; (7) Mughal – Babar, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, Muhammad Shah and Ahmad Shah; (8) Rohilla – Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Dhulfaqr Khan; (9) Nawwābs of Rampur – Ahmad Ali Khan and Kalb-i-Ali Khan; and (10) East India Company.
20. For history of Budaun, A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Vol. XI (Rep. Varanasi, 1968), pp. -1-9; Sayyid Manzur Ali, *Athar-i-Auliya-i-Shahr Badayun* (Agra, AH 1338), pp. 1-38; Nizami Badayuni, *Badayun Qadim-u-Jadid* (Budaun, 1920); *Dhulqarnain Badayun Number*, April 1956, ed. Ahidud Din Nizami (Nizami Press, Budaun); Elliot & Dowson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 232, 297, 301, 322, 355; Vol. III, pp. 36, 106; Vol. IV, pp. 87, 446; Vol. V, pp. 86, 500.
21. For its history, B.M. Sankhdher, *Sambhal - A Historical Survey* (New Delhi, 1971); Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII (Varanasi, 1970), pp. 24-27.
- 21A. For details about monuments, inscriptions and archaeological remains of Rohilkhand, see Ifzalur Rehman, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-77.
22. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1911-12, pp. 22, 34; *ibid.*, 1913-14, pp.30-33; *ibid.*, 1917-18, pp. 16-17, 21.
23. *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 46-47; *ibid.*, 1964, pp. 7-9, 19-20; *ibid.*, 1965, pp. 11-18, 51-53; *ibid.*, 1966, pp. 14-18; *ibid.*, 1967, pp. 32-37, 40-42; *ibid.*, 1969, pp. 61-63, 77-84.
24. *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 31.
25. *AREp.*, 1962-63, D 294; Jamal Ahmad Naqvi, *Tarikh-i-Amroha* (Hyderabad-Deccan, 1934), p. 42.
26. *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 16-17; Khaliq A. Nizami, *Salatin-i-Dehli Ke Mazhabi Rujhanat* (Rep. Delhi, 1985), p. 408.

27. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 240.
28. *EIAPS*, 1969, p. 62; *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 384.
29. Jamal Ahmad Naqvi, *op.cit.*, p. 42; *AREp.*, 1962-63, D 293.
30. *AREp.*, 1972-73, D 266, 274; *ibid.*, 1975-76, D 225.
31. *EIAPS*, 1969, p. 83; *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 346.
32. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 228, 231, 232; *ibid.*, 1962-63, D 298-99; *ibid.*, 1977-78, D 168; *ibid.*, 1980-81, C 136; *ibid.*, 1985-86, C 153.
33. M. Radiud Din, *Kanzut Tarikh* (Budaun, AH 1319), p. 74.
34. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 238, 246; *ibid.*, 1962-63, D 300; *ibid.*, 1964-65, D 347; *ibid.*, 1972-73, D 265, 276; *ibid.*, 1975-76, D 229; *ibid.*, 1977-78, D 170-71; *ibid.*, 1979-80, C 161, 173; *ibid.*, 1980-81, C 157.
35. *AREp.*, 1962-63, D 301; Jamal Ahmad Naqvi, *op.cit.*, p. 45.
36. *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 344.
37. *Ibid.*, D 345; Sayyid Altaf Ali, *op.cit.*, pp. 14, 19, 97, 111, 134, etc.
38. *AREp.*, 1972-73, D 264; *ibid.*, 1975-76, D 224; *ibid.*, 1979-80, C 181; *ibid.*, 1980-81, C 148, 156.
39. Maulavi Ghulam Jilani Khan Bahadur was a prominent noble under Alamgir II and Faidullah Khan. For his career, Ahmad Ali Khan Shauq, *Tadhkira-i-Kamilan-i-Rampur* (Delhi, 1929), pp. 287-89.
40. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 235; *ibid.*, 1995-96, C 145.
41. *EIAPS*, 1969, p. 62; *AREp.*, 1964-65, D 384.
42. *EIAPS*, 1969, p. 78.
43. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 231.
44. *Ibid.*, 1952-53, C 154.
45. *Ibid.*, 1962-63, D 297.
46. *Ibid.*, 1952-53, C 155; *ibid.*, 1962-63, D 299; *ibid.*, 1964-65, D 344; *ibid.*, 1975-76, D 224; *ibid.*, 1979-80, C 181.
47. *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 21; *AREp.*, 1980-81, C 190.
48. *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 8; *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 230.
49. *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 8; *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 250.
50. *EIAPS*, 1964, p. 20; *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 224.
51. *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 33-34; *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 248.
52. *AREp.*, 1995-96, C 137.
53. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 237.
54. *EIAPS*, 1967, p. 36; *AREp.*, 1952-53, C 158.
55. *EIAPS*, 1965, p. 52; *AREp.*, 1952-53, C 153.
56. *AREp.*, 1962-63, D 293.



57. *EIAPS*, 1969, pp. 79-80.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.
59. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 231.
60. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, D 385.
61. *Ibid.*, 1962-63, D 297; Jamal Ahmad Naqvi, *op.cit.*, p. 39.
62. *EIAPS*, 1955, and 1956, p. 46; *AREp.*, 1952-53, C 14.
63. *AREp.*, 1980-81, C 191.
64. *Ibid.*, C 147.
65. *Ibid.*, 1979-80, C 159.
66. *Ibid.*, 1960-61, D 221; *ibid.*, 1994-95, C 140.
67. *Ibid.*, 1972-73, D 266.
68. *Ibid.*, 1972-73, D 272.
69. *Ibid.*, 1960-61, D 243.
70. *Ibid.*, 1980-81, C 138.
71. Acc. No. 11237. Ahmad Ali Khan Shauq, *op.cit.*, pp. 321-22.
72. Acc. No. 11241. Ahmad Ali Khan Shauq, *op.cit.*, pp. 96-99.
73. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 229; *ibid.*, 1964-65, D 248; *ibid.*, 1972-73, D 270; *ibid.*, 1980-81, C 187; Acc. Nos. 11243, 11245, 11246.
74. *AREp.*, 1975-76, D 225.
75. *Ibid.*, 1962-63, D 295.
76. *Ibid.*, 1972-73, D 273.
77. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, D 385.
78. *Ibid.*, 1975-76, D 226.
79. *Ibid.*, 1962-63, D 298.
80. *Ibid.*, D 299.
81. *Ibid.*, 1952-53, C 155.
82. *Ibid.*, 1980-81, C 138.
83. *Ibid.*, 1972-73, D 265.
84. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, D 344-45.
85. *EIAPS*, 1969, p. 62.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
87. *AREp.*, 1960-61, D 228.
88. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, D 349.

## A BAHMANI INSCRIPTION FROM CHILLERGI

In this paper, I have taken up for study an extremely important inscription from Chillergi in the Bidar District of Karnataka which was discovered by me during the epigraphical survey of the said district in January-February 1985.<sup>1</sup> This historic inscription belongs to the fifth Bahmani king Muhammad Shah II (AD 1378-97). It is the seventh<sup>2</sup> inscription of this ruler discovered so far, standing second in the chronological order.

Chellergi (Lat.18° 15' and Long. 77° 45') is a small village in Bidar District, about 14 kilometres to the north-east of the district headquarters. The inscription<sup>3</sup> under study was found fixed over the old door (now closed) of the local Jami Mosque with no architectural merit.

The inscriptional tablet, measuring 89 by 20 cm is inscribed with four couplets in Persian. The metrical text executed in *Naskh* characters of fairly good type, runs in horizontal order, arranged in two lines, each line divided by four panels and each panel recording a hemistich. Referring to the reign of the Bahmani king Muhammad Jahangir Shah, son of Mahmud Khan, the epigraph mentions the erection of this place, obviously the mosque, by Hasan (*alias*) Salar Mahmud in the month of Rajab, AH 783 (21 September-20 October, AD 1381). (Illus.30)

The metrical<sup>4</sup> text of the epigraph is read as follows:

### TRANSLITERATION

(1) *Huwa*

*Batarikh hafsad sah hashtad salast<sup>5</sup>*

*Bina ruz yakshmbah-u mah-i-Rajab*

*Ba'ahd-i-Muhammad Jahangir Shah*

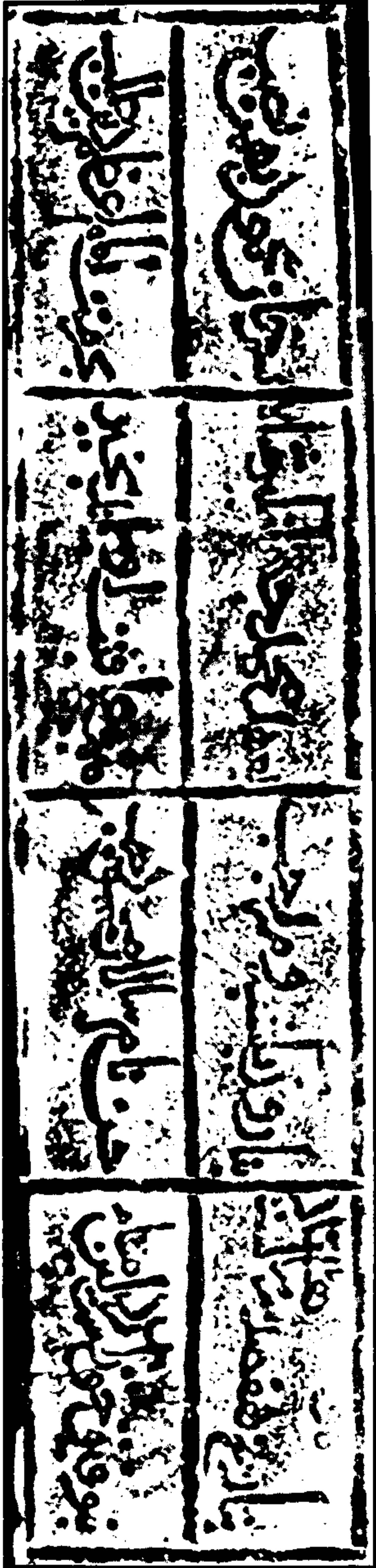
*Pisar Khan Mahmud Bahman (sic)nasab<sup>6</sup>*

(2) *Bataufiq-i-Haq rast kard in maqam*

*Hasan nam Salar Mahmud jabb*

*Hamesha<sup>7</sup> 'aqibat-i-u bamanad bakhair*

*Bahurmat Imam A'zam-i-Din Talab*



30. Chillergî, Bidar Dist., Karnataka : Metrical Persian record, assigning the construction of the mosque to Hasan alias or s/o Salar Mahmud, in AH 783/AD 1381. *AREP*, 1984-85, C 94.



## TRANSLATION

- (1) He is (*Allah*).

The date is (AH) seven hundred, three (and) eighty (i.e. 783); foundation (was laid) on Sunday and (in the) month of Rajab.

During the reign of Muhammad Jahangir Shah, son of Mahmud Khan of the Bahman lineage.

- (2) By Divine's grace, (a person) named Hasan (*alias*) Salar Mahmud, the dominant, founded this place, (i.e. the mosque).

May his life in the next world be peaceful by virtue and dignity of Imam-i-A'zam (Abu Hanifa), the great follower of the religion (i.e. Islam).

Historically speaking, this inscription is of great importance as it brings to light information which are not recorded in contemporary documents. This epigraph provides first-hand source material and definite valuable data, throwing a welcome light on a man of nobility. It affords a new name adding to the list of Bahmani officials in the region. The importance of this inscription is further enhanced by the fact that it corroborates the statements of various historians and provides much needed help in elucidating conflicting or contrary views about the Bahmani king Muhammad Shah II.

Among all the 18 Bahmani rulers, with their capital first at Gulbarga (AD 1347-1422) and later at Bidar (AD 1422-1538), the reign of Muhammad Shah II (AD 1378-97) was one of the most peaceful in the whole Bahmani history<sup>8</sup>. Except for some skirmishes at Goa, Adoni and Kottakonda and an insurrection at Sagar towards the end of his reign, there prevailed peace between the two former rival neighbouring kingdoms, which had been at logger's head since the days of Muhammad Shah I (AD 1358-75).<sup>9</sup>

Muhammad Shah II was himself a scholar and essentially a man of culture. He was adept in reciting the holy *Qur'an*, being a calligrapher and poet also. It may be especially mentioned here that this Bahmani ruler had great regards for Hafiz Shirazi (AD 1315-89) who had been invited to the Bahmani court, but due to certain unfavourable circumstances, he could not come to the Deccan and returned from Hormuz back to Shiraz.<sup>10</sup>

Muhammad Shah II highly valued Malik Saif'ud Din Ghorī whom he reappointed Prime Minister and always sought his expert opinion at the time of need.<sup>11</sup> The king died of typhoid fever on 20<sup>th</sup> April 1397. Next day departed the grand old statesman of the Deccan Malik Saifu'd Din Ghorī at the age of 107 years; he had lived through five reigns and had been the Prime Minister of the Bahmani kingdom under four rulers. His daughter Shah Begam was married to Muhammad Shah I, the second Bahmani ruler.<sup>12</sup>

In the present inscription under study, Muhammad Shah II is referred to by the name of Muhammad Jahangir Shah, son of Mahmud Khan. Other published epigraphs record his name as Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah, Sultan Muhammad Shah, Muhammad Shah and Shah Jahan Muhammad, etc. Thus, all the previous published epigraphs and the one under study, corroborate one another about the name of the Bahmani king Muhammad Shah, though partially varying in only regal titles and epithets. But, it is surprising to note that the reputed and much-quoted medieval Bijapuri historian Firishta wrongly names him as Mahmud Shah, son of 'Alau'd Din Bahman Shah.<sup>13</sup>

It is a well known fact that Mahmud Shah, son of 'Alauddin Shah has never been a king. It was Muhammad Shah I, Mahmud's eldest brother, who was the second ruler (AD 1358-75) of the Bahmani dynasty and about whom Firishta had already mentioned in his famous work *Tarikh-i-Firishta* (pp. 282-85). It is Mahmud's son Muhammad who is referred to in our inscription. Thus, it is clear that Firishta is mistaken about the correct name of this Bahmani king. He is again wrong when he says that Mahmud's name is mentioned in the work *Futuhus Salatin* of Maulana 'Isami<sup>14</sup>.

Muhammad Jahangir Shah II i.e., Muhammad Shah II was the son of Mahmud Khan and grandson of 'Alau'd Din Bahman Shah<sup>15</sup>. Now there is no controversy among scholars and historians about Muhammad Shah II and in view of other literary, numismatic and epigraphical sources, Firishta's contention has been set aside.

On the basis of an inscription from Sagar, respected former epigraphist late Ghulam Yazdani inclined to think that the full name of the Bahmani king, under discussion, was Muhammad Mahmud, and the said inscription<sup>16</sup> exposes the ignorance of Firishta himself about the full name of the king. Indirectly, he supports Firishta's view pertaining to the name of the king. This is misleading. In the first couplet of the inscription from Sagar, the Bahmani king is referred to as follows:

*Shah-i-Jahan Muhammad-i-Mahmud Saf Shikan.*

Here, Muhammad Mahmud is not the full name of a single Bahmani ruler. What is meant here is Muhammad, son of Mahmud for which *Idafat-i-ibni* has been used. This type of name-arrangement is also found in the copper coins<sup>17</sup> of Muhammad Shah II. The inscription taken up for study in this paper also supports the view that Muhammad Mahmud is not a single or full name in the Sagar inscription, but the two names Muhammad and Mahmud have been used with *idafat-i-ibni* (i.e., Muhammad, son of Mahmud). In the epigraph under study, the name of the Bahmani king is recorded along with the name of his father as under:

*Ba'ahd-i-Muhammad Jahangir Shah : Pesar Khan-i-Mahmud Bahman nasab.*  
i.e., during the reign of Muhammad Jahangir Shah, son of Mahmud Khan of the Bahman lineage.

Coming to the builder of the monument, Hasan (*alias*) Salar Mahmud, it may be remarked that his is a new name to us in the Bahmani history. My attempt to trace him with available literary and other contemporary sources has proved abortive. The epithet *Salar* with his name is indicative of the fact that he was an important government noble or official under Muhammad Shah II, holding charge as an effective and dominant military commander in the region near Bidar. Apart from his official duties in the region, he took active part in religious building activities for his merit in the next world. Since the inscription comes from Chillergi, it shows that the place had some military importance in the vicinity of Bidar and Salar Mahmud remained posted there. One more point is that Salar Mahmud was the follower of the Hanafi school of religious thoughts, who, for his merit in the next world, seeks the divine favour through the renowned theologian Imam-i-A'zam Abu Hanifa<sup>18</sup>.

To conclude, it may be remarked that an important Bahmani official, Hasan (*alias*) Salar Mahmud, comes to light only through this epigraph, supplying a definite date in his career, his place of posting in the official capacity as a military commander and the royal court he was associated with and his involvement in religious building activities under the royal patronage, or of his own accord. The name of the Bahmani ruler is recorded with a new epithet as Muhammad Jahangir Shah and his father's name as Mahmud Khan, thus brushing aside the wrong assumption that the full name of this Bahmani ruler was Muhammad Mahmud or Mahmud Shah Bahmani, as upheld by Firishta, etc. The record under study adds to our knowledge of the regional history of the Bahmani period.



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. During this tour, Shri late A. 'Aziz, Attendant (retired) accompanied me and copied this inscription.
2. Earlier six inscriptions of Muhammad Shah II from Gulbarga, Raichur and Sagar have been studied in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)* 1931-32, pp. 10-12 and *Epigraphica Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)* 1959 and 1960, p. 32; *ibid.*, 1964, pp. 29-30. These inscriptions, except one, are dated AH 781 (Gulbarga), 793 (Sagar), 794 (Sagar), 797 (Gulbarga), 798 (Raichur, now at Hyderabad). The date in one inscription from Sagar is lost.
3. *AREp.*, 1984-85, No. C 94.
4. The metrical text is composed in the metre called *Bahr-i-Mutaqarib Mahdhuf Maqsur*.
5. Here the word *salast* does not fit in the last *rukhn* of the above metre. It should be the word *sal*.
6. The word *nasab* is an orthographical error for the correct word *nasab* which means 'lineage'.
7. Again the word *hamesha* is an orthographical error for the correct word *hama* here.
8. Haroon Khan Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, n.d.), pp. 125-26.
9. M. Habib and K.A. Nizami, *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V, *The Delhi Sultanate*, 1970, New Delhi, p. 977.
10. Qasim Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. I, Kanpur, 1884, pp. 301-02; *Bidar District Gazetteer*, 1977, Bangalore, p. 66.
11. Qasim Firishta, *op.cit.*, p. 301.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78, 303; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (Eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1973, p.157.
13. Qasim Firishta, *op.cit.*, p. 301.
14. That work was completed in AD 1350 and the only Bahmani sovereign mentioned therein is Alaud Din Bahman Shah and one of his sons Muhammad who later succeeded him in AD 1358 as Muhammad Shah I.  
*Muhammad keh farzand-i-Shah-i-Jahan ast*  
*Bayaktan madar-i-zamin-u zaman ast*  
Maulana Isami, *Futuhus Salatin*, Agha Mahdi Husain, Ed. (Agra, n.d.), p. 526.
15. H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, Hyderabad, 1974, see genealogical chart facing p. 143.
16. *EIM*, 1931-32, pp. 10-11, pl. VII (a).

17. 'Abdul Wali Khan, *Bahmani Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad, Hyderabad, 1964, p. 45. No. 60 onwards.*
18. Abu Hanifa Numan bin Thabit (AD 699-767), a renowned and unexampled religious lawyer, was eponym of the school of the Hanafis. His mausoleum in Baghdad is still called al-A'zamiyya, Imam-i-A'zam being his customary epithet. Gibb & others, Eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, Leiden, 1960, pp. 123-24. For his work and career, Abu Zuhra, *Hayat-i-Hadrat Imam Abu Hanifa*, Urdu translation, Ghulam Ahmad Hariri, ed. Muhammad 'Ataullah Hanif (Saharanpur, n.d.).

## INSCRIPTION OF THE MUGHAL PHYSICIAN NAWWAB MUQARRAB KHAN

This Persian record<sup>1</sup> in *Nasta'liq* characters is fixed over the railing near the tomb of Muqarrab Khan adjacent to the countrywide famous tomb of Sharafu'd Din Bu 'Ali Qalandar (d. 1324) at Panipat, now a district headquarters in Haryana. There are in all seven graves (west to east) without bearing any inscriptions in the tomb inside a railing, belonging to the family of Muqarrab Khan, No. 2 being the grave of Muqarrab Khan.

The three-line Persian text reads as under:

### TRANSLITERATION

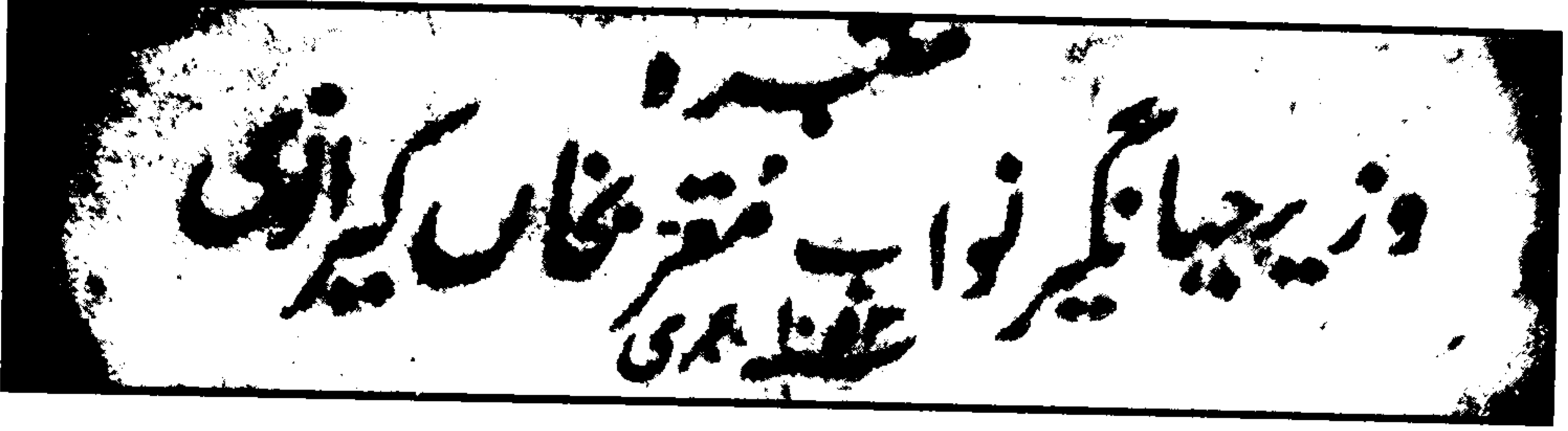
1. *Maqbara-i-*
2. *Wazir-i-Jahangir Nawwab Muqarrab Khan Kairanawi*
3. *Sana 1053 Hijri. (Illus.31)*

### TRANSLATION

1. Burial-place of
2. Minister of Jahangir, Nawwab Muqarrab Khan Kairanawi (i.e. of Kairana).
3. The year (of construction is), AH 1053 (AD 1643-44).

The findspot of the epigraph, Panipat (29° 24' N & 76° 59' E) to the north of Delhi, has been the town of great antiquity that finds mention in the *Mahabharata*, being one of the five places demanded by Yudhishtira from Duryodhana as the price for peace. In the medieval times, Panipat enjoyed greater importance. About two dozen Perso-Arabic inscriptions, including Urdu inscriptions, have been copied from this place, representing the Mamluks, Khaljis, Tughluqs, Lodis and the Mughals, and these are dated between AD 1246 and 1867.<sup>2</sup> But its chief title to fame lies in the fact that it has been the scene of three most decisive battles of northern India, resulting in the rout of Ibrahim Lodi at the hands of Babur in the first battle of Panipat in 1526, the defeat of Himu at the hands of emperor Akbar in the second battle of Panipat in 1556 and Ahmad Shah Abdali's splendid victory over the Marathas in the third battle of Panipat in 1761.<sup>3</sup> Under the Mughals, it was a *pargana* headquarters in the *Sarkar* and *Subah*, i.e. district and province of Delhi.<sup>4</sup> In the 23<sup>rd</sup> regnal year (1650), Shah Jahan conferred the *pargana* of Panipat with an annual revenue of one crore *dams* (Rs. 2,50,000), as a free gift on Princess Jahan Ara Begam (d. 1680).<sup>5</sup>





31. Panipat, Dist. headquarters, Haryana : Persian inscription dated AH 1053/AD 1643-44, which reads :  
*Maqbara-i-Wazir-i-Jahangir Nawwab Muqarrab Khan Kairanawi. AREp., 1988-89, C 71.*

Panipat has also been famous because of the holy shrine of Sharafu'd Din Bu 'Ali Qalandar (1208-1324) where Muqarrab Khan of our inscription under study, was the custodian and trustee. Muqarrab Khan seems to have been spiritually much attached to the holy shrine where he was instrumental in getting his own tomb constructed in his life-time in AH 1053 (AD 1643-44). He died three years later in AH 1056 (AD 1646) at the hoary age of over hundred years.<sup>6</sup> The career of Muqarrab Khan under emperor Jahangir (1605-27) has been of great importance, hence I would like to delve deep into his biography for the benefit and interest of the scholars.

Muqarrab Khan's original name was Shaikh Hasan, but he was more popular with the nickname Hassu. His father's name was Shaikh Bina (Shaikh Bhaniya or Phaniya also)<sup>7</sup> who was the son of Shaikh Hasan of Panipat. Shaikh Bina's ancestors had been well-practised in the field of surgery. He himself was in the imperial service under Akbar (1556-1605), working as a physician and surgeon. He was also a specialist in the eye-diseases. He was very skilful in treating elephants and earned great popularity in this regard. His son Shaikh Hasan, later called Muqarrab Khan, was equally well-versed in this field, taking part along with his father in the treatments.<sup>8</sup> The physicians of the time both in India and abroad deemed him as Galen and Messiah of the age. He treated all diseases, major and minor, and would wash wounds personally without any smack of disgust and supply medicine from his own dispensary. He experimented with the prescriptions contained in the work *Ma'dinu'sh Shifa-i-Sikandari* also called *Tibb-i-Sikandar Shahi* (completed in 1502 or 1512) of Miyan Bhowa (d. 1519),<sup>9</sup> the prime minister under Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517) and prepared an abridgement of that work under the title '*Ain'ush-Shifa*.<sup>10</sup>

Regarding the medical and surgical proficiency of Shaikh Bina and his son Shaikh Hasan, an incident is worth recording here. In the 41<sup>st</sup> regnal year (1596-97) of Akbar, a buck, in the course of a deer-fight, ran amok towards the emperor and inflicted a serious wound with its horns on his testicles. On account of the diversity of opinion among the physicians in the court, there was delay in the imperial treatment and the pain momentarily increased and ultimately, the case was left to reputed physicians like Hakim Misri and Hakim 'Ali. On this occasion, it was Shaikh Bina and his son Shaikh Hasan who performed laudable services in putting on the plasters and in opening and tying the imperial bandages. Since the eleventh day, there was sign of improvement, but the emperor passed twenty-nine days with difficulty and his injury took him to fully recover in all one month and twenty-two days.<sup>11</sup>

As Shaikh Bina was a physician to Akbar, so was his son Shaikh Hasan to Prince Salim i.e. Jahangir. Shaikh Hasan from his early years was brought up in the service of Jahangir and performed excellent services. Jahangir spoke highly of him, adding the remark 'few kings possessed a servant like Shaikh Hasan'. When Jahangir became emperor, the first and foremost person who got an office was Shaikh

Hasan.<sup>12</sup> When Jahangir was a prince, Shaikh Hasan had been distinguished by the title of Muqarrab Khan.<sup>13</sup>

Muqarrab Khan played very active role in other fields also. He would often accompany the emperor and traverse long distances with him at the time of royal hunting. He was skilful and adept in using both the arrow and the gun. Soon after his accession, Jahangir deputed him to Burhanpur, the provincial headquarters of Mughal Khandesh, in order to bring the children and dependants of late Prince Daniyal (d. 1604) and also carry the admonitory imperial message to 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan (d. 1627). He performed this service briskly and after six months and twenty-two days returned to Lahore and presented before the emperor the effects and three sons, viz., Tahmuras, Baysunghar and Hushang and four daughters of late Prince Daniyal.<sup>14</sup>

Muqarrab Khan held various assignments during his career under Jahangir. Since he was a connoisseur of jewellery, the emperor assigned him the important province of Gujarat which had ports like Surat and Cambay, each of which was a mine of rarities. Being posted in Gujarat, he had been sending precious and rare items like jewels, vessels of gold and silver, jewelled objects, pearls, decorated vessels, cloths and other beautiful and choicest presents.<sup>15</sup>

Despite his intimacy with Jahangir, once Muqarrab Khan faced imperial wrath and rage also. During his posting in Gujarat as the governor, in the 5<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1610-11), a widow woman complained to the emperor that Muqarrab Khan had taken her daughter by force in the port of Cambay. Following the inquiry, it was discovered that one of Muqarrab Khan's attendants had been guilty of this outrage. He was done to death by way of punishment and the rank of Muqarrab Khan was also reduced by one half.<sup>16</sup>

In the 7<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1612-13), Jahangir deputed Muqarrab Khan to the port of Goa in order to buy for the private use of the government, certain rarities. He went to Goa and brought to the court rarities including some strange and wonderful animals, never seen before.<sup>17</sup> In the same year, the Europeans of Goa plundered four cargo-vessels near the port of Surat, making a large number of Muslims, prisoners. At this disturbing news, Jahangir dispatched Muqarrab Khan who was in charge of Surat to look into the matter and demanded compensation for the loss caused by the Europeans.<sup>18</sup>

In 1612-13, Muqarrab Khan held the rank of 2,000 and 1,000 horse, which was first raised to 2,500 and 1,500 horse and thereafter to 3,000 and 2,000 horse and the province of Delhi was left under his charge.<sup>19</sup> During the period 1613-16, when he was the governor of Surat and Cambay<sup>20</sup>, his rank in the 10<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1615-16) being raised to 5,000 and 2,500 horse<sup>21</sup> and further elevated in the 11<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1616-17) to 5,000 and 5,000 horse, which he held till the last.<sup>22</sup> As he keenly desired and requested, he was appointed governor of Gujarat again in 1617.



In those days, any damage to horticulture was not tolerated. Once a servant of Muqarrab Khan had to pay a heavy penalty for having cut down some *champa* trees elsewhere alongside the river. At the complaint of a gardener in this regard, the emperor personally enquired into the matter and ordered that both of his thumbs should be cut off as a warning to others. Muqarrab Khan knew nothing of this improper act of his own servant.<sup>23</sup> Later on Muqarrab Khan was recalled and the province of Gujarat was given in fief to Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan)<sup>24</sup> who appointed his favourite Dhulfaqr Khan as governor of Surat.

In the 13<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1618-19), Muqarrab Khan was appointed governor of Bihar<sup>25</sup> and three years later in the 16<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1621-22), that province was transferred to Sultan Parviz.<sup>26</sup> He returned to the court and was made governor of the province of Agra in the 17<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1622-23) where he continued till the following year.<sup>27</sup> Afterwards, he occupied the post of 2<sup>nd</sup> *Bakhshi* (pay-master) and became more intimate with Jahangir.<sup>28</sup>

In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign (1628-58), Muqarrab Khan, on account of old age, was excused imperial service and allowed to retire to the town of Kairana which was his native-place and had been his fief also.<sup>29</sup> After retirement, he spent his days in perfect pleasure in company of 1,000 beautiful women-friends who were also in-charge of his workshops. These ladies expressed the view that there had been no other wealthy person like him who had so much virility and who could devote so much time to carnal enjoyment.<sup>30</sup>

As Muqarrab Khan was the trustee of the shrine of Hadrat Shaikh Bu 'Ali Qalandar,<sup>31</sup> he out of devotion and spiritual attachment, built his own tomb at Panipat in AH 1053 (AD 1643-4), as evidenced by the epigraph under study. Some contemporary and later Persian sources like *Dhakhiratul-Khawanin* by Shaikh Farid Bhakkari and *Maathirul Umara* by Shah Nawaz Khan respectively, refer to the construction of the tomb but do not specify the date of its construction. He survived over hundred years and expired at his native place Kairana in the 19<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Shah Jahan in AH 1056 (AD 1646). Needless to say that after his demise, his corpse was brought to Panipat for burial in the holy shrine-complex of Bu 'Ali Qalandar Panipati.

Being associated with Kairana deeply as a fief-holder and holding a high rank under Jahangir, Muqarrab Khan carried out a lot of building activities there. Presently, it is the tahsil place in the Muzaffarnagar district of Uttar Pradesh.<sup>32</sup> Under the Mughals, Kairana (29° 24' N. & 77° 12' E) was a *pargana* headquarters in the *sarkar* of Saharanpur in the *Subah* of Delhi,<sup>33</sup> bearing pleasant climate and fertile soil. Under the Surs and the Mughals, Kairana had been a place of great importance as gleaned from the inscriptions copied from there.<sup>34</sup> Particularly under Jahangir, the place assumed greater importance because of the imperial intimacy with his minister

Muqarrab Khan. There have been occasions in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> regnal years (1619-21) when the emperor at the request of Muqarrab Khan visited the place in the company of imperial ladies, speaking highly of the beautiful garden termed *Bagh-i-Jannatabad* raised by Muqarrab Khan.<sup>35</sup> When the imperial court encamped there, the *vakils* (agents) of Muqarrab Khan offered sumptuous presents.<sup>36</sup>

In Kairana, Muqarrab Khan erected magnificent buildings and raised a pucca wall round the garden mentioned above, 140 *bighas* in extent. There was in it a tank measuring 220 cubits long by 200 broad, still to be seen to the north-east of the town. In the middle of the tank was a *mahtab*-terrace for use in moonlight, 22 yards square. The *baradari* (pavilion) in his garden is now in a dilapidated condition. He planted both hot and cold-weather trees and it is said that pistachio trees also flourished there. He had the plantation of saffron also. Whenever he heard of good mango-trees, whether in Gujarat or in the Deccan or elsewhere, he brought the seed and planted in his garden. Hence the mangoes of Kairana were much celebrated in Delhi, above all others. He obtained excellent fruit-trees and flower-plants from all parts of India, Europe, Iran and Iraq.<sup>37</sup> Mangoes were not available in northern India after the months of June and July, but Muqarrab Khan had established gardens in the Kairana *pargana* and looked after the mangoes there in such a way as to prolong the season for more than two months and send them every day fresh into that special fruit store-house. As this was altogether an unusual thing being accomplished, it was recorded by Jahangir in his valuable *Tuzuk*. The horticultural interest of Muqarrab Khan was of dynamic nature.

It would not be improper to mention about the persons who had been associated with Muqarrab Khan or with his family. A follower of his, whose name is not specified, founded Shamli which was carved out of the old *pargana* of Kairana, during the reign of Jahangir. The property remained in his family until the reign of Bahadur Shah I (1707-12)<sup>38</sup>.

Muqarrab Khan had a few sons, one of whom was Miyan Ilah Bakhsh who passed away in the prime of his life. Another son was Rizqullah who held the rank of 800 under Shah Jahan. He too was a skilful physician and surgeon of his time. Aurangzeb (1658-1707) granted him the title of Khan and further raised his rank. It was Rizqullah Khan who constructed a portico adjacent to the tomb of Sharafud Din Bu 'Ali Qalandar in 1661. He passed away in the 10<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1667-68) of Aurangzeb.<sup>39</sup> Among other sons of Muqarrab Khan whose names are not specified, did not have any rank or official status. Muqarrab Khan bequeathed his knowledge to his successor son-in-law Shaikh Qasim, but unfortunately the latter was not destined to survive the former.

Muqarrab Khan had an adopted son also whose real name was Sadullah and as a poet he was known as Masiha-i-Kairanawi Panipati. He is credited with having composed an abbreviated versified translation of the Ramayana, called *Hadith-i-Ram-*



*u-Sita*, dedicated to emperor Jahangir. Its manuscripts are available in various research centres and libraries at Lahore, Bankipur (Patna), Bombay, Hyderabad, Calcutta, London, etc.<sup>40</sup> Shah Nawaz Khan, the author of the *Maathirul Umara* has quoted three of its verses in the said biographical work.<sup>41</sup>

Mention may also be made of Allah Diya Chishti, a resident of Panipat, who was the nephew of Muqarrab Khan and served under Shah Jahan. He authored a hagiological work *Siyarul Aqtab* (1646), dealing with his spiritual pedigree, comprising 27 Chishti saints. He was closely associated with the noble family of Muqarrab Khan and their estates in Panipat and Kairana. His forefathers, including Muqarrab Khan, were physicians and surgeons of repute having honours and rewards from the Mughal monarchs.<sup>42</sup>

Muqarrab Khan enjoyed a multi-faceted personality. Jahangir in his *Tuzuk* mentions him with great attachment and affection. He lived in immense abundance without any worldly problem for such a long life. He specially strived for best victuals and possessed unusual strong desire for coitus; being insatiable in this regard. He always helped the needy and recommended persons to the emperor. Diyanat Rai Gujarati entitled Rai Rayan was recommended to Jahangir and the former ultimately became a regular *diwan* (revenue-minister) after the death of Afdal Khan.<sup>43</sup>

It was under Muqarrab Khan that Kairana *pargana* attained an exemplary development and became famous during the reign of Jahangir so much that its popularity reached the emperor because of the excellent horticultural development in his garden *Bagh-i-Jannatabad* which in turn induced the emperor to pay a visit there, as recorded in his narrative *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. What strikes most about Muqarrab Khan is his complex character. On the one hand, he had spiritual association and attachment with the Chishti saintly order and enjoyed custodianship of the holy shrine at Panipat, on the other, he was a voluptuous man sunk in pleasure, in consonance with the time-honoured privilege and maintained a large harem.

To conclude, the importance of the epigraph under study lies in the fact that it provides the specific date of the construction of the tomb of Muqarrab Khan at Panipat, supplementing and complementing historical sources like *Dhakhiratul Khawanin* and *Maathirul Umara* which do not specify its date of construction.



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)* 1988-89, Appendix C, No. 71.
2. *AREp.*, 1963-64, App. D, Nos. 295-97; *ibid.*, 1973-74, App. D, Nos. 118-20; *ibid.*, 1988-89, App. D, Nos. 67, 70-78; *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (EIM)*, 1913-14, p. 18; *ibid.*, 1917-18, pp. 35-36; *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1965, pp. 55-56.
3. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India (IGI)*, Vol. XIX, (New Edition, Oxford, 1908), pp.397-98.
4. Abul Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari (AA)*, Vol. II, English translation, H. S. Jarrett annotated Sir Jadunath Sarkar (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Calcutta, 1949), p. 291.
5. 'Inayat Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, English translation, ed. & com., W. E. Begley & Z.A. Desai (Delhi, 1990), 447.
6. 'Abdul Hamid Lahauri, *Badshah Nama*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1868), p. 163; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maathirul Umara*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), p. 381; Shaykh Farid Bhakkari, *Dhakhiratul-Khawanin*, Vol. II, ed. Dr. Syed Moinul Haq (Karachi, 1970), pp. 271-73.
7. Regarding the name of the father of Muqarrab Khan, see Abul Fadl, *Akbar Nama (Per. Text)*, Vol. III, ed. Maulavi 'Abdur Rahim (Calcutta, 1887), pp. 712-13; *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, English translation H. Beveridge (Rep. Delhi, 1973), p. 1062; Lahauri, *op.cit.*, p. 613; Shaykh Farid, *op.cit.*, p. 271.
8. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 379; *Maathirul Umara (MU)*, English translation H. Beveridge, Vol. I (Rep. Patna, 1979), p. 616.
9. Miyan Bhowa (d. 1519) held various highly dignified posts and ultimately became the prime minister under Sikandar Lodi (1488-1517). He was a man of extraordinary scholarship, showing special interest in the field of medicine for which he studied Sanskrit in order to acquaint himself with the Ayurvedic medicinal system of ancient India. In collaboration with other scholars being competent in both the Ayurvedic and the Islamic science called *Tibb-i-Yunani*, he strived for bringing out their synthesis. His researches and those of others covered over 1107 diseases. The result of his experimental labours was the book *Madinush Shifa*, based on thirteen important Sanskrit sources. Nabi Hadi, *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature* (New Delhi, 1995), p. 173; *Nadhr-i-Arshi*, ed. Malik Ram & Mukhtarud Din Ahmad (Majlis-i-Nadhr-i-'Arshi, New Delhi, 1965), p. 186.
10. Nabi Hadi, *op.cit.*, p.227.
11. *Akbar Nama (Per. Text)*, Vol. III, p. 713.
12. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad (Aligarh, 1864), p.12.
13. Khwaja Kamgar Husaini, *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, ed. 'Azra 'Alavi (Bombay, 1978), p. 67; *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (DGUP)*, Muzaffarnagar (Allahabad, 1903), p. 158.

14. Jahangir, *op.cit.*, p. 12; Khwaja Kamgar, *op.cit.*, p. 88.
15. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (TJ)*, English translation A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, Vol. I (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Delhi, 1968), pp.144, 153-54, 167, 297, 415, 435.
16. Jahangir, *op.cit.*, p. 83; M. Athar 'Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire* (Delhi, 1985), p. 51, No. J, 317.
17. Jahangir, *op.cit.*, p. 105; Khwaja Kamgar, *op.cit.*, p. 154.
18. Jahangir, *op.cit.*, p. 125.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 109, 112.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 145.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 214.
24. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 380; James Burgess, *The Chronology of Indian History* (Rep. Delhi, 1972), p. 72.
25. Jahangir, *op.cit.*, p. 244.
26. M. Athar 'Ali, *op.cit.*, No. J, 1153; Burgess, *op.cit.*, p. 78.
27. Jahangir, *op.cit.*, pp. 375, 394.
28. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 381.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. For the biography of Bu 'Ali Qalandar (1208-1324), see Sayyid Sabahud Din, *Bazm-i-Sufiya* (Azamgarh, 1949), pp.235-60; Dr. Zuhurul Hasan Sharib, *Jadid Tadhkira-i-Auliya-i-Pak-u-Hind* (Lahore, n.d.), pp.104-13.
32. *IGI*, Vol. XIV (New ed. Oxford, 1908), p. 287; *DGUP*, Muzaffamagar, pp. 268-69.
33. *AA*, Vol. II, Jarrett, p. 297.
34. *AREp.*, 1967-68, App. D, Nos. 264-70; *DGUP*, Muzafamagar, p. 268.
35. Jahangir, *op.cit.*, pp. 283, 324; Mutamid Khan, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*, Urdu translation M. Zakariya Mail (Karachi, 1963), pp. 122-23, 164.
36. *TJ*, English translation, Vol. II, p.193.
37. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 381; *TJ*, English translation, Vol. I, p. 332; Khwaja Kamgar, *op.cit.*, pp. 280-81; *AA*, Vol. I, English translation H. Blochmann, ed. D.C. Phillott (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Calcutta, 1977), p. 613.
38. *DGUP*, Muzaffamagar, pp. 159, 319.
39. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 382; *AREp.*, 1988-89, App. C, No. 70.

40. D.N. Marshall, *Mughals in India* (London, 1985), pp. 288-89.
41. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, p.382.
42. Marshall, *op.cit.*, p. 68; Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 358 b *vide MU*, English translation, Vol. I, p. 617, f.n.2.
43. Shaykh Farid, *op.cit.*, p. 273.



## A MUGHAL INSCRIPTION FROM BILOLI

A beautiful inlaid inscription in Persian<sup>1</sup> was photographed at Biloli in Nanded district in March 1982 during my epigraphical survey of Nanded and Parbhani districts of Maharashtra. This inscription had come into notice in 1916-17<sup>2</sup> but it was not studied in detail. The present paper is an attempt to highlight the inscription, hoping that it will be quite useful for scholars and historians, interested in the study of regional history.

Biloli (18° 45' N., 70° 40' E.), is the headquarters of the taluk of the same name, situated on the Narsi-Dicapalli road in Nanded district. The inscription under study is fixed in the Jami Masjid, known as Hadrat Nawwab Sarfaraz Khan Shahid Masjid, which is one of the earliest Mughal monuments in the Deccan, built during the time of Shah Jahan in the year 1645-46 by one of his governors.

Built of stone, the mosque has a facade of five pointed arches and is shaded by a deep cornice, above which runs a battlemented parapet of arcaded screen of perforated stone panels. It is flanked at either end by a tall and slender *minar*<sup>3</sup> and has in the parapet smaller ones of similar design placed above the piers. Around the *minar* at the top are eight stone chains hanging with balls; when moved by wind, the balls produce peculiar sound and attract visitors.<sup>4</sup>

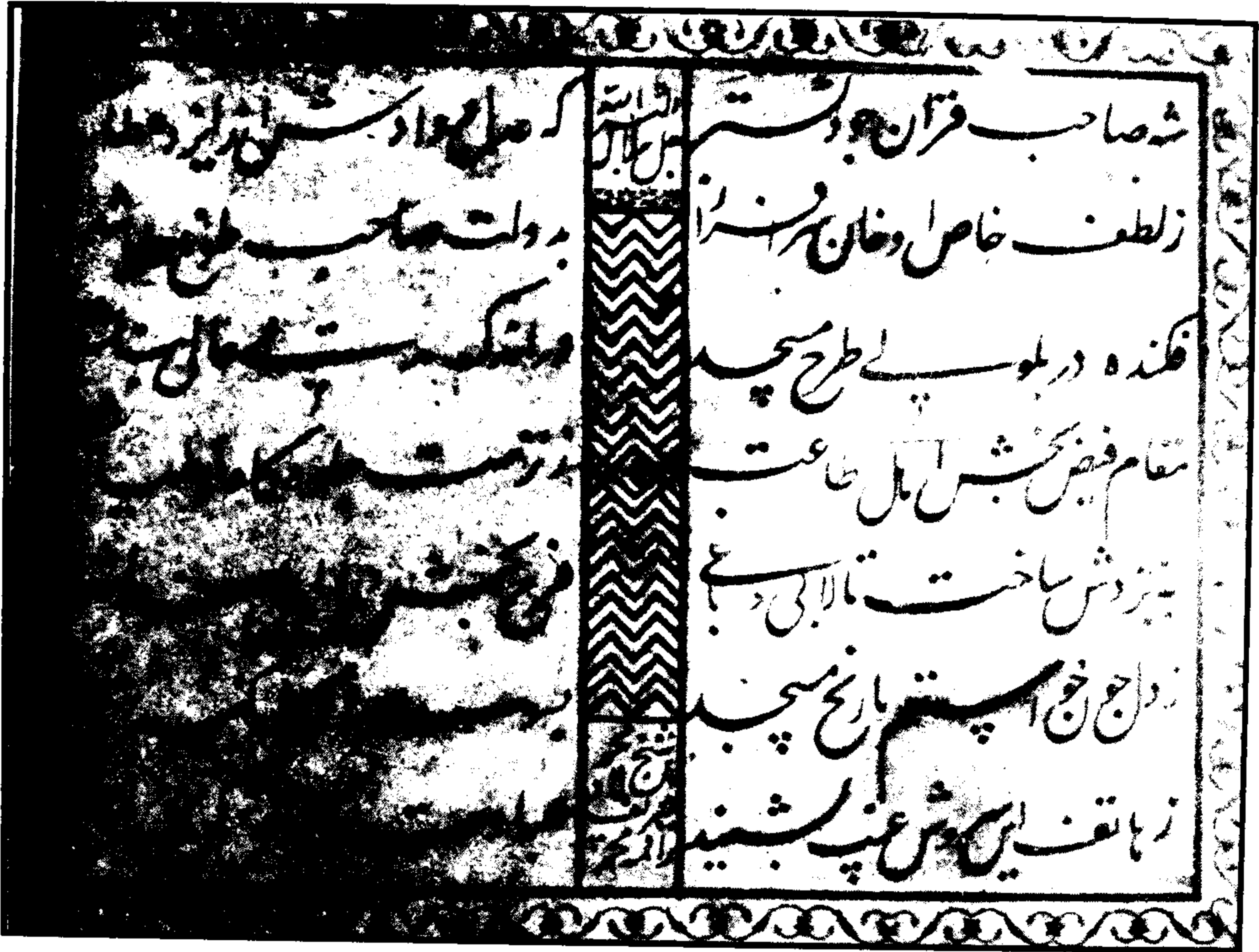
The rectangular inscriptional slab, fixed to the left of the central *mihrab* and decorated with floral-chain margins, comprises seven lines of Persian verses, executed in pleasant *Nasta'liq* characters. In the middle of the slab, is a decorated vertical panel, bearing some writing in a thinner hand at the top and the bottom. The epigraph records the construction of a fine mosque, a garden and a tank (near the mosque) at Biloli in 1645-46 by Sar Afraz Khan during the time of Shah Jahan. The calligrapher of the text was Muhammad Sharif, son of Shaikh Lad Muhammad. (Illus.32)

The text of the epigraph is deciphered as follows:

### TRANSLITERATION

*Allahu Akbar Jalla Jalaluhu*

1. *Shah-i-Sahib Qiran-i-jud gustar : ki 'adl-u-dadash az izad 'ata shud*
2. *Zi lutf-i-khas-i-u Khan-i-Sar Afraz : Badaulat Sahib-i-tugh-u-lawa shud*
3. *Faganda dar Biloli tarh-i-masjid : Dar anduk muddati 'ali bina shud*



32. Biloli, Nanded Dist., Maharashtra : Metrical Persian inscription of Mughal emperor of Shah Jahan, assigning the construction of a lofty mosque, a tank and a garden, to Sar Afraz Khan, in AH 1055/AD 1645-46. *AREp.*, 1981-82, C 114.

4. *Maqam -i- faid bakhsh -i- ta'at : Zi nuzhat jalwagah-i-auliya shud*
5. *Ba nizdash sakht talabi wa baghi : Farh bakhsh-i-dil-i-ahl-i-safa shud*
6. *Zi dil chu khwastam tarikh-i-masjid : Basu-i-bargah-i-Kibriya shud*
7. *Zi hatif in sarush-i-ghaib bashunid : 'Ibadatgah-i-haq guyan bina shud*  
*Raqimuhu Muhammad Sharif ibn Shaikh Lad Muhammand*

### TRANSLATION

Allah (is) greatest. Exalted be His glory !

1. The generous king-lord of the happy conjunction (i.e. Shah Jahan) whose justice and equity, God bestowed (upon us).
2. By his special favour, fortunate Sar Afraz Khan became the holder of the royal falcon and the banner.
3. He laid the foundation of a mosque in Biloli (and thus) there came into existence, in a short time, one excellent structure.
4. (It is) a bountiful resort for prayerful persons. (Because of) its pleasantness, it became a resplendent recluse for the holy saints.
5. To its proximity, he built a tank and (laid out) a garden (which) exhilarated the hearts of the mystics.
6. When I wanted from (my) heart a chronogram for the mosque, it diverted to the audience of the Almighty.
7. The invisible angel (i.e. my heart) heard a voice from heaven, (saying that) a mosque of truthful persons was founded (AH 1055 = AD 1645-46).

Its calligrapher (is) Muhammad Sharif son of Shaikh Lad Muhammad.

Sar Afraz Khan<sup>5</sup>, the builder of the mosque, was a famous noble under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. He was of distinguished lineage and belonged to the Quraish<sup>6</sup> family. His forefathers came to the Deccan from holy Medina and entered the Nizam Shahi service of Ahmadnagar. He himself was a veteran military officer, being honoured with the title of Sar Afraz Khan.<sup>7</sup>

In the Nizam Shahi service, Sar Afraz Khan had been the commandant of the fort of Qandhar<sup>8</sup>, governor of Nanded, *Sar Lashkar* (commander) of the Telingana army and the commander-in-chief<sup>9</sup>, at various stages.

Till the time Malik 'Ambar was alive (1626), Mughal position in the Deccan remained vulnerable and he hindered the consolidation of Mughal rule there. After him, with renewed vigour, Shah Jahan commenced his Deccan campaigns against the Nizam Shahis. In 1631, his general Khan Dauran<sup>10</sup> set himself to capture the fort of



Qandhar. The Mughals faced bitter fighting and stiff resistance against Sar Afraz Khan who was in company with other military veterans. Nevertheless, the Mughals captured the fort on 7<sup>th</sup> May 1631.<sup>11</sup>

As the fortune of the Nizam Shahi dynasty was waning, Rustam Khan,<sup>12</sup> the commander-in-chief, deserted to the Mughals, so also Sar Afraz Khan who was bestowed the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse.<sup>13</sup> Shah Jahan took Sar Afraz Khan to Northern India but he took leave to serve his native country to which he had been greatly attached. He was conferred *pargana* Lohgaon in Nanded region in *jagir*. In that *pargana*, he made Biloli as his home and adorned it with fine buildings, including a garden, a reservoir and a lovely mosque (to which the inscription under study belongs). Because of his building activities and adornment, Biloli became famous in the Deccan.

Apart from his services under the Nizam Shahis, Sar Afraz Khan served the Mughal cause for a total period of 35 years (1631-65), a quarter century under Shah Jahan and a decade under Aurangzeb. At various stages, he had promotions in his rank under Shah Jahan.<sup>14</sup> He always served diligently under Prince Aurangzeb and accompanied the latter in the war of succession.

Under Aurangzeb, Sar Afraz Khan was further elevated to the rank of 5,000 foot with 4,000 horse<sup>15</sup> and was granted additional *jagirs* in Dharur<sup>16</sup> and Mahagaon.<sup>17</sup> Officials working under him worked for peace and prosperity in his fiefdom. When in May 1661 the *thanadar* of Dharur caused destruction in a village of Mahagaon, his officials looked into the matter and compensated the loss to the concerned. Likewise, Sar Afraz Khan remained in touch (May 1661) with his officials at Mahagaon and elsewhere with Jalal Khan in order to deal with Dongar Zamindar, a trouble-maker in the region. On the other hand, officials working under Sar Afraz Khan could not go unpunished for their negligence. In an instance, the *zamindar* of Mahagaon, being unable to resist the misdeeds of his troops fled to the hills, fearing severe punishment<sup>18</sup>.

In order to check the Maratha activities, Sar Afraz Khan was appointed the *thanadar* of Sarol<sup>19</sup> and Supa<sup>20</sup> (c. 1662). In discharging his responsibilities, he showed full sincerity and always cooperated with other Mughal officials against the Marathas. In May 1662, when Ghalib Khan<sup>21</sup> and his army accompanied by his *mansabdars* Maqsd Beg and Sufi Beg entered Supa, Sar Afraz Khan entertained all of them. It was at this time that 300 Maratha cavalry gathered at Bholair and took away four animals.<sup>22</sup>

'Abdullah Khan Shirazi (who later became *faujdar* of Mahur)<sup>23</sup> and Sar Afraz Khan were close friends and the latter invited (May 1662) the former for entertainment at Supa and presented him five *thans* (rolls) of cloth. Among others who were on friendly terms with him included Chatr Bhoj Chauhan<sup>24</sup> and Kishan

Singh<sup>25</sup>. In those days, desultory Mughal campaigns against the Marathas were going on. Whatever booty was captured against Netu (Netajee Palkar), the commander-in-chief of Shivaji's army, was together inspected by Sar Afraz Khan and Namdar Khan<sup>26</sup> and sent to the imperial court.<sup>27</sup>

After the submission (1665) of Shivaji to Raja Jai Singh,<sup>28</sup> governor of the Deccan, Sar Afraz Khan played active role in bringing the two together and since then the Marathas started military co-operation with the Mughals against Bijapur. When Raja Jai Singh proceeded to devastate Bijapur territory,<sup>29</sup> the fort of Mangalvedha,<sup>30</sup> was captured by the Mughals with the help of Netu. Jai Singh appointed Udai to the charge of Mangalvedha and made Sar Afraz Khan the *faujdar* of the district and moved ahead.<sup>31</sup> Despite his striking a note of caution, Sar Afraz Khan, out of valour and hastiness engaged with the 'Adil Shahi forces under Sharza Khan and was killed<sup>32</sup> alongwith his son and son-in-law. He was buried at Biloli in a tomb where an 'Urs (death-anniversary) is held every year in the month of Jumada II.<sup>33</sup>

Sar Afraz Khan had five sons, probably all of them serving under the Mughals. Two of them Husain Khan and Purdil Khan left their progeny. Husain Khan, the eldest son, received the title of Sar Afraz Khan after the death of his father. He was killed in the battle of Malkhed<sup>34</sup> in 1677 which Diler Khan fought against the 'Adil Shahis. Aurangzeb had granted him 75 *bighas* of agricultural land for meeting the expenses of the mosque and the tomb of Sar Afraz Khan.<sup>35</sup> Burhanullah (the son of Husain Khan) was the grandson of Sar Afraz Khan, who about the end of Aurangzeb's reign, was the *faujdar* of Nusratabad (Sagar) and died a natural death at Aurangabad.<sup>36</sup>

In the light of the inscription under study, it is obvious that Sar Afraz Khan was a religious man by nature and was interested in the works of public utility and by his laudable services, he had endeared himself to Shah Jahan, as the words in the inscription *lutf-i-Khass* (i.e. enjoying special favour) and *Khan-i-Sarafraz* (head-exalting Khan) indicate, and the imperial letters<sup>37</sup> to him from Shah Jahan also corroborate this fact. He was prudent and far-sighted. We find him co-operative with other Mughal officers in the matter of administration and in quelling disturbances in the region of his *jagir* or wherever he was posted. We also find him affable and entertaining to his friends and colleagues and presenting them gifts, etc.<sup>38</sup>

Coming to other aspects of the epigraph, the name of the town, Biloli<sup>39</sup>, as mentioned in the record, still persists without any change. As regards the calligrapher of the text, it was Muhammad Sharif son of Shaikh Lad Muhammad who comes to light, adding a new name to the list of calligraphers under Shah Jahan.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *AREp.*, 1981-82, Appendix-C, No. 14.
2. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness The Nizam's Dominions, 1916-17 AD*, plate I.
3. Southern *minar* collapsed in 1960 because of lightning stroke.
4. Sherwani, H.K. & Joshi, P.M. (Eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, Vol. II (Hyderabad, 1974), pp. 307-08; *Maharashtra State Gazetteers (MSG), Nanded District* (Bombay, 1971), p. 561, plate XII.
5. In the Persian records, his name is variously mentioned as Sar Afraz Khan, Sar Afraz Khan Dakani, Sarfaraz Khan Dakani (and in an Urdu work) as Mirza Sarfaraz Beg Khan and Nawwab Sarfaraz Beg Khan. Farid Bhakkari, *Dhakhiratul Khwanin*, Ed. Moinul Haq; Vol. III (Karachi, 1974), p. 143; Lahauri, A.H., *Badshah Nama*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1867), pt. I, p. 374; pt. II, p. 297; Vol. II (Calcutta, 1868), p. 721; Kamboh, M. Salih, *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1939), p. 453; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maathirul Umara*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), p. 469-73; Chaghtai, M. Ahmad Ali Baig, *Tarikh-i-Nanded Dakan* (Hyderabad, 1961), pp. 24-29.
6. Quraish is the name of a tribe in Arabia, of which Prophet Muhammad's grandfather 'Abdul Muttalib, was the chief. Steingass, F., *Persian-English Dictionary* (New Delhi, 1981), p. 968.
7. His title was Sar Afraz Khan as recorded in the inscription under study. Lahauri, Kamboh and Farid Bhakkari also refer to him with the same title as Sar Afraz Khan. Later on, the letter *alif* (i.e. *a*) was syncopated in the word *Sar Afraz*, making it *Sarfaraz*.
8. For details about the fort, Bashiruddin Ahmad, *Waqiat-i-Mamlakat-i-Bijapur*, pt. III (Agra, 1915), pp. 411-17.
9. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 469-70; Inayat Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, English translation A.R. Fuller, Ed. W.E. Begley & Z.A. Desai (Delhi, 1990), p.65.
10. For his career, Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 782-85.
11. For details of the battle, Lahauri, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 374-77; Kamboh, *op.cit.*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1923), pp. 436-39; Inayat Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 65-66.
12. For him, Kamboh, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 40-41; Farid Bhakkari, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 91-92; Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 270-76.
13. Lahauri, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 297; Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 470.
14. Lahauri, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 296; Vol. II, p. 721; Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire* (Delhi, 1985), pp. 239, 304, 345; Kamboh, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p. 453.



15. Kazim, M., *Alamgir Nama* (Calcutta, 1868), p. 47; Nayeem, M.A., Ed., *Mughal Documents: Catalogue of Aurangzeb's Reign*, Vol. I, pt. II (Hyderabad, 1981), p. 207.
16. Dharur is in Kaij taluka of Bhir District. For its history, Bashiruddin, *op.cit.*, pt. III, pp. 293-96; *MSG, Bhir District* (Bombay, 1969), pp. 648-51.
17. Mahagaon is in Bhokar taluka of Nanded District.
18. Nayeem, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 16, 19 and 129.
19. Sarol is in Bhor taluka of Poona District.
20. Supa (18° 20' N., 74° 23' E) in Baramati taluka is 36 miles southeast of Poona. *MSG, Poona District* (Bombay, 1954), p. 684.
21. Ghalib Khan Deccani, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> R.Y. of Aurangzeb, surrendered the fort of Parenda to the Mughals and got the *mansab* of 4,000. He served upto 9<sup>th</sup> R.Y. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 865; Kewal Ram, *Tazkiratul Umara*, English translation, S.M. Azizuddin Husain (New Delhi, 1985), p. 126; Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (New Delhi, 1966), p. 180.
22. Nayeem, *op.cit.*, p. 134.
23. Yusuf Husaini, Ed., *Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign* (Hyderabad, 1958), pp. 80-81.
24. He was grandson of Lakshmi Sen and served upto 9<sup>th</sup> R.Y. of Aurangzeb. Kewal Ram, *op.cit.*, p. 288.
25. Nayeem, *op.cit.*, p. 135.
26. He was the son of Jafar Khan Tehrani. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 830-33.
27. Nayeem, *op.cit.*, p. 135.
28. For his career, Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 568-77.
29. For details, Mustaid Khan, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, English translation, J. Sarkar (Calcutta, 1947), pp. 38-39; Sarkar, J., *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. IV (Calcutta, 1972), pp. 83-106.
30. Mangalvedha (17° 30' N., 75° 25' E.) is headquarters of the taluka bearing the same name, 14 miles from Pandharpur in Sholapur district. *MSG, Sholapur District* (Bombay, 1917), pp. 867-72).
31. Kazim, *op.cit.*, p. 992.
32. For details, Kazim, *op.cit.*, pp. 995-96; Bashiruddin, *op.cit.*, pt. I (Agra, 1915), pp. 306-07; Syed, A.J., *Aurangzeb in Muntakhab al Lubab* (Bombay, 1977), p. 116.
33. *MSG, Nanded District*, p. 561.
34. Malkhed is in Seram taluk in Gulbarga District. *Mysore State Gazetteer, Gulbarga District* (Bongalore, 1966), p. 466. For details of the battle, Sarkar, *op.cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 120-21; Bhimsen, *Tarikh-i-Dilkasha*, English translation, Sarkar, J., Ed. Khobrekar, V.G. (Bombay, 1972), p. 116.
35. Chaghtai, *op.cit.*, p. 29. According to *MSG Nanded District*, the mosque has as *inam* land of 10.53 hectares (26 acres of land), p. 561.
36. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 472-73; Inayatullah Khan, *Kalimat-i-Taiyibat*, Ed. S.M. Azizuddin Husain (Delhi, 1982), p.80. Another son of Hussain Khan was Muradullah.

37. Two letters of Shah Jahan addressed to Sar Afraz Khan are still in possession of Mirza Hasan Beg, one of the descendants of Sar Afraz Khan at Biloli. Chughtai, *op.cit.*, p. 29.
38. The remark about him that '(he) neither harmed nor helped anyone' (Farid Bhakkari, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, p. 143 and Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 472) is contrary to the contents of other sources that we have consulted.
39. H. Beveridge in his English translation, wrongly reads the name of the town as Baloli. Shah Nawaz Khan, *op.cit.*, English translation, H. Beveridge & Com. Bains Prasad, Vol. II, pt. II (Patna, 1979), p. 717.

## INSCRIPTION OF KHAIRAT KHAN FROM ORISSA

This paper deals with a very short metrical Persian record<sup>1</sup> of great historical value, copied from Chhatrapur, reported to have been originally brought from Ganjam, a district place in Orissa. This valuable inscription was discovered in 1981 by my senior official colleague Dr. M.Y. Quddusi, now Superintending Epigraphist. With the discovery of this inscription, one more aspect of the building activities of Khairat Khan comes to light during the regime of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah (AD 1626-72). Existence of this epigraphical evidence in Ganjam district, is indicative of the fact that this part of Orissa had been under the occupation of the Qutb Shahis of Golconda with whom Khairat Khan, the builder of a *sarai* at Khairabad (i.e. Ganjam), was associated with.

Once the northern-most district of the Madras Presidency, Ganjam is lying along shore of the Bay of Bengal (between 18° 12' & 20° 26' N. and 83° 30' & 85° 12' E.) with an area of 8,372 square miles.<sup>2</sup> Historically speaking, Ganjam formed part of the ancient Kalinga. Subjugated by Emperor Asoka in BC 260, it seems to have passed later under the Andhra kings of Vengi. With the removal of the Andhras in the third century AD, it made way for the early line of the Ganga kings of Kalinga. The Chola conquest of Vengi and Kalinga at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, included parts of Ganjam. About the time of the Chola domination, the line of the later Ganga kings of Kalinga, first ruled as Chola feudatories and later as independent sovereigns, for the next four centuries.<sup>3</sup>

The power of the Gajapatis of Orissa, was installed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. About 1571, they were overthrown by the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda and subsequently the area was ruled from Chicacole i.e. now Srikakulam, by Muslims. In 1687, Golconda became the part of the Mughal empire and hereafter the administration of Ganjam region was looked after by the Mughal governors of the Deccan.<sup>4</sup>

The original findspot of the inscription under study is Ganjam, situated (in 19° 23' N. & 85° 5' E.) in the Chhatrapur sub-division, at the mouth of the Rushikulya river, on the trunk road, so also on the East Coast Railway. The town itself and the remains of the old fort, built in 1768, still stand there. Ganjam was formerly a seat of considerable commercial activity and its factory and fort were protected by a garrison. Apart from the mosque built at Ganjam in AH 1186 (AD 1772-73), there are



scarcely any permanent traces of Muslim domination in the region.<sup>5</sup> It was once a port, closed down in 1887.

The present record under study, is one of the two loose slabs, lying in the courtyard of the mosque, located in Puti Gopalpur area of Chhatrapur. The slab measures 63 x 55 cm, comprising three lines of writing in pleasant *Nasta'liq* characters, without bearing any date and name of the calligrapher. It is decorated with floral designs. The second and third lines make a couplet in Persian, preceded by the words *Ya 'Ali* in the first line.

This inscription assigns the construction of *Sara-i-Khairabad* to Khairat Khan. The text has been deciphered and translated as under :-

### TRANSLITERATION

- (1) *Ya 'Ali*
- (2) *Bani-i-in Sarai Khairabad*
- (3) *Hast Khairat Khan-i-Niknihad* (Illus.33)

### TRANSLATION

- (1) O 'Ali.
- (2) Founder of this Sarai Khairabad
- (3) is Khairat Khan, bearer of good disposition.

Three pieces of information in this epigraph are of vital importance. First is the construction of a *sarai* at Khairabad and the other, the builder of the structure, Khairat Khan. One more information that can be gleaned from this inscription is that Ganjam also bore the name Khairabad. The builder Khairat Khan, without any iota of doubt, can be identified with his name-sake who was a well known grandee at the court of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah. It is also quite apparent that Khairabad was the name given to Ganjam after the builder of the above-mentioned *sarai*, Khairat Khan.

Khairat Khan held high position in the Qutb Shahi court. However, information about him is very meagre. Almost all the available information pertaining to him from a contemporary source, *Hadiqatus Salatin*<sup>6</sup>, penned by Nizamud Din Ahmad Shirazi, was produced by Mr. Bilgrami in his works, *Maathir-i-Dakan* in Urdu (Hyderabad, 1925) and *Landmarks of the Deccan* in English (Hyderabad, 1927). Prof. H.K. Sherwani in his work *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty* (New Delhi, 1974), gives very sketchy information about Khairat Khan. No doubt, new pieces of information about him, we obtain from a few noticed or published inscriptions.

According to *Hadiqatus Salatin*, Khairat Khan was the *Sar Naubat* (a head watchman) and one of the most trusted servants of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah. In 1626, when 'Abdullah Qutb Shah sat on the throne, he was attended by envoy of Iran and



33. Chatrapur (originally from Ganjam), Ganjam Dist., Orissa : Brief metrical Persian undated record, assigning the construction of an inn called *Sara-i-Khairabad*, to Khairat Khan.

*AREp.*, 1981-82, C 152.

the king of the countries of north India, the name of the Iranian ambassador taking precedence over the name of the Mughal envoy. Because of religious affinity i.e. Shiism, the Qutb Shahi ruler, to the chagrin of the Sunni Mughals, was more drawn to the Shiite Safavid ruler of Persia. Soon in 1627, Khairat Khan was deputed to Iran as the Qutb Shahi ambassador<sup>7</sup> to the court of Shah 'Abbas (AD 1587-1629). He was sent from Hyderabad with exorbitant presents in company with Muhammad Quli Beg, son of Qasim Beg, the Persian envoy. On his way to Iran, he was summoned from Surat, the embarkation-point, to Agra by Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (AD 1628-58) who also handed over to him a letter for the Persian ruler. By the time he reached the Persian port Bandar 'Abbas, Shah 'Abbas had expired on 2 Jumada I, AH 1037/30 December 1627 being succeeded by Shah Safi (AD 1629-42). Khairat Khan went to Isfahan, then capital of Persia, where he was received with open arms. He presented the letters of the Qutb Shahi ruler and the Mughal emperor there. Shah Safi treated him for several years as a state guest.

Khairat Khan originally belonged to the Uymaq tribe and his kinsmen were living in a village (name not mentioned in *Hadiqatus Salatin*) in Iran. The Persian ruler bestowed on him the very village in *in'am* in view of the above fact only.<sup>8</sup>

Khairat Khan returned India via Qandahar in 1633 in company with Iranian envoy Imam Quli Beg, and having delivered the reply of Shah Jahan's letter to him, reached Hyderabad in 1634. Both Khairat Khan and Imam Quli Beg were warmly received at the Qutb Shahi border by Mir Mu'izud Din Muhammad, and at the palace at Khairatabad by 'Abdullah Qutb Shah himself. After his return from Persia, Khairat Khan was further elevated to the dignified post of a minister.<sup>9</sup>

In 1637, Khairat Khan accompanied the grand mother of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah upto Masulipatam on the eastern coast, from where she sailed for Jeddah on her holy pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>10</sup>

Khairat Khan was a man of great wealth and generosity and he took keen interest in various altruistic public building activities, as corroborated by a few newly discovered inscriptions, including the one under study here.

Among the inscriptions pertaining to him, is a bilingual record (Telugu and Persian) found at Pangal in the Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>11</sup> It states that Khairat Khan constructed a watch-tower at the top of the *Bala Qal'a* i.e. hill fort and a well inside the fort at Pangal in 1620 during the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah (AD 1612-26). It appears that Khairat Khan was stationed at Pangal in the early period of his political career or had his *jagir* there.

According to a couple of epigraphical records,<sup>12</sup> published by Dr. Yazdani, Khairat Khan constructed several shops, a well and a garden in 1640, close to the northern steps of Musa Burj in the Golconda fort, and a granary under his own supervision in 1642.



The military career of Khairat Khan is reflected in the advance of Qutb Shahi arms in eastern Karnataka. We come across the names of Venkata Reddi, Timma Reddi and Rawalji Kantia as officers who had been placed in charge along with Khairat Khan and Sayyid Muhammad Mazendarani, at the time of capitulation of the great fort at Rapur in Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh in December 1642.<sup>13</sup>

The family of Khairat Khan lies buried in the *Rifa'i* graveyard near the Gowlipura gate of Hyderabad city. Two epitaphs<sup>14</sup> belonging to the graves of Khairat Khan and his minor son Baba 'Abdullah were discovered by chance, long back in 1922-23 and published immediately thereafter by Sayyid 'Ali Bilgrami, without correct decipherment of year of their death, and that too without illustration, despite their laudable beautiful calligraphy. Therefore, my senior official colleague and former Superintending Epigraphist, Shri M.F. Khan deemed it indispensable in the interest of historical research, to rectify the year of their death and republish those epitaphic records with their fascimiles.<sup>15</sup>

The epitaphs are engraved on two graves contained in a large tomb inside the necropolis of the *Rifa'is* within the Gowlipura gate of the city. The grave in the adjoining smaller tomb is said to contain the remains of the wife of Khairat Khan, without bearing any inscription.<sup>16</sup>

According to the first epitaph, Khairat Khan's son Baba Abdullah predeceased his father by over five months and expired on 5<sup>th</sup> Rabi II, AH 1055 (21<sup>st</sup> May, 1645) and not in the year AH 1066 as wrongly deciphered by Mr. Bilgrami. While the other epitaph places the death of Khairat Khan on 18<sup>th</sup> Ramadan AH 1055 (28<sup>th</sup> October 1645). Here again Mr. Bilgrami was mistaken in reading the year as AH 1066.<sup>17</sup>

With this biographical details culled out from available sources about Khairat Khan, it is concluded that the epigraph under study, brings to the fore altogether a new aspect of the career of Khairat Khan in Ganjam district of Orissa where he carried out his building activities both in public and commercial interest. The construction of a *sarai* at Khairabad i.e. Ganjam, hints towards the fact that as earlier, it had been a commercial centre under the Qutb Shahis also. At the same time, the mention of the place-name, Khairabad, shows great association of the builder Khairat Khan with the place in the official capacity or otherwise. Research works like *Muslim Administration in Orissa* (Calcutta, 1980), by Dr. M.A. Haque and *Orissa under the Mughals* (Calcutta, 1981), by B.C. Roy, do not make any reference to Khairat Khan. Here lies the importance of the epigraph taken up for study as a contemporary and primary source.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1981-82, No. C, 152.
2. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India (IGI)*, Vol. XII (Oxford, 1908), p. 142.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
6. This work was edited by S.A.A. Bilgrami and published from Hyderabad in 1961.
7. Mirza Nizamud Din Ahmad Shirazi, *op.cit.*, pp. 80-85.
8. *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement (EIAPS)*, 1965, p. 65.
9. Mirza Nizamud Din, *op.cit.*, pp. 156-58.
10. *EIAPS*, 1965, p. 65.
11. *AREp.*, 1961-62, Nos. B, 38 and D, 21.
12. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1913-14, pp. 55, 57.
13. H.K. Sherwani, *op.cit.*, p.457.
14. *AREp.*, 1964-65, Nos. D, 4 & 5.
15. See his article, 'Two Epitaphs from Hyderabad city', *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 61-65.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 64.

## THREE BILINGUAL INSCRIPTIONS OF KELADI CHIEFS FROM UTTAR PRADESH

The three inscriptions<sup>1</sup> taken up for study in this article, were found from Kapiladhara in Varanasi district of Uttar Pradesh. The rubbings of these inscriptions (Persian versions) were received in the Office of the Director (Epigraphy) for Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur, about four decades ago from the Epigraphy Branch, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

Kapiladhara is one of the Hindu holy places for offering rituals by the pilgrims in the itinerary of pilgrimage called Panchkrosi in the suburb of the holy city of Varanasi. According to Dr. Alteker:

“... the pilgrimage consists of the Panchkrosi visit to 108 holy places and the orthodox pilgrims will no doubt make that because this six-day ritual brings the merit of pilgrimages to all other places put together.”

The Kapiladhara-*tirtha* is on the Panchkrosi route and the Panchkrosi pilgrimage constitutes one of the parts of the pilgrimage to Varanasi. Pious Hindu pilgrims think it a great honour to salvation, if they happen to breathe their last within the bounds of the Panchkrosi.<sup>2</sup> Panchkrosi-road, sixty five kilometres in length, is said to mark the circuit of ancient Varanasi. Besides Kapiladhara<sup>3</sup>, other sacred places situated on the Panchkrosi-road, are Bhimchandi, Rameshvara, Kanva and Sivapura.

Variously called Kashi, Muhammadabad and Banaras, Varanasi has been from time immemorial, one of the great Hindu religious centres and a seat of educational and religious learning in India.

The three Kapiladhara records<sup>4</sup> in Persian are engraved on three slabs, two of which are fixed into the walls of the Kapiladhara tank, facing the Vrishabhadvaja temple, and the third is laid into floor of the *mandapas* on the bank of the same tank. Besides Persian, the inscriptions are written in three other languages, being Sanskrit, Local dialect and Kannada versions of the self same record, dated in Vikrama 1712, and Saka 1577, corresponding to the Hijri year 1065, mentioned in the Persian epigraphs. The Persian versions purport to record the excavation (most probably re-excavation or the dredging work<sup>5</sup>) of the tank in the village Kapildhara (i.e. Kapiladhara) in Hijri 1065 (AD 1655) by Sivap Nayak (Sivappa Nayak) and



Venkatap Nayak (Venkatappa Nayak), the joint-kings<sup>6</sup> of Karnataka and the loyal officials of Emperor Shah Jahan (AD 1628-58).

As regards the language of the Persian texts, it suffers from a few solecisms, pointed out at the relevant places in this article.

The translation<sup>7</sup> of the three Persian inscriptions are given below.

#### Inscription No.1<sup>8</sup>

- (1) He (Allah) is Existing.
- (2) Shah Jahan Ghazi.<sup>9</sup>

(3-5) The excavator(s)<sup>10</sup> of the tank with water, (are) Sivap Nayak (and) Venkatap Nayak, the devoted loyal servant(s)<sup>11</sup> of the court of Pleiades dignity, (Shah Jahan Ghazi). On 29 Rajab, year 1065 Hijri (= 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1655), corresponding to the 29(th) year of auspicious accession (of Shah Jahan). (Illus.36)

#### Inscription No.2<sup>12</sup>

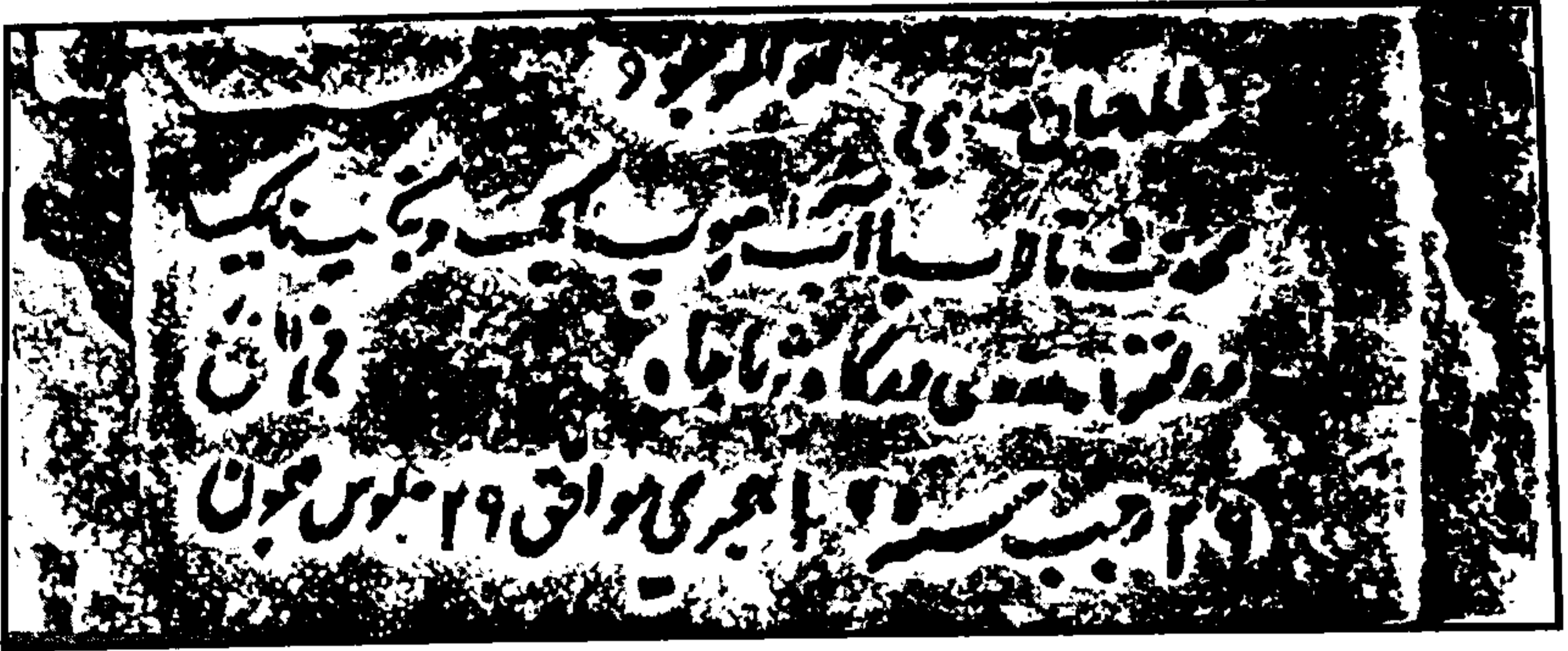
- (1) He (Allah) is Mighty.
- (2) Shah Jahan Ghazi.

#### Inscription No.3<sup>13</sup>

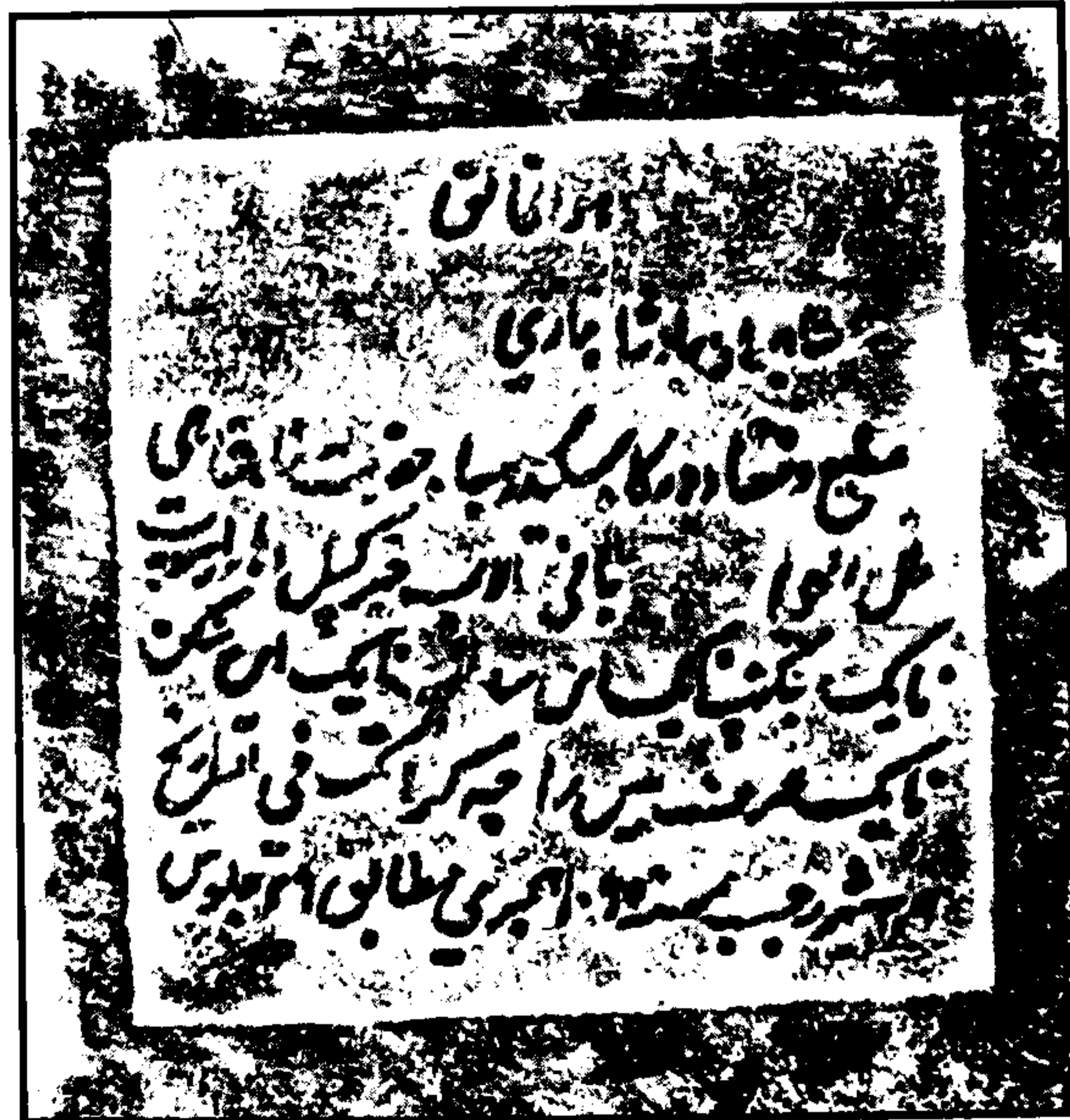
- (1) He (Allah) is the Creator.
- (2) Shah Jahan Badshah Ghazi.<sup>14</sup>

(3-7) The obedient and submissive to the court of Alexander's dignity, His Majesty the emperor, the shadow of Allah, (Shah Jahan Badshah Ghazi). The builder(s)<sup>15</sup> of (this) beneficial tank of Kapildhara, (are) Sivap Nayak (and) Venkatap Nayak, son(s)<sup>16</sup> of Sindap Nayak, son of Sankan Nayak, known as *bain raja* (i.e. joint-rulers) of Karnatak. Dated 29(th) of the month of Rajab, year 1065 Hijri (= 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1655), corresponding to the 29(th) regnal year (of Shah Jahan). (Illus.37)

Historically speaking, these lithic records are very important. They register the names of the Keladi or Ikkeri chiefs Sivappa Nayak and his brother Venkatappa Nayak, who are referred to as the loyal officials of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. The phrases *daulatkhwah fidwi-i-dargah-i-thuraiyya jah* and *muti'-u-munqad-i-dargah-i-Sikandar jah*, meaning respectively, 'the devoted loyal servant(s) of the court of Pleiades dignity' and 'the obedient and submissive to the court of Alexander's dignity', preceding the names of the two Keladi chiefs indicate that they had a feudatory status, acknowledging supremacy of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan.<sup>17</sup>



36. Kapiladhara, Varanasi Dist., U.P. : Persian version of the bilingual (i.e. Persian & Local dialect) record, assigning the excavation/dredging work of the tank, to Sivap Nayak and Venkatap Nayak, loyal officials of Shah Jahan Ghazi, in AH 1065/AD 1655, *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 387.



37. Kapiladhara : Persian version of the bilingual (i.e. Persian & Kannada) inscription, saying that the builder(s) of the tank of Kapildhara (are) Sivap Nayak and Venkatap Nayak, son(s) of Sindap Nayak s/o Sankan Nayak, in the year AH 1065/AD 1655. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 389.



On the contrary, Sanskrit and Kannada versions neither mention the name of the ruling emperor Shah Jahan nor record any epithets, along with the names of the Keladi chiefs, showing thereby any sort of allegiance to the Mughals. That the Keladi chiefs accepted the overlordship of the Mughals, is also not found mentioned in the contemporary or other epigraphical records. But, if we look at the disturbed political condition of the south during the period, we are inclined to infer that unavoidable political circumstances compelled the Keladi chiefs to earn good-will and friendship of the Mughals in order to sustain their own rule against the neighbouring greater political rival, i.e. the Adilshahis of Bijapur. On the other hand, by having acknowledged Mughal sovereignty, the Keladi chiefs were in a position to carry out their religious building activities in Varanasi, then under Mughal jurisdiction.

The Keladi principality came into existence at the disintegration of the Vijayanagara kingdom early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was founded by Chaudappa Nayak (AD 1500-30).<sup>18</sup> At the peak of its glory, the Keladi principality comprised an area, corresponding to the whole coast of Kanara from Goa in the north to Cannanore in the south, including parts of Shimoga district of Karnataka.<sup>19</sup> During the span of 263 years (AD 1500-1763), there had been eighteen rulers, including two queens,<sup>20</sup> in the Keladi dominion. Among them were distinguished chiefs like Sadasiva (AD 1530-67)<sup>21</sup>, Venkatappa I (AD 1582-1629)<sup>22</sup> and Sivappa Nayak (AD 1645-60)<sup>23</sup>. The last-mentioned, referred to in the epigraphs under study, was the most distinguished of all the Keladi chiefs.

Keladi<sup>24</sup> was their original capital, but in the reign of Sadasiva, the capital was shifted to Ikkeri<sup>25</sup>, and thereafter to Bednur<sup>26</sup> in 1639 under Virabhadra Nayak (AD 1629-45).

After concluding peace<sup>27</sup> with the Mughals in AD 1636, the Bijapur ruler, Muhammad Adil Shah (AD 1626-56) began to seek expansion towards the territories of Konkan and other parts of Karnataka. He attacked the strong forts of the Keladi chiefs, which easily fell to the Adilshahi forces. Virabhadra Nayak, the then Keladi chief, unable to resist the enemies, purchased peace by offering eighteen lakh *huns*, so also losing half of the territories of his dominion. Thus, Ikkeri was completely subjugated in AD 1637. Later, Sivappa Nayak also faced the onslaughts of Bijapur army, led by Muhammad Adil Shah himself. He too failed to resist the Adilshahi forces and was compelled to sue for peace.<sup>28</sup>

When Aurangzeb was sent to Deccan as the Mughal viceroy (AD 1636-44) by Shah Jahan, the former did not favour or like the conquest of the Adilshahis in the Karnataka in contravention of the treaty of 1636. He sent regular reports of the Adilshahi military activities in Karnataka to the emperor.<sup>29</sup> Shah Jahan was already displeased with Muhammad Adil Shah who did not honour the treaty which he had concluded in 1636, accepting the supremacy of the Mughals. Assumption of splendour by Muhammad Adil Shah at his victory in Karnataka, greatly annoyed Shah Jahan.<sup>30</sup>



Full political advantage of the said strained relation between the Mughals and the Adilshahis, seems to have been taken by the Keladi chiefs who drifted, in their own political interest, closer to the Mughals. They needed an ally which was strong enough to rescue the Keladi dominion from the neighbouring powerful Adilshahis. It is therefore, not unlikely that Sivappa Nayak or his predecessor had sided with the Mughals. Future territorial expansion of the Mughals in the south had been foreseen by the Keladi chiefs who possibly deemed it a political sagacity or necessity to earn the good-will of the Mughals by accepting their suzerainty.

We may also note that these records were set up when Dara Shikoh was the governor of Allahabad (AD 1645-57) and Varanasi was fortunate to receive royal patronage under him. He was a man of broad outlook, seeking confluence of the streams of Islam and Hinduism by stressing communal harmony and social cohesion through his writings. He extended patronage to the *Pandits* at Varanasi, and with their help, translated fifty Upanishads into Persian under the title *Sirrul Asrar*, also known as *Sirr-i-Akbar*, completed in AD 1657.<sup>31</sup>

Three eventful years (AD 1654-57) constitute a happy interlude in the life of Dara Shikoh when his golden throne shone by the side of the Peacock-throne of Shah Jahan. He enjoyed the title of *Shah-i-Baland Iqbal* (i.e. king of lofty fortunes) and his voice was all but final in his father's cabinet.<sup>32</sup> The Keladi chiefs who (re)excavated the Kapilatirth tank, being fully aware of Dara's immense political power and broadmindedness, might have sought Mughal friendship through the latter.

The importance of these inscriptions from Kapiladhara is manifold. It is clear from the records that the Keladi rulers of the south undertook the pilgrimage to Varanasi in the north for the fulfilment of their religious obligations, without inviting any kind of political hindrance. This also proves that there were no restrictions of men and rulers of one faith, going to the territories of other rulers, for the performance of their religious rituals or doing some meritorious acts. The records show the contact between the Kannada people and the holy place of Varanasi. They also illustrate extra-territorial integration and spirit of religious tolerance that prevailed between the Hindus and the Muslims in the past.

Sivappa Nayak is reported to have patronised the religious institutions of all sects in his dominion and made arrangements for worshipping deities at all important shrines of Siva and Vishnu from Rameshvara to Varanasi.<sup>33</sup> His interest in religious building activities in Varanasi, is corroborated by the lithic records under study here.

One of the three records also provides the genealogy of the Keladi chiefs, Sivappa Nayak and Venkatappa Nayak, who are mentioned as son(s) of Sindap (Sidhappa) Nayak and grandson(s) of Sankan (Sankanna) Nayak. This genealogy is confirmed by the historical records. The appellation *bain raja Karnatak*, meaning joint-ruler(s) of Karnataka, occurs at the end of the genealogy of Sivappa and

Venkatappa. I take this to be an epithet used for Sivappa Nayak and Venkatappa Nayak, in view and support of the Sanskrit version where both the brothers are called kings (*rajanau*). Being addressed as *bain raja* in the Persian version and *rajanau* in the Sanskrit version, this has reasonably provided a strong base for the conjecture that the two brothers were jointly ruling in their dominion on the date of the record.<sup>34</sup> Thus, this record furnishes one more example of joint-rulership in the Keladi history. Earlier, Rama Raja Nayak and Chikka Sankanna (grandfather of Sivappa Nayak) are known to have jointly ruled their territories upto AD 1582.<sup>35</sup>

In conclusion, it may be remarked that these lithic records from Kapiladhara provide valuable evidence that the Mughals had cordial relations with the Keladi chiefs of South India at that time.<sup>36</sup> Besides throwing light on the religious history of the Keladi chiefs, these inscriptions are the only source for the interesting information that Keladi chiefs, Sivappa Nayak and Venkatappa Nayak, owed allegiance to the Mughal emperor, conditioned by their political necessity to do so against their neighbouring expansionist political rival – the Adilshahis of Bijapur.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A paper on these epigraphs was presented in the 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Epigraphical Society of India, held at Patna, in April 1987.
2. *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers (UPDG), Varanasi District* (Allahabad, 1965), p. 90.
3. Kapiladhara – tirth is described in detail in the Kasikhanda of the *Skandapurana*, ed. Venkateswara Press, Bombay, Chapter 61.
4. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)* 1963-64, Nos. D, 387-89.
5. The expression *Khanana* in Sanskrit version and *Kapisidavaru* in the Kannada version seem to refer to the dredging or cleaning work of the silt in the Kapila-Tirth tank. *AREp.*, 1963-64, Introduction, p.28; *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. X, 1983, p.74.
6. In the Sanskrit version, they are addressed as kings (*rajanau*), *AREp.*, 1963-64, Nos. B, 484-86. In one of the Persian versions, '*bain raja Karnatak*' this term appears to mean 'joint ruler of Karnatak'. *AREp.*, 1963-64, No. D, 388.
7. For both the Persian texts and their English translations, see *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1977, pp.80-82.
8. *AREp.*, 1963-64, No. D, 387. The inscriptional tablet measures 38 by 15 cm.
9. The text in line 2 is to be read here (as in *farmans* i.e. royal orders), in the blank space in the Persian text in line 4.
10. The word '*muhdith*' in the third line of the Persian text, should be in the plural form '*muhdithan*', meaning 'excavators', (Illus.36).
11. The words '*daulatkhwah fidwi*', in the fourth line of the Persian text, should be in the plural form '*daulatkhwahan (wa) fidwiyān*' meaning 'well-wishers and devoted servants'. (Illus.36).
12. *AREp.*, 1963-64, No. D, 388. The epigraph measures 17 by 6 cm.
13. *Ibid.*, No. D, 389. The record measures 34 by 36 cm.
14. To be read in the blank space in the Persian text in line 4.
15. The word '*bani*' in the fourth line of the Persian text, should be in the plural form '*baniyan*', meaning 'builders'. (Illus.37).
16. The word '*ibn*' in the fifth line of the Persian text, should be in the plural form '*ibnan*', meaning 'sons'. (Illus.37).



17. A Portuguese record dated 1640, refers to the seeking of the Mughal help by the Keladi chief Virabhadra (1629-45) who had been pressed hard by Adilshahi invasion. In return, the Keladi chief promised to pay tribute to the Mughals. See, Shastry, B.S., *Keladiya Arasavu Haqu Portugeejaru* (1972), ff. 75, vide *Indian History Congress*, 37<sup>th</sup> Session (Calicut, 1976), p. 260.

Probably, the Keladi chief had received Mughal assistance in 1640 which enabled him to thwart the Adilshahi invasion. Hence, the successors of Virabhadra are mentioned in the inscriptions under study, as loyal servant(s) of the Mughal emperor.

18. Desai, Dr. B.P., *A History of Karnataka* (Dharwad, 1981), p. 427; Swaminathan, K.D., *The Nayaks of Ikkeri* (Madras, 1957), p.2; *Karnataka State Gazetteers – Shimoga District (KSGS)*, Bangalore, 1957, pp.51-52.
19. Swaminathan, *op.cit.*, p.2.
20. One queen-ruler was Channammaji (1672-96) and the other was Virammaji (1756-63). Swaminathan, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-25, 160-62.
21. Desai, *op.cit.*, pp. 427-28; Swaminathan, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-30.
22. Swaminathan, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-66.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-101.
24. Keladi is now a small village in Sagar Taluka, at a distance of 6 kms. to the north of Sagar town in Shimoga district, Karnataka. *KSGS*, p. 648.
25. Ikkeri is about 3 kms. to the south of Sagar town and about 76 kms. to the north of Shimoga city. *KSGS*, p. 624.
26. Bednur, now called Nagar in Hosanagar Taluka, is about 15 kms. south of Hosanagar town and about 86 kms. west of Shimoga city. Originally, it was named Bidarahalli (Bamboo-village). After its conquest in 1763, Sultan of Mysore Haidar Ali, renamed it Haidar Nagar. *KSGS*, p. 658.
27. For detail, see Sarkar, Jadunath, *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. I & II (Bombay, 1973), pp.20-21.
28. Verma, D.C., *History of Bijapur* (New Delhi, 1974), pp. 137-38.
29. *Ibid.*, p.147, f.n.1.
30. Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 143-44.
31. Qanungo, K.R., *Dara Shukoh*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1952), pp. 108-12.
32. *Ibid.*, p.107.
33. Swaminathan, *op.cit.*, p.100.
34. Gai, G.S., 'Some problems in the history of the Nayakas of Keladi', a paper presented to the Keladi History Seminar in 1969.
35. Swaminatha, *op.cit.*, p.100.
36. For Keladi chiefs and their relations with the Mughals, the Kannada literary work, *Keladinripavijayam*, composed by poet Linganna, supplies us with an interesting piece of information. If its version is to be given any credence, the first contact between the Keladi chiefs

and the Mughals took place in the later half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Dodda Sankanna Nayak (AD 1556-70) visited Delhi as pilgrim. He is said to have earned Akbar's admiration by defeating a renowned wrestler of the time Ankus Khan. Akbar, besides bestowing lands and presents on Sankanna, allowed him to construct *Jangama Mathas* at Prayag, Kasi, Gaya and Delhi. *Keladinripavijayam*, ed. R. Shama Shastri (Mysore, 1973), pp.43-50.

## A BILINGUAL INSCRIPTION FROM NAGORE IN TAMIL NADU

In this article, I have taken up for study a Perso-Tamil inscription<sup>1</sup>, from Nagore in the Nagapattinam Taluk of Thanjavur District. This study is mainly based on the Persian text, though Tamil version which is not the exact translation of the Persian text, has also been taken into account.

Nagore is included in the municipality of Nagapattinam town (Lat. 10.46 N, Long. 79.53 E)<sup>2</sup>, and a sea-port on the east coast, four miles from the taluk headquarters, chiefly famous for the local *Dargah* of Hadrat Qadir Wali, from where the epigraph under study was copied from a tower.<sup>3</sup>

This bi-scriptal slab, measuring 37x33 cm, runs into eleven lines in Persian and four lines in Tamil – in all fifteen lines. More than three-fourths of the writing space is occupied by the Persian text, comprising eight lines in prose and three lines in verse. The language used in the Persian text, is not in regular order, even breaching grammatical rules in a place or two. The text is executed in crude *Nasta'liq* characters hinting at the fact that the inscriber (name not mentioned) was not a professional or skilled calligrapher. Because of crude writing, a few words, particularly in the first line, could not be deciphered. The ending words of the two hemistiches in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> lines, do not appear on the estampage, as the left margin of the slab is hidden under plaster, but the words needed there have been duly applied, befitting the meaning and the metre.<sup>4</sup> The name of the composer mentioned in the epigraph reads like 'Abdullah?

The transliteration of the Persian text is as follows:

- 1 *Bismi' llahir Rahmanir Rahim. B'ad Hamd-i-Qadir 'Azza wa Jalla wa Na't-i-Sayyidu'l Mursalin....*
- 2 *Pa'i Jahan Ara'i ra ... bar...an Rauda-i- Munawwara-i-Shah-i- Dhijah Jahan Panah Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri quddisa*
- 3 *Allahu Sirruhu. Makhfi Namanad keh ba Niyyat-i- Bahbud – i – Kaunain, Da'ud Khan Tajir wald Isma'il*
- 4 *Khan, Qabl Mutawattin Shahjahanpur, Madaf- i - Daru's Sultanat Shahr Dehli keh*





34. Nagore, Thanjavur Dist., T.N. : Persian version of the bilingual (i.e. Persian & Tamil) inscription, assigning the erection of the lofty tower in the shrine of Sayyid Abdul Qadir Manikpuri, to Daud Khan s/o Ismail Khan in AH 1137/AD 1724-25. AREp., 1963-64, D 162.

- 5 *dar Mahmud Bandar Sakin Shuda, Bina'i in Manara-i- Rafi'-u- Mani'...dar Sanah 1137, Sab'a*
- 6 *Thalathin Miya Alf, Tarikh-i-in ra Du Nau' Guftah Shuda ba 'Ibarat-i-Farsi, wa Mabain*
- 7 *Du Tawarikh<sup>5</sup> ba A'dad-i- Huruf Tafawut-i- Sali Minumayad wa dar Ma'na Mufaslah pazir*
- 8 *Ast keh ba-Ghurrah Muharramu'l Haram Katb Shuda*
- 9 *'bah-Bin<sup>6</sup> Nashan-i-Da'ud Khan 1136'.<sup>7</sup>*
- 10 *'Imarat 'Ali-u-Matbu' Dargah<sup>8</sup> : Qurib-i-Rauda-i-Pak-i-Falak Jah?*
- 11 *Nakard Ai Dil Kasi Khushtarh Minar : Bina Da'ud Isma'il Khan (War)' 1137 Raqimahu Faqir 'Abd'ullah? (Illus.34)*

### TRANSLATION

- 1 In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. After the praise of the Powerful (i.e. God), may He be honoured and glorified, and (after) the praise of the chief of Apostles ...
- 2-3 ... to the threshold of the World-adorning on that illuminated tomb of the King (who is) elevated to a place of honour, Asylum of the world, Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri, May Allah sanctify his secrets. This fact may not remain hidden that with an intention of the welfare of both kinds of beings (corporeal and spiritual, men and angels) Da'ud Khan, the merchant, son of Ismail
- 4 Khan, previously a native of Shahjahanpur in the vicinity of the capital city Delhi, after
- 5 having settled down in Mahmud Bandar, (laid the) foundation of this lofty and impregnable tower...in the year (AH) 1137, seven,
- 6 thirty, one hundred (and) one thousand. Chronogram for this (i.e. for the foundation of the tower) was composed in Persian in two ways and between
- 7-8 the two chronograms there is hinted the difference of an year in the (total) numbers of the letters ... and the reasons for the difference is apparent as it (i.e. the slab) was inscribed on the first day of Muharramul Haram.
- 9 'Look at the mark of Da'ud Khan 1136'.

- 10-11 (It is) an excellent edifice and laudable shrine; near (this) heaven-exalted holy tomb, O heart ! nobody could build an excellent tower 'like the one (constructed) by Daud Isma'il Khan'- 1137. Its composer (is) the needy' 'Abdullah?

The persons mentioned in the epigraph are Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri, obviously the reputed saint, Da'ud Khan son of Isma'il Khan, the builder, and 'Abdullah?', the composer of the Persian text.

To begin with, I would like to say in a nutshell about the renowned saint Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri<sup>9</sup> who lies buried at Nagore. The published literature on the saint is dominated by the description of his miraculous deeds, mixed with facts and fiction. He was popularly known as Miran Sahib and Qadir Wali Ganj Sawa'i. He was born at Manikpur (Lat. 25.46 N & Long. 80.24 E) in Pratapgarh District of Uttar Pradesh on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1504. His father's name was Sayyid Hasan Qudsi and mother's name Fatima both of whom passed away in 1531. He was the disciple of Shaikh Ghauth of Gwalior (d. 1563) who thoroughly guided him in Shattari, Qadiri and Chishti orders.<sup>10</sup> He performed *Haj* (pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina) in c. AD 1530-31 and visited various places in Iraq, Iran and India. He is said to have ultimately settled at Nagore in AD 1533-34. Until his death on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1570, he preached Islam in the region as reported in the hagiological work *Mufarrihu'l Qulub*<sup>11</sup>. His death – anniversary (*Urs*) is celebrated with great zeal, coinciding with the Kandiri (Qadiri) festival - an occasion marked by communal harmony and religious tolerance.<sup>12</sup>

A welcome light is thrown by the epigraph under study about the builder Da'ud Khan Tajir son of Isma'il Khan (Davudu Isumayil Kan of the Tamil version) who originally hailed from Shahjahanpur (27.53' N & 79.54' E) in the vicinity of the capital city Delhi and later settled in Mahmud Bandar and built a lofty tower in AH 1137 (AD 1724) for which obviously the work had commenced in AH 1136 (AD 1723-24). The slab recording the event was inscribed on the first day of Muharram (AH 1137/9 September AD 1724). The two dates are given both in number and chronogram.

On the basis of this inscription, much can be reasonably inferred about the builder Da'ud Khan Tajir, son of Isma'il Khan.

The epithet *Tajir*, meaning a merchant, appended to the name of the builder Da'ud Khan, gives a lot of clue to his professional background originally in his native land Shahjahanpur<sup>13</sup> in the Rohilkhand<sup>14</sup> region and later on his migration to the south for settlement in Mahmud Bandar i.e., Porto Novo<sup>15</sup> on the east coast in the Arcot region. What else could be the prime reason for the merchant-builder other than the economic one, seeking better commercial prospects in the kingdom of the Nawwabs of Arcot (whose territories extended from the Palnad, now in Andhra Pradesh to



Kanyakumari in Tamilnadu). As a merchant, his moving to and or between Mahmud Bandar and Nagore needs no explanation. Political-cum-military turbulence in the Rohilkhand region following the death of Emperor Aurangzeb seems to have caused him commercial set-back, compelling him to migrate elsewhere in search of peace and prosperity. Since Rohilkhand region including Shahjahanpur was mainly populated by the Rohilla Afghans belonging to 52 different tribes from Afghanistan, it is not ruled out that the builder of our epigraph was himself a Rohilla Afghan.

In the last decade of Aurangzeb's reign, after the capture of Jingeer in 1698, the emperor made Dhulfiqar Khan<sup>16</sup> viceroy of Carnatic, i.e. Arcot. In 1701, Dhulfiqar Khan was succeeded by Da'ud Khan Panni,<sup>17</sup> an Afghan, who continued as viceroy till AD 1710. The latter had good relations with the British in Madras. It appears that there existed a sizable pocket of Afghan population in the Arcot region and in view of this, the builder Da'ud Khan, son of Isma'il Khan, seems to have chosen Mahmud Bandar for his settlement for peace and tranquility, so also for carrying on his own commercial activities for economic prosperity.

Another aspect that we have to look into, is the fact that the builder Da'ud Khan had great regard and reverence for saints and shrines, and this fact is confirmed by his building activity in Nagore at the tomb of Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri. According to Sayyid Muhammad,<sup>18</sup> the author of *Manaqibul Majid* (Arabic), the builder was a wealthy merchant of Mahmud Bandar and staunch and faithful follower of the saint. Very often, he used to visit Nagore, offering gifts and tributes at the holy shrine. Once at the occasion of *Urs*, he took a vow that if his heart's desire was fulfilled, he would construct a magnificent tower near the tomb of the respected saint. After the conclusion of the *Urs*, he returned to Mahmud Bandar where he was jubilant to find his vow fulfilled. Immediately, he came back to Nagore and with the permission of the spiritual successor of the shrine, erected a high splendid tower in AH 1137.

What was the vow of the builder, is not specified in the inscription under study, nor in the work of Sayyid Muhammad, quoted above. Most probably, the erection of an excellent tower near the holy shrine, was an outcome in fulfilment of his some specific vow, pertaining to his commercial advancement and prosperity, apart from his seeking spiritual blessings and succour of the saint.

In the epigraph under study, where the merchant builder settled, is referred to as Mahmud Bandar<sup>19</sup> (in Tamil version Muhammadu Vandar). Here, Mahmud Bandar, the epithet is meant and used for the place-name Porto Novo, a sea-port in South Arcot district, 32 miles south of Pondicherry. The Tamil name for it was Parangipettai, i.e., European town, but Muslims preferably called it Mahmud Bandar in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup> Under the Nawwabs of Arcot, different epithets were used for various place names, a trend then in vogue, following the examples of erstwhile Muslim rulers in other parts of the country.

In conclusion, it is remarked that the epigraph under study is extremely important as a primary source, for providing us rare pieces of information about the builder Da'ud Khan, the merchant, and about whom Sayyid Muhammad, the author referred to above, is not specific regarding his name and the original place of his settlement in the north, etc. However, it may be added that the work of Sayyid Muhammad and the valuable epigraph not only corroborate each other but also constitute complements of each other.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1963-64, App. B, No. 292; App. D, No. 162.
2. *Gazetteer of South India (GSI)*, ed. W. Francis & others, Vol. II (Rep. Delhi, 1988), pp. 161-63; B.S. Baliga, *Tanjore District Handbook* (Madras, 1957), pp.408-09.
3. There are in all 5 towers in the Dargah-Complex. For detail, S.M. Husain 'Alam, *Sawanih Hayat-i-Hadrat Qadir Wali* (Madras, AH 1379), pp. 251-60.
4. I am highly grateful to Prof. Dr. 'Abdur Rab 'Irfan (retired) of Kamptee, for helping me in the decipherment of the epigraph under reference.
5. When the number *Du* is mentioned, here the word should be *Tarikh*.
6. Here the word should be *ba-bin* rather than *bah-bin* but the latter was used for arriving at the chronogram, yielding AH 1136.
7. According to *Abjad* system, this chronogram yields AH 1136 (1723-24):  $7 + 62 + 401 + 15 + 651 = 1136$ .
8. The metre used in these couplets is *Bahr-i- Hajaz Musaddas Maqsur*.
9. His full name was Shah al-Hamid Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri. *AREp.*, 1963-64, App. D, No. 161.
10. M.S. Imamu'd Din, *Barakatul Auliya* (Delhi, AH 1322), pp.75-76.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
12. *GSI.*, Vol. II, p. 162; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India (IGI)*, Vol. XIX, Oxford, 1908), p.3.
13. Shahjahanpur, after the name of Shahjahan, was founded in 1647. For its history, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (DGUP)*, Vol. XVII, Shahjahanpur (Allahabad, 1910), pp. 131-39; *IGI*, Vol. XXII (Oxford, 1908), pp.209-10.
14. The name is applied to the Bareilly division of Uttar Pradesh. It is derived from a Pashtu adjective *rohelah*, formed from *rohu* (mountain). Rohilkhand contained an area of 12,800 square miles, forming a large triangle bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south-west by the Ganges, and on the east by the province of Oudh. For the history of Rohillas and Rohilkhand, Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1949), pp.25-37; *IGI*, Vol. XXI (Oxford, 1908), pp. 304-08; A.C. Majumdar and V.G. Dighe, *The Maratha Supremacy* (Bombay, 1977), pp. 133-38.
15. For its history, *Madras District Gazetteers, South Arcot* (Madras, 1962), pp.449-50.
16. Shah Nawaz Khan, *Ma'athirul Umara*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 93-107.



17. *Ibid.*, pp. 63-68; N.S. Ramaswami, *Political History of Carnatic under the Nawwabs* (New Delhi, 1984), pp. 2, 8, 10, 13, 15-29; M. Athar 'Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb* (New York, 1966), pp. 108-110.
18. Sayyid Muhammad, *Manaqibu'l Majid fi Manaqib Shah al-Hamid* (Madras, AH 1346), Urdu translation, S.M. Husain 'Alam, *op.cit.*, p.257.
19. *Bandar* is a Persian word which means 'a seaport, a harbour'. There used to be the posts of *Mir-bandar* (Port-Master) and *Shahbandar* (Harbour-Master) all over the Indian seas.
20. Henry Yule & A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. by William Crooke (Calcutta, 1986), p. 727.

**A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION OF THE MARATHA RULER  
PRATAP SINGH FROM NAGORE  
(TAMIL NADU)**

In this article, I have taken up for study a bilingual Perso-Marathi inscription<sup>1</sup>, copied from Nagore in the Nagapattinam Taluk of Thanjavur District. This study is mainly based on the Persian version, though Marathi version, too, has been taken into account.

Nagore is included in the municipality of Nagapattinam town, headquarters of the taluk of the same name and seaport in the Thanjavur District. It is four miles from Nagapattinam to the north<sup>2</sup>, chiefly famous for the local *Dargah* of Miran Sahib, from where comes the bilingual inscription fixed on the east side of the biggest tower, 90 feet in height, in the *Dargah*-complex.<sup>3</sup>

The Persian version, measuring 33 x 53 cm., runs into 12 lines, executed in crude *Nasta'liq* characters (Illus.35). Its language and syntax suffers from solecism and ambiguity. Surprisingly enough, genealogy of the Maratha ruler of Thanjavur, Pratap Singh, is wrongly given in reverse order. However, in both the versions, his father's name is given as Tulja Maharaj instead of Tukaji.<sup>4</sup>

The transliteration of the Persian text is as under:

- 1 *Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim. In 'Imarat-i-Manara 'Ilaqa Yazda Jine ba Bandar Nagore dar Iha-*
- 2 *ta-i-Dargah-i- Wala Jah Hadrat Qadir Sahib Auliya Quddisa Sirruhu 'Umdatul Mulk Raja Maharaj Chatrpati*
- 3 *Hasab Nasab az Qaum-i-Bhonsla Yakoji Maharaj Sahib ibn Tulja Maharaj Sahib ibn Partab*
- 4 *Sing Maharaj Sahib ke Sarkhail-i-An Manoji Rao wa dar Hin-i- Karubar-i- Arnoji Bhonsla*
- 5 *Rao wa Amin Ya'ni Maddast Shaikh 'Abdul Malik ba Sadiqul- I'tiqad-i-khish?*
- 6 *Ke In Ta'rif-u-Shuhrat ta Qa'im-i-Qiyam-i-Aftab-u-Mahtab-i-Falak Bahar Chihar Atraf*
- 7 *Raushan Budan ke Ism-i-Raja Maharajha-i-Chatrpati Paiwasta ba Khushi-i-Du*

اسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 طه درگاه و اولاد شاه حضرت نادر صاحب اولیاد سره عمدة الملک درگاه مناراج  
 حسرت از قوم انوسید بگویند مناراج صاحب است تمام مناراج صاحب بن برتار  
 نکر مناراج صاحب بن خیز آن مالوچ در او در حین کار و بار از نوجوی و  
 در ۱۹۹۱ امین یعنی قده است بنام عمده الملک با صادر از اندک صادر و  
 در این روز و ششرت نافر ای مقام اوتاب و میراث ملک ۱۶۷۸ مناراج طرف  
 در شش روز کن کریم راجه مناراج های چهارمین بنویسند با خود بنویسند  
 در آن کار جاری بود مخالفان زود و کردن موجب حکم عالی  
 مناراج برتار بنویسند در خدمت کار بنویسند مناره مناره  
 و فارسی بنویسند تمام مناراج بنویسند در تاریخ زور  
 در شهر زین النالی ۱۱۶۸ هجری پرو چمبر بنویسند  
 در اوتاب بنویسند و کس از و قد بنویسند الملک کبر و بنویسند

35. Nagore, Thanjavur Dist., T.N. : Persian version of the bilingual (i.e. Persian & Marathi) record of the Maratha ruler of Thanjavur, Pratap Singh, who built the high tower in the Dargah of Hadrat Qadir Sahib and also founded Qadir Penth near Tulja Maharaj Penth, In AH 1166/AD 1753, *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 163.



- 8 *Jahan Bahar Kar Jari Buda Mukhalifan-i- Zardru Gardidan Mujib-i-Hukm-i- 'Ali*  
 9 *Maharaj Partab Sing Chatrpati dar Khidmatgari Basta Shuda Manara*  
 10 *Wa Qadir Penth Ke Pa'inush Tulja Maharaj Penth Tahrir fit- Tarikh Duwaz*  
 11 *dahum Shahr-i-Rabi' Uththani, Sana 1166 Hijri ba-Ruz-i-Jum'a Murattab Shud.*  
 12 *Mahraja Fartab Sing Sahib Urikaz Utrufad Shaikh 'Abdul Malik Kuduyat Manara.*

Running translation of the Persian text or what it all boils down to, is that out of respect and reverence and with profound faith in the saint, as an humble offering (*dar Khidmatgari*) this tower in eleven stages was constructed in the *Dargah* of Qadir Sahib at Nagore Bandar, which was carried out by the orders of the ruler, Maharaj Pratab Singh Chatrpati and when Manoji Rao was the *Sarkhail* (military general), Arnoji Rao Bhonsla, the *Karubar* (revenue authority over the cultivators) and Shaikh 'Abdul Malik, the *Amin* i.e. *Madhyastha* (revenue collector). It also refers to the foundation of the *Qadir Penth* near Tulja Maharaj *Penth*. The motive behind these constructions was that of seeking the spiritual blessings and succour of the saint against his opponents and political rivals, cherishing also the delight and prosperity in both the worlds and perpetuity of his grandeur in every nook and corner of the world. The inscription was written on Friday, 12 Rabi' II, AH 1166 (16 February, AD 1753).

Now we shall discuss about the personages mentioned in the epigraph. They are Hadrat Qadir Auliya, the saint (in the Marathi version, Hadrat Mira Sahib), Pratap Singh, the ruling Maratha ruler, Manoji Rao (Manaji Jagathapa), Arnoji Bhonsla Rao (Arunoji Bhomsale) and Shaikh 'Abdul Malik (Sekha Abdula Mallika).

The *Dargah* of Hadrat Qadir Auliya at Nagore is very famous whose death anniversary (*Urs*) is celebrated with great zeal and enthusiasm, coinciding with the *Kandiri* (*recte* *Qadiri*) festival, one of the greatest Muslim festivals in southern India, lasting for 12 days in the autumn. This occasion is marked by religious tolerance and communal harmony.<sup>5</sup>

Failing to trace any authentic account of the saint, I deem it necessary to say a few words about the renowned personality that lies buried at Nagore. The published literature on the saint is dominated by his miraculous deeds, mixed with facts and fiction. What I sifted in the available data, is placed in a nutshell.

As recorded in an inscription, his full name was Shah al-Hamid Sayyid 'Abdul Qadir Manikpuri.<sup>6</sup> He was popularly known as Miran Sahib and Qadir Wali Ganj Sawai. He was born at Manikpur<sup>7</sup> (Lat. 25° 46' N & Long. 80° 24' E) in Partabgarh District of Uttar Pradesh on 10 Jumada II, AH 910<sup>8</sup> / 18 November, AD 1504. His father's name was Sayyid Hasan Qudsi and mother's name Fatima, both of whom breathed their last in December AD 1531.<sup>9</sup> He became the disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth of Gwalior (d. 1563), one of the celebrated Shattari saints, who

initiated and thoroughly guided him in Shattari, Qadiri and Chishti orders.<sup>10</sup> He performed *Haj* (pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina) in c. 1530-31 and visited places like Karbala, Baghdad, Ganjam, Khurasan, etc. He is said to have visited many places in South India *viz.* Cannanore, Ponnani, Kilakarai, Ramnad, Kayalpatnam, Tenkasi, Madura, Thanjavur and lastly Nagore where he reached and settled in AH 940/AD 1533-34.<sup>11</sup> Until his death on 10 Jumada II, AH 978/ 9 November, AD 1570, he propagated Islam in the region and hundreds of people embraced Islam at his hands as reported in the hagiological work *Mufarrihul Qulub*.<sup>12</sup>

With the installation of the Walajahi dynasty in the kingdom of Arcot, a good number of places were renamed after the saints and rulers, a trend then in vogue, following the examples of erstwhile Muslim rulers in other parts of the country. Particularly, Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Walajah (1749-95) took keen interest in renaming towns and places. He had great veneration and spiritual attachment with the holy shrine of Hadrat Qadir Wali at Nagore. He named Thanjavur (10° 47' N. & 79° 8' E) as Qadirnagar and Nagore, the last resting-place of the saint, as Qadir Patan.<sup>13</sup>

Worthy of quotation is one more example from a far off place. At Kamptee (Kamthi), a tahsil headquarters in Nagpur District of Maharashtra, is a *mahalla* i.e. an area or locality called *Qadar-ka-Jhanda*. In the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, after the establishment of a British cantonment at Kamptee, Muslims hailing from Tamil Nadu, joined the military service there and the part of the town they settled in, came to be known as *Qadar-ka-Jhanda*, both in veneration and deep association and due to great popularity of the holy saint Hadrat Qadir Wali of Nagore.<sup>14</sup>

The saint's tomb, because of his immense popularity and miraculous deeds, is said to have been patronized by the Maratha rulers of Thanjavur, the dynasty founded by Pratap Singh's grandfather Ekoji<sup>15</sup> (Vyankaji) who was the son of Shahji Bhonsle (AD 1594-1664) and half-brother of Shivaji (AD 1627-80). Ekoji (AD 1675-85) was succeeded by his three sons, Shahji (AD 1685-1712), Sarabhoji (AD 1712-28) and Tukoji (AD 1728-36).<sup>16</sup> Tukoji's death plunged Thanjavur into lawlessness for 4 years (AD 1736-39), when the kingdom witnessed a quick succession of Baba Saheb (AD 1736-37), Sujana Bai (AD 1737-38) and Kattu Raja (AD 1738-39) and the *Qaladar* of Thanjavur, Sayyid, acted as the king-maker.

However, in AD 1739 Kattu Raja (also called Siddhuji and Sahuji) was dethroned by the people and Pratap Singh assumed power, putting an end to the period of anarchy but not the trials and tribulations.

Pratap Singh (AD 1739-63) was a man of great political sagacity who defended his petty kingdom against the neighbouring hostile powers. To him, sagacity was the better part of valour. Despite a stirring drama of wars, assassinations and political intrigues caused by the English, the French, the Nawwab of Arcot, the Nizam of



Hyderabad, the Marathas and other adjoining kingdoms of the south, Pratap Singh outlived the challenging situations and always acted in the best interest of his principality.<sup>17</sup>

Such a ruler had endeared himself to all in the principality who co-operated with him in time of need. His help was needed by the Company and Muhammad 'Ali, the Nawwab of Arcot, and also by Dupleix. During the year AD 1749, Kattu Raja seems to have temporarily recovered the Thanjavur throne, as evidenced by an inscription, referred to by Robert Sewell.<sup>18</sup> However, in the light of the epigraph under study, it is confirmed that by 1753, Pratap Singh had firmly established himself as the ruler of Thanjavur, brushing aside the claims of his rival Kattu Raja, and as an offering (*dar khidmatgari*) to the saint at Nagore, ordered for the construction of the tower and the *Penth*, referred to above.

Manoji Rao, the *Sarkhail* (military general) was a brave and powerful general who played vital role in the military activities of the Thanjavur kingdom under Pratap Singh.<sup>19</sup> Details about Arnoji Bhonsla and Shaikh 'Abdul Malik, two other officials mentioned in the epigraph, are presently lacking. However, in the absence of the literary sources or the materials untapped for, the epigraph itself is a source of information telling us about their official status and the place of posting under Maharaja Pratap Singh. Arnoji was the *Karubar* (revenue authority over the cultivators) at Nagore as specifically recorded by the Marathi version of the record and Shaikh 'Abdul Malik, the *Amin* and *Madhyastha* (revenue collector) and also *Urikaz Utrufad* i.e. *Arrikar Uttarupad*<sup>20</sup> that means 'Abdul Malik held the post of royal spy for the northern part of the Thanjavur kingdom also.

To conclude, it may be remarked that the Maratha ruler Pratap Singh was tolerant towards other religions and the record under study is an epigraphical evidence for his policy of religious toleration and extension of royal patronage to the venerated *Dargah*. His successor Tuljaji (AD 1763-87) also followed in the footsteps of his father Pratap Singh and is reported to have endowed 14 villages for the shrine.<sup>21</sup>



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1963-64, Appendix B, No. 293; D, No. 163.
2. *Gazetteer of South India (GSI)*, ed. Francis & others, Vol. II (Delhi, 1988), p.161; Baliga, B.S., *Tanjore District Handbook* (Madras, 1957), pp. 408-09.
3. There are 5 towers in the *Dargah-Complex*. Sayyid Muhammad, *Manaqibul Majid Fi Manaqib Shah al-Hamid* (in Arabic) (Madras, AH 1346), Urdu translation, Husain 'Alam, S.M., *Sawanih Hayat-i-Hadrat Qadir Wali* (Madras, AH 1379), pp. 251-60.
4. Sewell, R., *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, ed., Aiyangar, S.K. (Madras, 1932), p.395.
5. *GSI*, Vol. II, p. 162; Baliga, *op.cit.*, p. 3; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India (IGI)*, Vol. XIX (Oxford, 1908), p.3.
6. *AREp.*, 1963-64, Appendix D, No. 161.
7. Both Sayyid Muhammad and Husain 'Alam wrongly locate Manikpur in Delhi region or Rajasthan. Sayyid Muhammad, *op.cit.*, Introduction & p. 8.
8. Sayyid 'Abdul Wahhab seems to have mistaken the saint under reference for Sayyid Hamiduddin of Nagaur in Rajasthan and hence gives the date AH 569-664/AD 1173-1266. *Junubi Hind ke Mashaikhin ke Nasab Name* (Salem, n.d.), p.6. Other dates for the birth of the saint are 10 Jumada II, AH 909/30 November AD 1503 and 10 Rabi I, AH 910/21 August, AD 1504. Sayyid Muhammad, *op.cit.*, pp.12, 16.
9. Sayyid Muhammad, *op.cit.*, pp. 75-76.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 28-30, 33-36; Imamud-Din, M.S., *Barakatul Auliya* (Delhi, AH 1322), pp.75-76.
11. For details, Sayyid Muhammad, *op.cit.*, pp. 51, 57, 72, 97-108, 114, 125-27.
12. M. Ilyas Quddusi, 'A Persian Inscription From Nagore in Tamil Nadu', *Studies in Indian Epigraphy (JESI)*, Vol. XXVII, 2001, pp.130-35; Imamud-Din, *op.cit.*, p. 76. On the biography of the saint, a work *Kanzul Karamat* was also written. Ghulam A'izud-Din Khan (d. 1824-85) composed a long poem (*Mathnawi*), *Ganj-i-Qudrat*, in Urdu. Sayyid Muhammad (1816-98) who was born at Kayalpatnam and lies buried in Kilakarai, composed *Mawahibul Majid* in detail.
13. M.I. Quddusi, 'Natharnagar and Qadirnagar', *Studies in Indian Place Names (SIPN)*, Vol. VIII, 1998, pp.35-42.
14. *JESI*, Vol. XXVII, 2001, p.133; Dr. M.I. Quddusi, 'Cultural Gleanings From Perso-Arabic Epigraphy', *Archaeological Glimpses of Indian Culture*, Nagpur, 2001, p.75.
15. For details, Srinivasan, C.K., *Maratha Rule in the Carnatic* (Annamalainagar, 1944), pp. 123-77.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-41; Baliga, *op.cit.*, pp.65-69; Nagaswami, R., 'The Heritage of Tanjore', *Marg* (Bombay, 1982), p.177.
17. Srinivasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 249-93; Baliga, *op.cit.*, pp. 70-74.
18. Sewell, *op.cit.*, p.299.
19. For details, Srinivasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 251, 258, 264, 266, 273, 281-91.
20. *Ibid.*, p.350.
21. *Ibid.*, p.229; Sayyid Muhammad, *op.cit.*, p. 260.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF NAWWAB MUHAMMAD

### ALI WALAJAH (AD 1749-95)

In this article, I propose to study eight Persian inscriptions of Nawwab Muhammad Ali Walajah, ranging in their dates from AH 1173/AD 1759-60 to AH 1210/AD 1795, spanning 37 years, copied from six different places viz., Tiruchchirappalli (1), the district headquarters in Tamil Nadu; Chittoor (1), a district-place in Andhra Pradesh; Talaiyuttu (1), Pettai (2) and Tirunelveli (1) in Tirunelveli district, and Chennai (2), the capital of Tamil Nadu. All the inscriptions are in the verse form, except one from Pettai and likewise all are executed in the pleasant *Nasta'liq* characters, except one from Tiruchchirappalli. Of the same name, Masjid-i-Walajahi, located at Pettai and Chennai, bear a couple of Persian records, each. The epigraphs under study, record the construction of both the religious and secular structures.

Following the Nawab rule (AD 1710-42)<sup>1</sup> in the Carnatic,<sup>2</sup> a new dynasty under Anwaru'd-Din Khan<sup>2</sup> Shahamat Jang (AD 1743-95) came to power, popularly known as Walajahi (also called Anwari) with its capital at Arcot. After a short rule, Anwarud-Din was killed in the battle of Ambur on 21 July 1749 at the age of 77 years.<sup>3</sup> Anwaru'd-Din left 5 sons and 7 daughters.<sup>4</sup>

Anwaru'd-Din had designated his third son Muhammad 'Ali as successor, as he considered him most worthy and fittest to manage all affairs successfully.<sup>5</sup> Following the death of his father, Muhammad 'Ali became the Nawwab of Carnatic (Arcot) at the young age of 27<sup>6</sup> in AH 1162/AD 1749. He received the titles Nawwab Walajah Amirul Hind 'Umdatul Mulk Asafu'd-Daula Muhammad 'Ali Anwaru'd-Din Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang Sipahsalar, Sahibu's-Saif-wal-Qalam, Mudabbir-i-Umur-i-'Alam, Farzand-i-'Aziz-az Jan, from the Mughal king Shah 'Alam II (AD 1759-1806) and another title *Biradar ba-Jan Barabar* (brother as dear as life) from the mighty Hanover king George II or III (AD 1727-1820) of England. He was recognised by the two kings as the ruler of Carnatic.<sup>7</sup>

Muhammad 'Ali Walajah ruled for 46 years (AD 1749-95)- the longest period among the Walajahi Nawwabs of Arcot. His regime was quite eventful as he was engaged in wars against the Marathas, the French, Hyder 'Ali and Tipu Sultan, receiving active support from the English and the Nizam of Hyderabad. He was overburdened with heavy debts due to increasing expenses of his standing army. The English, his allies, cherished the ambition of taking the entire territory of Carnatic



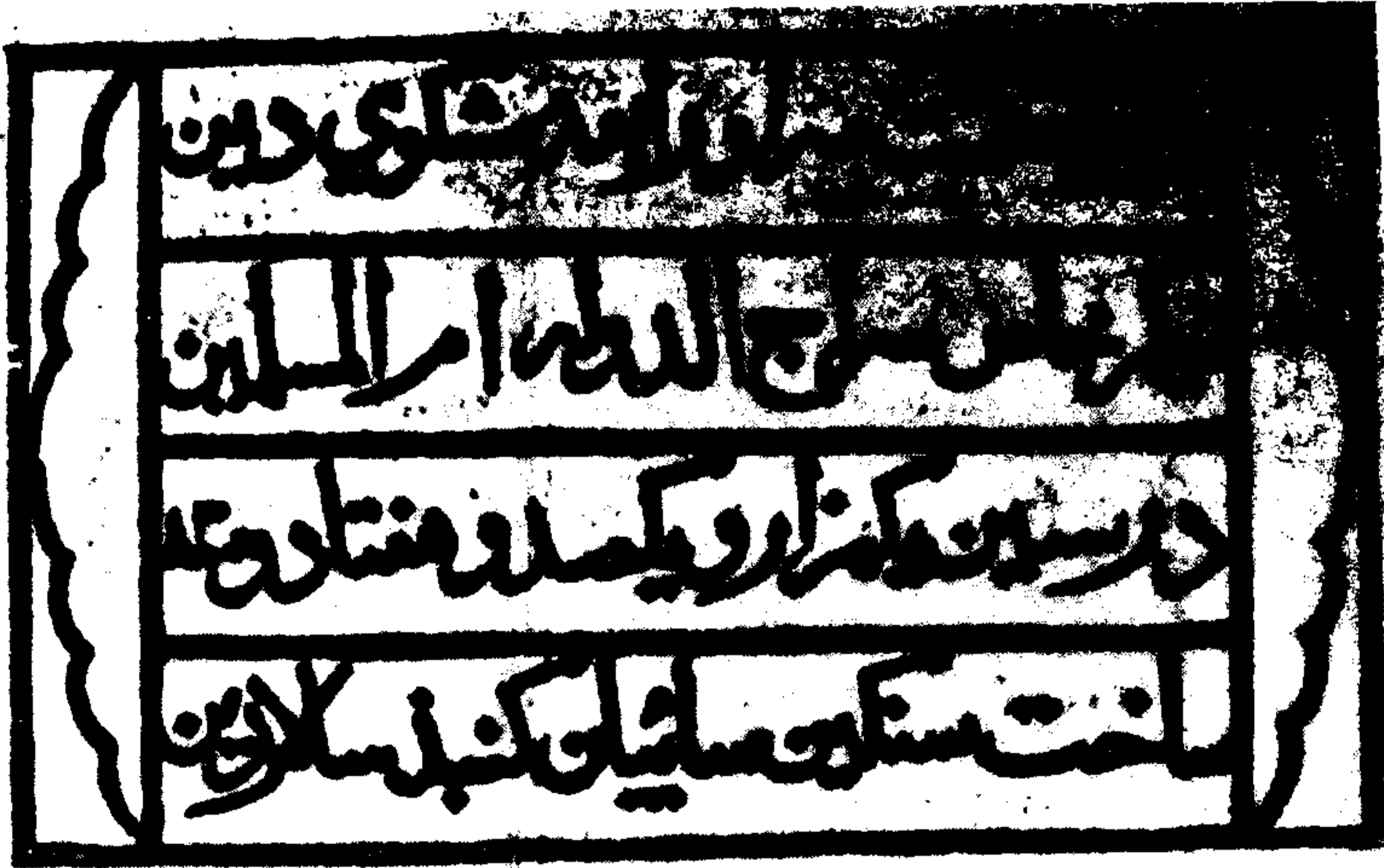
under their direct control. In the evening days of his rule, he even struck a note of caution to his eldest son Nawwab 'Umdatul Umara in dealing with the English and not to cause any indignation to them and rather keep with them the best cordial relations so as to perpetuate his independent rule in the region.<sup>8</sup> He expired in the 76<sup>th</sup> year of his age on 29 Rabi' I, AH 1210/13 October AD 1795 and lies buried at Tiruchchirappalli.<sup>9</sup>

Of the inscriptions of Muhammad 'Ali Walajah, the earliest<sup>10</sup> in the group, comes from the main entrance of the tomb of Hadrat Nathar Shah Wali at Tiruchchirappalli, recording the construction of the stone-canopy i.e. dome, over the grave of the saint by the Chief Queen (*Begam-i-Khass*) of Siraju'd Daula (Muhammad 'Ali) in AH 1173/AD 1759-60. (Illus.38)

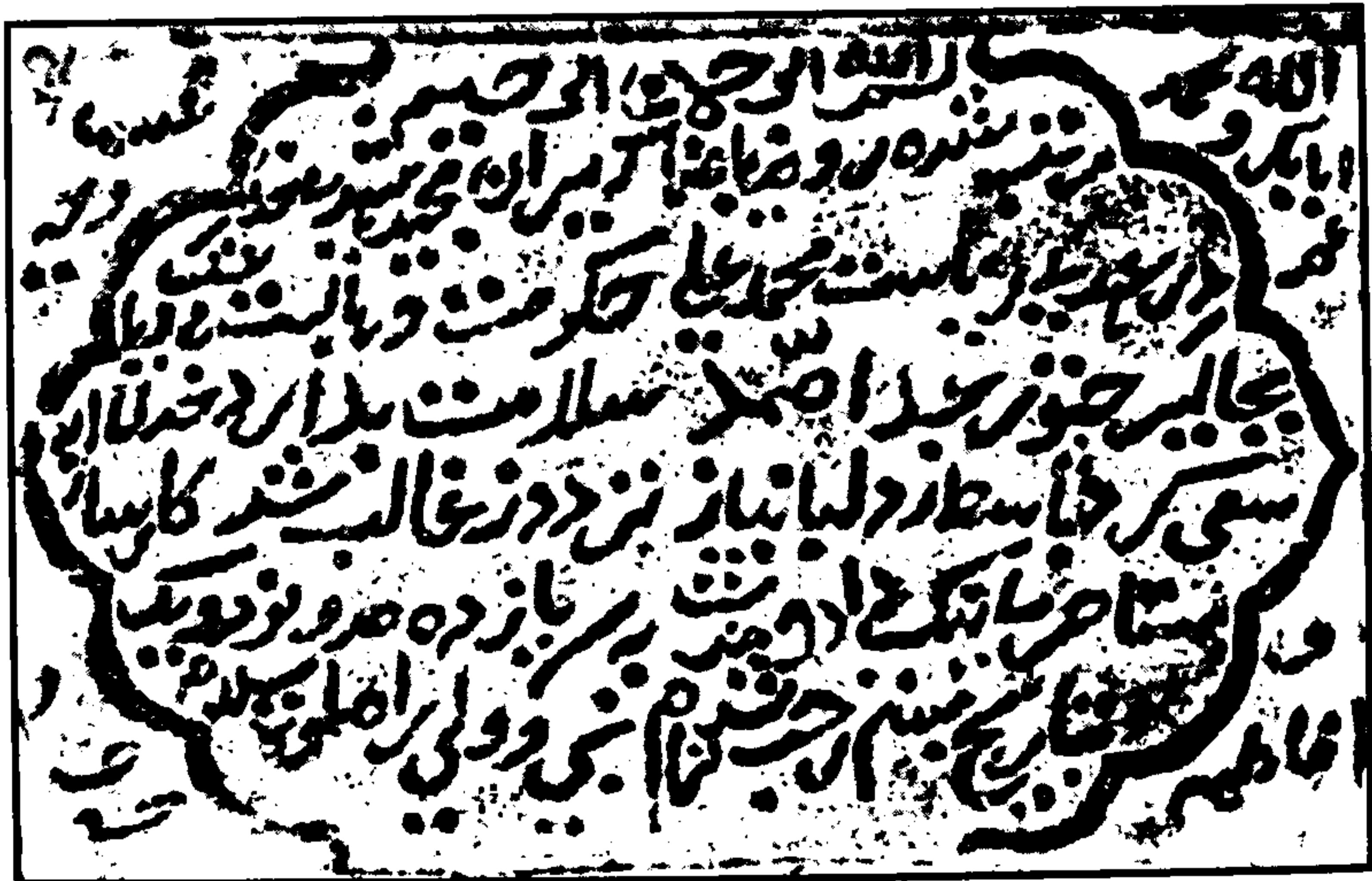
Here, in the inscription, the saint Nathar Shah Wali<sup>11</sup> is referred to as *Salar-i-Din* (i.e. leader of religion). He hailed from Constantinople and belonged to the ruling family there. His father's name was Sultan Sayyid Ahmad Kabir. He is said to have been one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi (AD 1145-1234)<sup>12</sup>. It is said that Shaikh Nathar had already established Suhrawardi Order before Madura was invaded by Malik Kafur in AD 1310.<sup>13</sup> Mama Jagani, reported to be the daughter of the then ruling monarch in the region, embraced Islam at his hand and lies buried near him.<sup>14</sup> One of his disciples was Shaikh Baba Fakhru'd-Din (d. 1295) who reached Penugonda in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh and made it a great centre of mystic activities.<sup>15</sup> Shaikh Nathar Wali breathed his last on 14 March, AD 1275 (15 Ramadan, AH 673).<sup>16</sup>

The Walajahi Nawwabs had great veneration for the saint Shaikh Nathar. Under Anwaru'd-Din Khan Shahamat Jang, when Muhammad 'Ali was given the charge of the *suba* of Tiruchchirappalli (Trichinopoly), he renamed the town as Natharnagar.<sup>17</sup> No less enthusiastic was the Chief Queen of Muhammad 'Ali who got erected the dome of the saint out of profound reverence. In the epigraph, she is referred to as *Begam-i-Khass*. Her original name was Khadija Begam, addressed as Nawwab Begam and popular as Begam Jan Mahal Khass. She was the daughter of Muhammad Ahsanu'd Din Khan of Gopamau.<sup>18</sup> She was married to Muhammad 'Ali Walajah in AD 1737. She bore him five sons and five daughters. Among the sons were 'Umdatul Umara Ghulam Husain ((d. 1801), Muhammad Munawwar (d. 1804), Ghulam Hasan (d. 1829) and 'Abdul Quddus (d. 1804), holding important posts under their father. Among the daughters were Moti Begam, Poti Begam, Sultanun-Nisa Begam (d. 1821 at Karbala in Iraq), Darya Begam (d. 1820) and Fath Begam (d. 1812).<sup>19</sup> Begam Jan Mahal Khass, rather died early at the age of 39 on 9<sup>th</sup> October, AD 1767 (15 Jumada I, AH 1181) as she was suffering from diarrhoea and severe fever.<sup>20</sup> She lies buried near the tomb of Shaikh Nathar Wali.

Begam Jan Mahal Khass predeceased her husband Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Walajah by over a quarter century. The Nawwab cherished his burial at Mecca near



38. Tiruchchirappalli, Dist. headquarters, T.N. : Persian inscription, assigning the construction of the dome over the grave of the saint Hadrat Nathar Shah Wali, to the chief queen of Sirajud Daula (Muhammad Ali), the Nawwab of Arcot, in AH 1173/AD 1759-60. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 167.



39. Chittoor, Dist. headquarters, A.P. : Persian inscription of the Nawwab of Arcot, Muhammad Ali, recording that the tomb of Miran Majid, the martyr, was built with the efforts of Basit and Ghalib in AH 1191/AD 1777. *AREp.*, 1978-79, C 1.



the holy Ka'ba. In case this was not possible, he desired Natharnagar as his last resting-place near the holy shrine, as his queen also occupied the blessed precinct. This, he had commanded his successor-son 'Umdatul Umara by will at the death-bed. Ultimately, the second alternative was translated into actoin.<sup>21</sup>

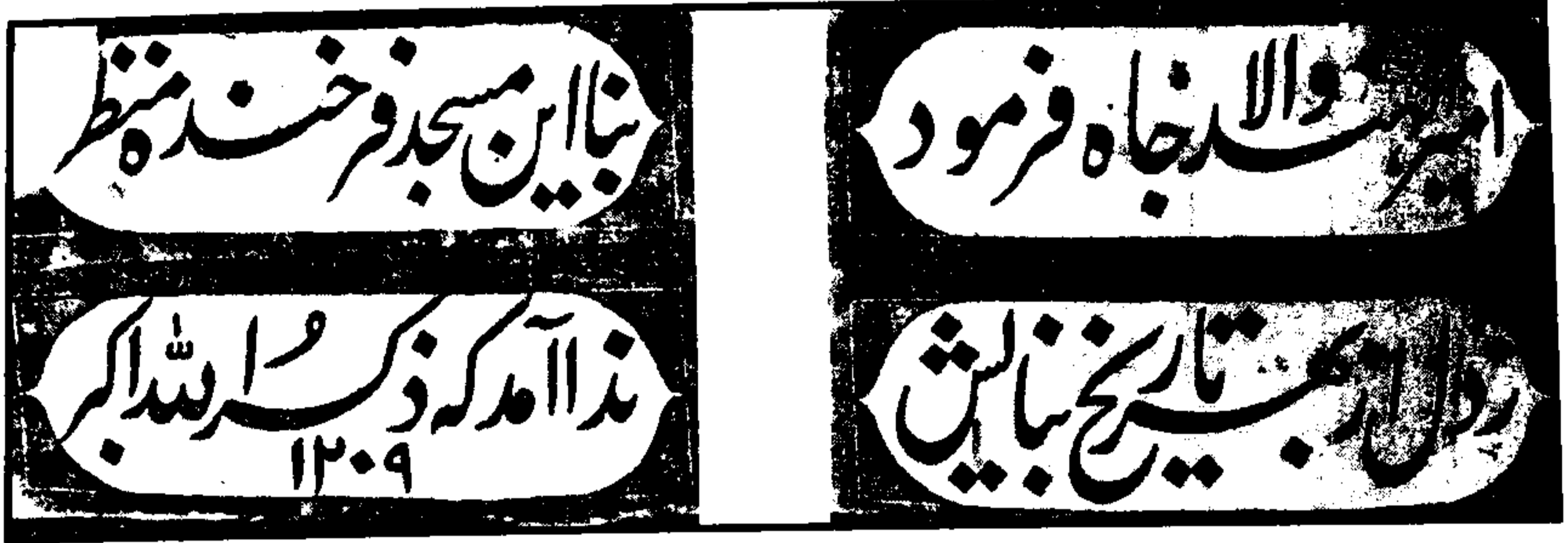
Next inscription from Chittoor<sup>22</sup> in a local mosque, records that the tomb of Miran Majid, the martyr, was erected through the efforts of Basit and Ghalib when Chittoor was held in *jagir* by 'Abdus Samad, during the reign of Muhammad 'Ali in AH 1191/AD 1777 (Illus.39). This inscription is informative as it provides certain names of the region under the Walajahi rule and throws light on the regional history.

Four inscriptions (3<sup>rd</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup>) in the group, come from Tirunelveli district. An inscription from Talaiyuttu<sup>23</sup>, copied from Shadi Khan's *Chhatram*, records the construction of two *sarais* (inns) by I'tibar Khan in AH 1200/AD 1785-86. In three more inscriptions also, we find the mention of Muhammad I'tibar Khan Bahadur who built the Masjid-i-Walajahi, under the supervision of his subordinate Salamu'llah, at Pettai<sup>24</sup> in AH 1201/AD 1786-87 at the command of Amirul Umara Walajah, i.e. Muhammad 'Ali. At Tirunelveli<sup>25</sup> also, I'tibar Khan built a mosque in AH 1202/AD 1787-88 at the behest of 'Umdatul Mulk Amir-i-A'zam (Muhammad 'Ali). I'tibar Khan had been an important official, posted in the region as Nawwab's agent and probably belonged to the ruling class as his full name Muhammad I'tibar Khan Bahadur suggests.

The 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> inscriptions<sup>26</sup> from Chennai belong to the Masjid-i-Walajahi, built by Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali, referred to in the inscriptions as Amirul Hind Walajah and *Shah-i-Dinparwar*. The two dates AH 1209/AD 1794-95 and AH 1210/AD 1795 obviously refer to the foundation and completion of the said mosque.(Illus.40-41)

Sufficient information is available about the personages Shaikh Nathar Wali and the queen Begam Jan Mahal Khass in the literary sources. But other names: Miran Majid, the martyr, 'Abdus Samad, the *Jagirdar*, Basit, Ghalib, and Muhammad Salamullah, occurring in the inscriptions under perusal, could not be identified in the limited works under disposal here. Even the attempt made on some of the Walajahi works, *Ruqa'at-i-Walajahi*<sup>27</sup> (c. 1773-74), *Tuzak-i-Walajahi* (c. 1781), *Bahar-e-A'zamjahi* (c 1823) and *Sawanihat-e-Mumtaz* (c.1837) proved abortive. Untapped records might be helpful in future for their proper identification, or otherwise these epigraphical evidences themselves will constitute the primary source for them.





40. Chennai, Dist. headquarters, T.N. : Metrical Persian record, assigning the construction of the mosque of Nawwab entitled Amirul Hind and Wala Jah (Muhammad Ali) in AH 1209/AD 1794-95. *AREp.*, 1961-62, D 107.



41. Chennai : Another metrical Persian record of the same Nawwab of Arcot, Muhammad Ali, containing chronogram for the date (AH 1210/AD 1795-96) of construction of the mosque. *AREp.*, 1961-62, D 108.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Under Nawait rule in the Carnatic, there were three rulers : Sa'adatullah Khan (1710-32), Dost 'Ali Khan (1732-40) and Safdar 'Ali (1740-42). Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic* (Madras, 1974), pp. 12-13.
2. Nawwab Anwaru'ddin Khan was born at Gopamau in Hardoi district of U.P. in c. AH 1085/AD 1674. Earlier, he served as governor of Surat, Sikakul and Rajamundhry. Nawwab Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I had great confidence in him and bestowed on him the governorship of Arcot in AD 1743. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*, English translation, M. Husayn Nainar, pt I (Madras, 1934), pp. 51-57; Yousuf Kokan, *op.cit.*, p.86.
3. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 144-47.
4. Eldest son Badrul Islam, second son Muhammad Mahfuz and 4 daughters from his wife Bibi Sahiba who hailed from Gopamau; third son Muhammad 'Ali from his wife Fakhrun-Nisa Begam who came from a noble family of Hyderabad; fourth son 'Abdul Wahhab and 2 daughters Amira Begam and Kumu Begam from another wife; fifth son Najibullah was the only child of another wife, and there was a 7<sup>th</sup> daughter by another wife. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp.30-31; Muhammad Karim Khairu'd-Din Hasan, *Sawanihat-e-Mumtaz*, ed. Habib Khan Sarush (Madras, 1961), pp.264-65.
5. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-31.
6. Muhammad 'Ali was born at Delhi on 14 Shawwal, AH 1135 / 7 July, 1723. Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, *op.cit.*, p.90.
7. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 30.
8. Muhammad Karim Khairu'd-Din, *op.cit.*, pp.40-41.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 44-45.
10. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1963-64, D 167.
11. Harun Khan Sherwani gives his name as Baba Fakhru'd-Din Hazrat Nathar Wali, *Medieval India - a Miscellany*, Vol. IV, 1977, p. 141; Yousuf Kokan, as Shaikh Nathar Awliya (*Tadhkira-i-Auliya-i-Dakan*, Hyderabad, AH 1332 (AD 1914), p. 394; W. Francis and others give his name as Nadir Shah Auliya (*Gazetteer of South India*), Vol. II, Delhi, 1988, p. 206); Ghulam 'Abdul Qadir records his name as Sayyid Baba Mutahharu'd-Din Sarmast Tabl-i- 'Alam (*Bahar-e-A'zamjahi*, Madras, 1961, p. 77). Another inscription at the gate of the tomb records his name as Wali Nathar (*AREp.*, 1963-64, D 168).
12. Ghulam 'Abdul Qadir, *op.cit.*, p. 78.
13. Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

14. Ghulam 'Abdul Qadir, *op.cit.*, p. 79. According to 'Abdul Jabbar Malkapuri, Mama Jagani was the daughter of the saint (*op.cit.*, pp. 397-98).
15. *AREp.*, 1966-67, D, 1 & 3; Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, *op.cit.*, p.2.
16. Ghulam 'Abdul Qadir, *op.cit.*, p. 78; another date of his death is 19 September, AD 1225 (14 Ramadan, AH 622) according to Imamu'd Din (*Barakatul Auliya*, Delhi, AH 1322, p. 8).
17. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 131-32.
18. Muhammad Karim Khairu'd Din, *op.cit.*, p.265.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 265-69.
20. *Ibid.*, p.265.
21. *Ibid.*, p.39.
22. *AREp.*, 1978-79, D, 1.
23. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D, 171.
24. *Ibid.*, D, 169-70.
25. *Ibid.*, D, 172.
26. *AREp.*, 1961-62, D, 107-08.
27. It is edited by T. Chandrasekharan, Madras, 1958.



## A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION FROM NAGORE IN TAMIL NADU

**A** Persian inscription<sup>1</sup> belongs to the famous *Dargah* of Hadrat Qadir Wali at Nagore in the Nagapattinam Taluk of Thanjavur District, Tamil Nadu.

Nagore is included in the municipality of Nagapattinam town (Lat. 10.46 N Long. 79.53 E)<sup>2</sup> and is a sea-port on the east coast, four miles from the taluk headquarters, chiefly famous for the said *Dargah*.

This inscription is fixed on the left column of the entrance-porch of the holy shrine of Hadrat Qadir Wali, also called Miran Sahib and Ganj Sawai. The slab comprising the Persian inscription, measures 28 x 47 cm and runs into eight lines, executed in a thin *Nasta'liq* characters, without recording the name of the calligrapher.

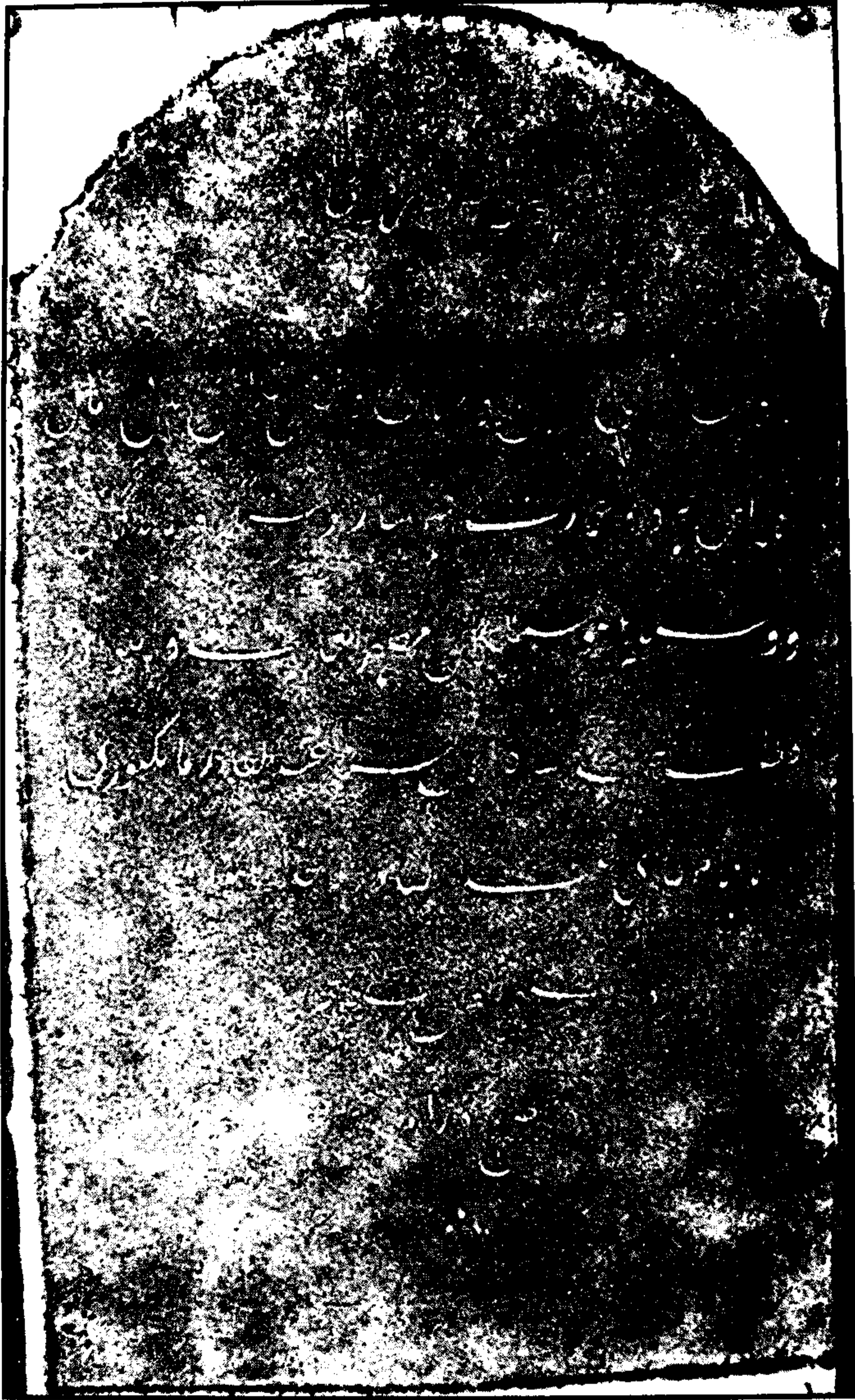
The transliteration of the Persian text is as under:

1. *Huwa al-Qadir al-Wali.*
2. *ba 'Aun-i-Sanna' i-Zaman-u-Makan  
ba Fadl-i-Khaliq-i-Zamin-u-Zaman*
3. *Ta'mir-i-in har Du 'Imarat Bahr-i-Niyaz-i-Dastagir-i-Wamandagan*
4. *wa Wasila-i-Biwasilagan Mazhar al-'Aja'ib wa al-Nawadir*
5. *Qutb al-Majid Shah al-Hamid Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri*
6. *ba-Ihtimam-i-Haji 'Abdu'l Qadir Nakhuda Nagori*
7. *dar Shahr-i-Shawwal Sana 1196 Hijri ba Tab'dar amad. (Illus.42)*

### TRANSLATION

1. He (i.e. Allah) is the Powerful, the Patron.
2. With the aid of the Creator of time and place (i.e. Allah) and by the grace of the Creator of the universe and age (i.e. Allah),
3. construction of the two edifices (took place), by way of offering to the saint of those who remain uncared for





42. Nagore, Thanjavur Dist., T.N. : Persian inscription dated AH 1196/AD 1782, stating that two edifices were built by way of offering to the saint Sayyid Abdul Qadir Manikpuri under the supervision of Haji Abdul Qadir, *Nakhuda*, of Nagore. *AREp.*, 1963-64, D 161.



4. and who is the means for those who are without means, the manifestation of miracles and rarities,
5. the exalted pole-star Shah al-Hamid Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri,
6. under the supervision of Haji 'Abdu'l Qadir Nakhuda Nagori.
7. In the month of Shawwal, the year 1196 Hijri,
8. (the inscription) came to be printed (i.e. written).

Thus, the epigraphic record dated Shawwal, AH 1196 (September – October, AD 1782) states that two edifices (names unspecified) were constructed by way of offering to the saint Shah al-Hamid Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri (AD 1504-70), under the supervision of Haji Abdu'l Qadir Nakhuda Nagori.

The renowned saint Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri lies buried at Nagore about whom published literature is dominated by the description of his miraculous deeds and wonders. He was born at Manikpur (Lat. 25. 46 N & Long. 80.24 E) in Pratapgarh district of Uttar Pradesh on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1504. His father's name was Sayyid Abu Yusuf Hasan Qudsi and mother's name Fatima both of whom passed away in AD 1531. At a very tender age, he got the holy *Qur'an* by heart. He remained a bachelor and adopted a son Muhammad Yusuf by name. He had a brother named Wahhaju'd Din who married a girl chosen for him by the saint. He was the disciple of Shaikh Ghauth of Gwalior (d. 1563) who thoroughly guided him in Shattari, Qadiri and Chishti orders.<sup>3</sup> He performed *Haj* (pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina) at the age of 27 in AD 1530-31, and visited a good number of places in Iraq, Iran and India. He visited the holy shrine of Hadrat Khwaja Mu'inu'd Din Chishti (d. 1236) at Ajmer in the north, so also the tomb of Hadrat Nathar Wali at Tiruchchirappalli in the south. In South India, he visited the places like Ponnani, Kilakarai, Ramanathpuram, Kayalpatnam, Mallepalle, Tenkasi, Ikkeri, Madura, Thanjavur, Trivallur, Kotanallur, etc. He is said to have ultimately settled at Nagore in 1533-34. Until his death on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1570, he preached Islam in the region as reported in the hagiological work *Mufarrihu'l Qulub*.<sup>4</sup> His death-anniversary ('*Urs*) is celebrated with great zeal, coinciding with the Kandiri (recte Qadiri) festival, an occasion marked by communal harmony and religious tolerance. It is one of the greatest Muslim festivals in southern India, lasting for 12 days in the autumn.<sup>5</sup>

It was during the life-time of the saint that the Hindu noble named Achsaf Na'ikan (Achytappa Nayaka) of Thanjavur who badly suffered from black magic, was cured of it successfully. After regaining his health, the said Hindu chief came to Nagore and by way of tribute and offering and with the consent of the saint, surrendered the piece of land, where is now situated the tomb-complex, measuring 543 x 495 feet.



Pertaining to the biography of Hadrat Qadir Wali several books have been written in Arabic, Tamil, Persian and Hindi. One of the popular books is entitled *Kanz al-Karamat*, a much consulted source for authors. During the time of Arcot ruler Walajah-i-Thani 'Umdatul Umara Bahadur, Nawwab Ghulam A'izu'd Din Khan Bahadur Mustaqim Jang (d. 1824-25) wrote a *mathnawi*, *Ganj-i-Qudrat* in Urdu. A great south-Indian scholar Sayyid Muhammad wrote a book in Arabic entitled *Mawahibu'l Majid fi Manaqib Shah al-Hamid* (Madras, AH 1346/AD 1927-28, which was later translated in a running way in Urdu by Sayyid Muhammad Husain 'Alam under the title *Sawanih Hayat-i-Hadrat Qadir Wali* (Madras, AH 1379/AD 1959-60).

The tomb of Hadrat Qadir Wali, because of his immense popularity and miraculous deeds, is said to have been patronized by various rulers and wealthy merchants. Out of great regard and reverence for the holy shrine, they carried out building activities of various description in the *Dargah*-complex. For instance Sultan Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Sindh? built a tower in AH 1050 (AD 1640-41), by way of offering. Sa'id 'Ali Marakkar, a wealthy person of Nagapattinam erected another tower in AH 1100 (AD 1688-89) at the fulfilment of his vow. His example was followed by his friend Pir Naina Marakkar, a great merchant stationed at Bandar Malacca (in Malaysia) who ordered for the construction of a magnificent tower in AH 1110 (AD 1698-99).

As evidenced by an inscription earlier edited and published, a merchant Da'ud Khan Tajir son of Isma'il Khan who originally hailed from Shahjahanpur near Delhi and later settled in Mahmud Bandar i.e. Porto Novo, built a lofty tower in AH 1137 (AD 1724). The builder was a wealthy merchant of Mahmud Bandar and staunch and faithful follower of the saint. Very often, he used to visit Nagore, offering gifts and tributes at the holy shrine.<sup>6</sup>

Likewise, Maratha rulers of Thanjavur had also patronized the venerated *Dargah* at Nagore. Among them, Pratap Singh (AD 1739-63) was a man of great political acumen who outlived the challenging situations. He is recorded to have built a very high tower and *Qadir Penth*, a market-place, in fulfilment of his certain ambition, in AD 1753 (AH 1166) in the *Dargah*-complex of Hadrat Qadir Wali. The motive behind these constructions was that of seeking the spiritual blessings and succour of the saint against his political rivals, cherishing also the prosperity and perpetuity of his kingdom. His successor Tuljaji (1763-87) also followed the footsteps of his father Pratap Singh who is reported to have endowed 14 villages for the holy shrine at Nagore.<sup>7</sup>

With the installation of the Walajahi dynasty in the kingdom of Arcot, a good number of places were renamed after the saints and rulers, a trend then in vogue, following the examples of erstwhile Muslim rulers in other parts of the country. Particularly, Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Walajah (AD 1749-95) took keen interest in

renaming towns and places. He had great veneration and spiritual attachment with the holy shrine of Hadrat Qadir Wali at Nagore. He named Thanjavur (10° 47' N. & 79° 8' E) as Qadirnagar and Nagore, the last resting-place of the saint, as Qadir Patan.<sup>8</sup>

Worthy of quotation is one more example from a far off place. At Kamthi (Kamptee)<sup>9</sup>, a tahsil headquarters in Nagpur District of Maharashtra, is a *mahalla*, i.e. an area or locality called *Qadar-ka-Jhanda*. In the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century after the establishment of a British cantonment at Kamthi, Muslim people hailing from Tamil Nadu, joined the military service there and the part of the town they settled, came to be known as *Qadar-ka-Jhanda*, both in veneration and deep association and due to great popularity of the versatile spiritual figure Hadrat Qadir Wali of Nagore.<sup>10</sup>

Marikkar Habib Muhammad, a wealthy and generous ship-master from Kilakarai, got manufactured a nice ship at the cost of one lakh forty thousand rupees and named it after the saint as *Qadiri Bakhsh*, besides having constructed eleven shops, endowed for the upkeep of the holy shrine. These selected instances display the profound faith and deep veneration for the reputed saint, the ruling kings and prosperous mercantile personages, held.

The present record under study is very important as it brings to light one more example of building activities at the holy shrine of Hadrat Qadir Wali at Nagore, under the superintendence of Haji 'Abdu'l Qadir, the local ship-master of Nagore by way of offering and showing thereby his profound faith and spiritual attachment with the most famous shrine of his namesake. Unfortunately, the epigraph does not specify the name of the two edifices erected by the ship-master. Sayyid Muhammad Husain 'Alam, one of the descendants of the saint, in his detailed translation work *Sawanih Hayat-i-Hadrat Qadir Wali*, refers to a great merchant Shaikh 'Abdu'l Qadir from Kilakarai, to have constructed a big hall in front of the tomb of Hadrat Qadir Wali. Whether Haji 'Abdu'l Qadir Nakhuda Nagori, as referred to in the inscription under study, and Shaikh 'Abdu'l Qadir, referred to by the above respected author, is one and the same person, it is difficult to say. In case they are the same person, then the two sources of information, complement and supplement each other. That would mean that the builder of the two edifices, probably the hall and the entrance-porch (provenance of the epigraph), was a great merchant, owning a ship and originally hailed from Kalakarai and later settled at Nagore, carrying out his commercial activities. It was the fulfilment of any of his vow or supplication, that by way of offering, he carried out his building activities in the holy shrine. The appellation *Haji* with the name of the builder indicates the fact that he had performed *Haj* also. In case they are two different persons, that would mean that two persons basically of the same name 'Abdu'l Qadir, carried out their building activities separately at the holy shrine, one being a local ship-master at Nagore having performed *Haj*, and the other a great merchant hailing from Kilakarai.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. *AREp.*, 1963-64, Appendix D, No. 161.
2. *Gazetteer of South India (GSI)*, ed. W. Francis & others, Vol. II (Rep. Delhi, 1988), pp. 161-63; B.S. Baliga, *Tanjore District Handbook* (Madras, 1957), pp. 408-09.
3. M.S. Imamu'd Din, *Barakatu'l Auliya* (Delhi, AH 1332), pp. 75-76.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
5. *GSI*, Vol. II, p.162; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India (IGI)*, Vol. XIX (Oxford, 1908), p.3.
6. M.I. Quddusi, 'A Bilingual Inscription from Nagore', *JESI.*, Vol. XXIV, 1998, pp. 66-70.
7. M.I. Quddusi, 'A Bilingual Inscription of Pratap Singh from Nagore (Tamil Nadu)', paper presented at Thanjavur in the XVII<sup>th</sup> Annual Epigraphical Conference, held in February 1991.
8. M.I. Quddusi, 'Natharnagar and Qadirnagar', *Studies in Indian Place names (SIPN)*, Vol. VIII, 1998, pp.35-42.
9. For detail about this cantonment place see, M.Y. Quddusi, 'Origin and Development of Kamptee', *SIPN*, Vol. XVII, 1997, pp. 25-27.
10. M. I. Quddusi, 'Cultural Gleanings from Perso-Arabic Epigraphy', a paper presented in the 'Workshop on Archaeology for Cultural Studies', held under the auspices of the International Centre for Cultural Studies (ICCS), Nagpur, in August 1999.



## INSCRIPTION OF NAWWAB AMIR MAHAL FROM BARA BANKI

The study of this paper is based on a Persian inscription<sup>1</sup> of Nawwab Amir Mahal, ex-spouse of Nawwab Wajid 'Ali Shah, copied from Bara Banki, a district headquarters in Uttar Pradesh. The inscription records five verses, composed by Muhammad Wajid 'Ali Shah Bahadur, (Ex-) King of Awadh, pen-name Akhtar. Written in beautiful *Nastaliq* characters, the epigraph assigns the construction of a mosque to Amir Mahal in AH 1285 (AD 1868-69). The metrical record belongs to the post-deposition period of Wajid 'Ali Shah who ruled during the years AD 1847-56. Earlier, two inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of the ruling time of Wajid 'Ali Shah had been copied from Lucknow. The present article is an attempt to highlight the valuable historical record, throwing new light on the relation between Wajid 'Ali Shah and Amir Mahal who had separated from each other through a divorce in AD 1856.

Bara Banki (Lat. 26° 56' North and Long. 81° 11' East) which gives its name to the district, a mile west of the tahsil headquarters Nawabganj, is situated to the north-west of the junction of the Northern Railway and the North-Eastern Railway, being a place of some antiquity, dating back about a millennium.<sup>3</sup>

Before the study of the epigraph is taken up, it is deemed necessary to give a bird's eye-view of the historical background of the Bara Banki region during the medieval period.

A 17<sup>th</sup> century writer 'Abdu'r Rahman Chishti, who composed *Mirat-i-Masudi*, gives an account of a Ghaznavid invasion of the Bara Banki region of Awadh. The whole of Awadh had been under the Gahadavalas until they were overthrown by Muhammad Ghauri in 1194.<sup>4</sup>

Babur (AD 1526-30) conquered Delhi in AD 1526 and assigned Awadh to an Afghan chieftain Bayazid Farmuli. After the death of Babar, the Afghans expelled the Mughal governor Junaid Barlas from Jaunpur and headed towards Awadh. Humayun defeated them in a battle at Dadra, 9 miles south-west of Bara Banki. The battle of Dadra proved to be a boon to Sher Khan (later Sher Shah) as it swept away many of his formidable rivals, making him master of the situation and later causing the exile of Humayun from the Indian scene for some time.<sup>5</sup>

It was under Akbar (AD 1556-1605) that 'Ali Quli Khan-i-Zaman conquered Awadh in the 4<sup>th</sup> regnal year (AD 1559-60) and Nawwab Amin Khan, a local noble,



43. Bara Banki, Dist. headquarters, U.P. : Persian inscription composed by deposed Nawwab of Awadh, Muhammad Wajid Ali Shah, assigning the erection of a mosque to Amir Mahal, in AH 1285/AD 1868-69. AREP., 1991-92, C 53.

built a mosque,<sup>6</sup> dedicating it to the emperor, in Sarai Akbarabad, near Nawabganj. The peaceful condition of the district under Shah Jahan (AD 1628-58) was conducive to the development of local industries and crafts.<sup>7</sup>

Under Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707), several persons of Bara Banki region were appointed to higher posts. Qasim Qidwai led a Mughal expedition to the Deccan, while Shaikh Fakhru'llah held the post of *Bakhshi* (pay-master) for the troops in Bengal. Aurangzeb awarded the Haveli Firangi Mahal in Lucknow to the sons of Mulla Qutbu'd Din Shahid of Bara Banki, a famous literary figure of his time and whose eldest son was appointed by the emperor as one of the editors of an important stupendous work on Muslim Jurisprudence entitled *Fatawa-i- 'Alamgiri*,<sup>8</sup> still much consulted by Muslim theologians.

With the arrival of Nawwab Sa'adat Khan Burhanul Mulk as the governor of Awadh, so also as the founder of the dynasty of Nawwabs of Awadh in AD 1722, the Bara Banki region acknowledged his overlordship and since then it formed part of the kingdom of Awadh upto AD 1856. Asafu'd Daula (AD 1775-97) was the real founder of Nawabganj, the existing headquarters of the Bara Banki district. Under him, Nawabganj and a few other places in the district formed part of the *jagir* of Nawwab Sadr Jahan Begam and Bahu Begam.<sup>9</sup>

With this historical background in brief about Bara Banki, we now switch over to the study of the precious historical record (Illus.43). The inscription is fixed over the central entrance of the prayer-hall in the mosque called Begamganj Wali Shahi Masjid. Its text reads as under:

### TRANSLITERATION

1. *Sakhta chun Khana-i-Rabb-i-Majid  
Anke dar ta'at-i-Haq bashad wahid.*
2. *Rashk-i-Hura(n) az mahalha-i-hudur  
Qurb-i-Khair-u dur az Sharr-u- futur.*
3. *Gar Amir ayad sar-i-lafz-i-Mahal  
Saf bashad nam-i-an niku 'amal.*
4. *Bar zamin shud Masjid-i-Aqsa Padid  
Dar dil-i-Karrubiyān ham Shauq-i-did.*
5. *Guft Akhtar sal-i-ta'mirash chunan  
Dhikr-i-masjid ba-bam-i-asman.*

*Sana 1285 Hijri*

(Written in very thin hands)



6. *Tarikh-i-tasnif-i-'Ali Janab Mu'alla Alqab Hudur-i-Pur  
Nur Muhammad Wajid 'Ali Shah Bahadur Badshah-i-Awadh  
(Sana 1285 Hijri)*

### TRANSLATION

1. When that one who is unique in the worship of True God, built the house of Most Glorious Lord (i.e. mosque).
2. Envy of the virgins, (once one) of the consorts of the court (of Wajid 'Ali Shah), synonymous with good and away from wickedness and row.
3. If (the word) 'Amir' is prefixed to the word 'Mahal', the name of that well-doer will become evident (i.e. Amir Mahal).
4. On earth, Masjid-i-Aqsa<sup>10</sup> came into existence; in the heart of angels also, (there is intense) desire to look at (it).
5. Akhtar said its year of construction (i.e. chronogram) like this : 'honourable mention of this mosque (has access) to the height of the firmament, (yielding) the year 1285 Hijri (AD 1868-69).
6. Date of composition by 'Ali Janab Mu'alla Alqab Hudur-i-Pur Nur Muhammad Wajid 'Ali Shah Bahadur, king of Awadh, year 1285 Hijri.

It is pertinent in view of the chronological sequence, to recount some aspects of the career of Wajid 'Ali Shah<sup>11</sup>, the composer of the metrical text under study.

Among all 11 Nawwabs,<sup>12</sup> Shi'a by faith, Wajid 'Ali Shah was the last ruler of Awadh who inherited the kingdom<sup>13</sup> in 1847 in a disorganized state. It was his misfortune that he had received no training in administration, as his early career as a prince had been, more or less, sunk in pleasure and luxury. Suddenly called upon to shoulder the onerous responsibility of administration, he naturally proved unfit for kingship. When he found his public career foiled and frustrated, his innate love of pleasure gained the upper hand. He seems to have resigned himself to a life of ease more in despair and dejection rather than deliberate planning.<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand, the East India Company, being curious to annex Awadh, left no stone unturned in depicting a grim and dark picture of the kingdom.<sup>15</sup> Under this circumstance, the arrival of Lord Dalhousie as Governor- General (1848-56) was a curse to Awadh who is said to have written to Sir Charles Wood, President of the India Board, saying, 'he would enjoy the honour of adding Awadh to the British Dominions'.<sup>16</sup> Ultimately, he translated his words into action and annexed<sup>17</sup> Awadh on 7 February 1856 on the ground of chronic misrule.

Thus having been dethroned, Nawwab Wajid 'Ali Shah decided to go to Calcutta and then to England to fight out his case before the British Parliament.<sup>18</sup> He

started from Lucknow in March 1856 and arrived in Calcutta in May, destined to breathe his last there in 1887.<sup>19</sup>

It was at this time in 1856 that separation between Wajid 'Ali Shah and his spouse Amir Mahal of our epigraph, took place. The Nawwab willingly offered to divorce those wives who were not desirous of accompanying him to Calcutta. Six<sup>20</sup> of the spouses sought divorce from him, Amir Mahal being one of them.

Amir Mahal, the builder of the mosque, as referred to in the epigraph under study, was one of the secondary wives<sup>21</sup> of Nawwab Wajid 'Ali Shah. She entered his *harem* during his princehood at the age of eighteen, through the efforts of Nawwab Nishat Mahal, another spouse of Wajid 'Ali Shah. She was a prostitute and beautiful dancing-girl with besetting melodious voice, popularly known as Karam Bakhsh Wali. Being carried away by her person and great qualities as a singer and dancer, Wajid 'Ali Shah bestowed on her the title of Amir Pari and provided her all facilities, including a palatial accommodation and four attendants for her care. Having assumed the rein of Awadh kingdom in February 1847, he put her under veil, elevating her to the rank of a *Mahal*<sup>22</sup> and fixed for her two thousand rupees as monthly allowance.<sup>23</sup>

Mention may be made of the fact that most of the Nawwabs of Awadh, enjoyed the time-honoured privilege of polygamy and maintained a large *harem*, despite the fact that Islamic injunctions sanctioned only four wives by the formal type of ceremony i.e. *nikah*.<sup>24</sup> Wajid 'Ali Shah opted the *dola*<sup>25</sup> rite and *mut'a*<sup>26</sup> type of ceremony to marry as many wives as possible. Many of them were either members of his *Pari Khana* or maids of his household.<sup>27</sup> To house such a large *harem*, he built the Qaisar Bagh<sup>28</sup> (1848-50), the gaudiest of all the Lucknow palaces, at the exorbitant cost of 80 lakhs of rupees. He was always encircled by young girls of extreme beauty whom he entitled *Paris* (i.e. fairies) and housed them in a specially built palace called the *Pari Khana*<sup>29</sup> (an abode of fairies) where they learnt music and dancing from honoured musicians. Amir Mahal of our record had been one of the *Paris*, formerly entitled as Amir Pari.<sup>30</sup>

The character of Nawwab Wajid 'Ali Shah was complex. A widely read scholar, he spent lavishly in honouring poets and men of letters. He was a fastidious connoisseur of fine arts like music and dance and raised them to a high level of excellence by his munificence and patronage, not failing himself in contributing books and introducing innovations in them. Thus, he stands unexampled in his literary and artistic attainments which distinguished him most from his contemporaries. He was a voluptuary, but kept away from wine. Though sunk in pleasure, he never missed his routine prayers.<sup>31</sup>

Amir Mahal, after her divorce from Wajid 'Ali Shah, remarried Qadi Asghar 'Ali of Bara Banki from whom she had three sons<sup>32</sup> and one daughter. She possessed



huge property at Nawabganj in Bara Banki, purchased out of the wealth of her former ruler-consort Wajid 'Ali Shah and took keen interest in building activities. She caused the construction of Lakhpeda Sarai<sup>33</sup>, *Imambada* and an exquisite mosque in Amirganj (named after her, but also called Begamganj) in Bara Banki from where our valuable record under study was copied. Before this, she had also built an *Imambada*<sup>34</sup> in Lucknow during the reigning time of Wajid 'Ali Shah, on a plot of land purchased through Karamat Husain, a *nuzul* officer.

Apart from being a captivating dancer and singer, Amir Mahal was an excellent calligrapher<sup>35</sup> of her time, especially unrivalled in using the *Naskh* characters, for writing the verses of the holy *Qur'an*. During the catastrophic days of the Mutiny of 1857, she, along with others, played an important role in saving the lives of certain British officials, for which, after the suppression of the Mutiny, she was greatly helped by the English authorities in her comfortable resettlement.<sup>36</sup> This lady of great qualities, greatly valued by Wajid 'Ali Shah, expired on 28 January 1893, lying buried at Karbala Mir Khuda Bakhsh in Lucknow, the city of her dreams.

The literary achievements of Wajid 'Ali Shah have been both vast and varied, impressive and magnificent. He was a bibliophile, possessed with a facile pen, writing in Persian and Urdu and occasionally in Arabic. He has the laudable credit for having composed over a hundred works on heterogeneous themes and topics.<sup>37</sup>

As a poet, Nawwab Wajid 'Ali Shah composed verses under the poetic name Akhtar<sup>38</sup>, as found in the present epigraph also. This fact is to be taken into account that it was out of indelible past love and affection for Amir Mahal, the builder and his former spouse, that he composed the metrical text of the epigraph, referring to her therein as *rashk-i-hura (n) az mahalha-i-Hudur* i.e. envy of the virgins (i.e. pride of enchanting women), (once one) of the consorts of the court (of Wajid 'Ali Shah).

In the light of the inscription under study, this fact is established that even after her divorce, relation between Wajid 'Ali Shah, then at Calcutta, and Amir Mahal away from him at Bara Banki, remained cordial and both were in touch with each other through correspondence.<sup>39</sup> Personal involvement of Wajid 'Ali Shah as the composer of the epigraphical text, shows indelible warm love and affection in his heart for his ex-consort Amir Mahal who started her career as a melodious singer and breath-taking dancer in the *Pari Khana* of Wajid 'Ali Shah in Lucknow. Later in the evening period of her career, the record under study, reflects her religious sentiments in building activities at Bara Banki and elsewhere for her own merit in the next world.

To conclude, it may be remarked that the Persian epigraph under study is of great historical importance, composed by Wajid 'Ali Shah himself with his pen-name Akhtar and further recording his royal title *Badshah-i-Awadh*,<sup>40</sup> in his post-deposition period, in consonance with the fact that the British authorities had permitted him to



retain this title, even after his dethronement (1856). At the same time, it is the only epigraphical record providing us a literary specimen of historical value, displaying the mastery of Wajid 'Ali Shah in elegant composition, denoting his poetic skill and lucid style in composing Persian verses.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This record was copied by my senior colleague, Dr. M.Y. Quddusi. It is listed in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)* 1991-92, Appendix C, No.53.
2. *AREp.*, 1958-59, App. D, Nos. 214-15.
3. For detail, *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers (UPDG), Bara Banki* (Lucknow, 1964), pp. 24-35.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
6. *AREp.*, 1965-66, App. D, No. 556.
7. *UPDG, Bara Banki*, p.31.
8. *Ibid.*, pp.31-32.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.
10. Literally 'the remotest sanctuary'. Commonly used for the mosque at Jerusalem. For detail, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. VI (Leiden, 1991), pp. 707-08.
11. For his career, G.D. Bhatnagar, *Awadh under Wajid Ali Shah* (Varanasi, 1968); Sayyid Masud Hasan, *Sultan-i-'Alam Wajid Ali Shah* (Lucknow, 1977); Najmul Ghani, *Tarikh-i-Awadh*, pt. V (Lucknow, 1919); Riyad Ahmad Ja'fari, *Akhri Tajdar-i-Awadh* (Lucknow, 1968).
12. They were: Sa'adat Khan Burhanul Mulk (1722-39), Safdar Jang (1739-56), Shuja'ud Daula (1756-75), Asafud Daula (1775-97), Wazir 'Ali (1797-98), Sa'adat 'Ali (1798-1814), Ghaziu'd Din Haidar (1814-27), Nasiru'd Din Haidar (1827-37), Muhammad 'Ali (1837-42) and Amjad 'Ali (1842-47).
13. The kingdom of Awadh with its capital Lucknow, included an area of 23, 992 sq. miles, lying between Latitude 25° 34', and 29° 6' North and Longitude 79° 45' and 83° 11' East, divided into five divisions and twelve sub-divisions for administrative convenience. G.D. Bhatnagar, *op.cit.*, p. 168; T.P. Chand, *The Administration of Avadh* (Varanasi, 1971), pp. 32-33; for various aspects of Awadh, see three issues of *Naya Daur* (Lucknow), Awadh Number (February-March 1994), Supplement Awadh (June 1994) and Awadh Number, pt. II (October- November 1994).
14. G.D. Bhatnagar, *op.cit.*, p. 213.
15. Sayyid Masud Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-20, 22, 88; Mirza 'Ali Azhar Barlas, *Awadh Par Angrezon Ka Ghasibana Qabda* (Karachi, 1984), pp. 172-84.
16. K.S. Santhā, *Begums of Awadh* (Varanasi, 1980), p.17.
17. G.D. Bhatnagar, *op.cit.*, pp. 141-55.

18. Because of serious illness, Wajid 'Ali Shah dropped the idea of going to England. He deputed others. Sayyid Masud Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 146-53.
19. Having stayed for over three decades at Calcutta, Wajid 'Ali Shah expired on 21 September 1887, at the age of over 67 years. He lies buried in Matia Burj. Shaikh Tasadduq Husain, *Begamat-i-Awadh* (Lucknow, 1956), pp.202-03; Mirza 'Ali Azhar Barlas, *op.cit.*, p. 215.
20. Besides Amir Mahal, these were Sultanat Mahal, Gulzar Mahal, Gul-i-'Alam and two others. Tasadduq Husain, *op.cit.*, p.243.
21. For details of chief consorts and secondary wives of Wajid 'Ali Shah, K.S. Santha, *op.cit.*, pp. 209-18, 294-95, 310-12; Tasadduq Husain, *op.cit.*, p. 203-87.
22. That is a queen.
23. Tasadduq Husain, *op.cit.*, p. 243.
24. A permanent marriage-contract signed by a judge wherein the groom agrees to pay a fixed amount to the bride as security (*mehr*). K.S. Santha, *op.cit.*, p.30, f.n. 70; F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary* (Delhi, 1973), P. 1421.
25. Under this rite, wives were brought to the house of their husbands in an informal way without a regular marriage process. K.S. Santha, *op.cit.*, p.30, f.n. 71.
26. *Mut'a* (temporary-marriage) is a private and verbal contract between a man and a woman. In addition to the four legally allowed to all Muslims, a Shi'a Muslim is permitted to contract simultaneously many temporary marriages as he desires. For the Sunni Muslims, *mut'a* is legally forbidden. John I. Esposito, Ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Vol. III (Oxford, 1995), p.212.
27. Regarding number of such wives, various authorities differ from each other. K.S. Santha, *op.cit.*, pp.295, 310-12. According to Tasadduq Husain (*op.cit.*, p. 202), the number of Begams exceeded 300 in Lucknow, while in Calcutta, at the demise of Wajid 'Ali Shah, there were 250 spouses through *mut'a* ceremony.
28. 'Abdul Halim Sharar, *Guzishta Lakhnau* (Rep. Delhi, 1971), p.102; Sidney Hay, *Historic Lucknow* (Reprint, New Delhi, 1994), p.54; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XVI (Oxford, 1908), p. 191; Sayyid Masud Hasan, *op.cit.*, p.39.
29. Najmul Ghani, *op.cit.*, p.59; G.D. Bhatnagar, *op.cit.*, p.6.
30. Tasadduq Husain, *op.cit.*, p.242. Wajid 'Ali was an expert in coining the titles, their numbers having reached about 1200. Sayyid Mas'ud Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp.163-64.
31. G.D. Bhatnagar, *op.cit.*, pp. 213-14; Sayyid Masud Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 19, 36, 64-65, 72-73.
32. They were Amjad 'Ali Khan, Mir Muhammad 'Abid Khan and Qasim 'Ali Khan.
33. Tasadduq Husain, *op.cit.*, pp.243-44.
34. Sayyid Agha Mehdi, *Tarikh-i-Lakhnau* (Karachi, 1976), p.263.
35. *Ibid.* For other calligraphers of Awadh, see *Naya Daur* (Lucknow), Awadh Number, pt. II (October-November 1994), pp. 174-76.



36. Tasadduq Husain, *op.cit.*, p.281.
37. Sayyid Masud Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp. 77-223; Lala Sri Ram, *Khumkhana-i-Jawed*, Vol. I (Delhi, AH 1325), pp.204-21.
38. As a poet, Wajid 'Ali sought guidance from Fathu'd Daula Mirza Muhammad Rida, pen-name Barq, the disciple of Nasikh Lakhnawi (d. 1838). Regarding his poetic name Akhtar, the following aspect is interesting to note. Akhtaragar is another name for Lucknow; hence Wajid 'Ali Shah wanted to adopt Akhtar as his *nom de plume* but came to know that another literary figure of the time Qadi Muhammad Sadiq Khan already composed verses under the poetic name Akhtar. At the desire of Wajid 'Ali Shah, he was magnanimous enough to sell his pen-name to the Nawwab, but retaining the same for himself also. Sayyid Masud Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp.97-98, 102-03, 122-23, 130-31.
39. For correspondence between the Nawwab and his wives, *Ruqqa'at-i-Begamat*, compiled by Imtiyaz 'Ali Khan (AH 1391); Intizamullah, Ed., *Begamat-i-Awadh Ke Khutut* (Delhi, 1947).
40. Sayyid Masud Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp.27, 264.

## USTADABAD (GOGI) AS A PLACE NAME

**G**ogi (Lat. 17° 25' Long. 77° 05') is an old town about ten kilometers to the west of Shahpur, the taluk headquarters in Gulbarga district of Karnataka.<sup>1</sup> Many important *Sufi* saints and scholars flourished there, carrying out literary and academic activities since the days of Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-51). Since the Tughluq period, Gogi came to be known as Ustadabad, as evidenced by a local Tughluq inscription<sup>2</sup> and corroborated by another contemporaneous lexicographical work, *Dasturu'l Afadil fi Lughatil Fadail*, compiled at Gogi (Ustadabad) by Hajib-i-Khairat Dehlawi (d. 1346).<sup>3</sup>

Diyaud Din Barani informs us that Muhammad bin Tughluq divided the *vilayet* of the Marathas into four provincial divisions for the sake of administrative convenience and Maliku'sh Sharq Qiwanud Daulat wad Din entitled Qutlugh Khan<sup>4</sup>, the tutor (*Ustad*) of the Sultan was entrusted with the overall charge of the four divisions. But he neither mentions the names of the provincial divisions nor discusses their boundaries, naming the officers posted there. It is with the help of the two contemporary Tughluq sources, mentioned above, we come to know that one of the four administrative divisions was given the name *Khitta-i-Ustadabad* and a fort was constructed to serve as the administrative headquarters of the division, known as *Hisar-i-Khitta-i-Ustadabad*.<sup>5</sup> Thus, this region with its provincial headquarters at Gogi renamed as Ustadabad, has been historically of vital importance under the Tughluqs.

Gogi is held in considerable regard by the people of Deccan for the shrines of several saints. The most important among these is Pir Chanda Husaini whose original name was Jalalud Din Muhammad (d.1458) and who flourished during the reigns of the Bahmani kings Ahmad Shah Wali (1422-36) and 'Alaud Din Ahmad Shah II (1436-58) and lies buried in a tomb along with his wife Bibi Makhdum Jahan, son Sayyid Nur-i-'Alam Husaini and grandson Sayyid Shah Jalalud Din Makhdum Husaini. His saintly father Sayyid 'Ali *alias* Jahan Sher Husaini and uncle 'Ajab Sher Husaini also lie buried on a platform in front of his tomb.<sup>6</sup> Pir Chanda is reported to have met Sayyid Gesu Daraz (d. 1425) who conferred on the former the title of Shah Chanda.<sup>7</sup>

Among other saintly figures, mention may be made of Shah Habibullah, grandson of Pir Chanda Shah, from whose *chilla* comes a Persian inscription dated AH 942 (1535-36)<sup>8</sup>; Shah Majnun Qadiri (d. 1651), Shah Manjan (d. 1678), Shah Bahul<sup>9</sup> and Mahmud Bahri (d. 1717-18).<sup>10</sup>

It was on account of its religious association that the town Gogi was selected as the necropolis of early 'Adil Shahi kings and four of them – Yusuf 'Adil Shah (1490-1510), Isma'il 'Adil Shah (1510-34), Mallu 'Adil Shah (1534) and Ibrahim 'Adil Shah I (1534-58) along with their queens are buried there, representing the early phase of the Bijapur style in tomb-architecture.<sup>11</sup>

Under the Bahmanis and before Yusuf 'Adil Shah carved out his independent kingdom, he was associated with *Sarkar-i-Bidar* and lived at Gogi which was one of the five villages given to him in *jagir*. Under the 'Adil Shahis, for the expenses of the tomb, 14 villages yielding the annual revenue of 60,000 had been given in fief to the care-takers of the holy shrine.<sup>12</sup>

At a short distance, to the north of Pir Chanda Shah's tomb, are the remains of an old garden named *Khass Bagh* that had a beautiful palace, built by Mir Tajud Din in AH 957 (1550).<sup>13</sup>

Gogi was not only the abode of saints and dignified officials but also the rendezvous for men of erudition and learning, poets and authors, patronized by the then rulers and their nobles.

Besides the Persian translation of the 'Arab classics, another equally important feature of the Indo-Persian literature has been lexicography. The first Persian dictionary of importance, produced in India is *Farhang-i-Qawwas* of Fakhrud Din Mubarak Shah Qawwas<sup>14</sup> during the Khalji period. The other important dictionary that was compiled by Hajib-i-Khairat Rafi Dehlawi in 1342 at Ustadabad is *Dasturul Afadil* which is more detailed than the *Farhang-i-Qawwas*. Hajib-i-Khairat has added a lengthy introduction to his work, containing important pieces of information about social and cultural milieu in India during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and providing insight into the administrative set up and the diffusion of Indo-Muslim culture in South India that was rendered possible as a result of the Deccan policy of Muhammad bin Tughluq and his shifting of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad (1327).<sup>15</sup>

In the introduction, first Hajib-i-Khairat describes his own circumstance that led to his migration from Delhi to the Deccan. It was in the town of Bir, now in the modern Usmanabad district in the Marathwada region of present Maharashtra State, that circumstances took a favourable turn for him when he was introduced to an eminent learned officer Shamsud Din Muhammad Jajneri, the *Sadr-i-Sudur* of the East (Chief Ecclesiastical Officer) when the latter had come there from his headquarters Ustadabad i.e., Gogi, now in Gulbarga district of Karnataka, on a short visit. Being greatly impressed by the learning and knowledge of Hajib-i-Khairat, Shamsud Din Muhammad took him to Ustadabad where he seems to have gathered the galaxy of scholars and poets by extending patronage to them. It was at the instance of his newly found scholarly versatile patron that Hajib compiled his dictionary at Ustadabad i.e. Gogi.<sup>16</sup>



Hajib speaks highly of Shamsud Din Muhammad who was, according to him, the most accomplished among the poets of India and China, patron of the learned and the eloquent, a minister and a secretary of profound deliberation and judgement, most excellent of the learned of the world, most generous of the age, etc.<sup>17</sup>

Shamsud Din Muhammad originally hailed from an important family of Jainir i.e., modern Janir in the Zira tahsil of Ferozepore district of Haryana. His father Ahmad, son of 'Ali served the Tughluq Sultan as *Sair Malik* or collector of taxes at Kalyani, now Basav Kalyan in Bidar district of Karnataka, where he had a mosque built in 1326.<sup>18</sup> As its governor under Qutluq Khan, he had also risen to occupy highly dignified position under Muhammad bin Tughluq, with Ustadabad Gogi as his headquarters.

Hajib explains the reason for the precious compilation of his lexicographical work *Dasturul Afadil* at Ustadabad-Gogi under the patronage of the stalwart Shamsud Din Muhammad. In one of the meetings, the patron expressed the view that as people are not familiar with the significance of words and phrases, the verses of the poets of the classical age are difficult for them to understand. At this, the author mentioned the *Farhangnama* of Fakhrud Din Qawwas. In reply the patron said, 'there is no doubt (about the merit of the work) but it is very brief and cannot be of help to the beginners'. As the patron desired a new compilation, the author decided to undertake the project. It is also interesting to note that the author found or faced no difficulty in collecting the Persian classics in South India where the Muslims had settled recently. He also says about the works of the leading Indo-Persian poets whose works also, he utilized. He also makes references to the dictionaries of different Muslim languages that he consulted.<sup>19</sup> *Dasturul Afadil* has been regarded as one of the most esteemed dictionaries in the later period. The subsequent lexicographers till the reign of Jahangir (1605-27) acknowledged it as one of their main sources.<sup>20</sup> Such a laudable lexicographical work was carried out at the soil of Ustadabad-Gogi in the southern part of the country.

Pertaining to the history and literary and academic activities of Gogi, mention may be made of Qadi Mahmud pen-named Bahri,<sup>21</sup> son of Qadi Bahrud Din *alias* Qadi Darya, a poet-cum-*sufi* saint with a good number of works in Dakhani Urdu and Persian at his credit. Qadi Bahrud Din was the *Qadi* of Dhanasari, now in Tamil Nadu and lived during the period of three 'Adil Shahi kings: Ibrahim 'Adil Shah Jagatguru (1580-1627), Muhammad 'Adil Shah (1627-57) and 'Ali 'Adil Shah II (1657-72). Mahmud Bahri married the daughter of his uncle Mir Safirullah, a *jagirdar*, who lies buried at Gogi in the premises of the shrine of Pir Chanda Shah. As hinted in his mystical work '*Arus-i-'Irfan* (1705), Mahmud Bahri was lucky to have met three rulers of his time Sikandar 'Adil Shah (1672-86), Abul Hasan Tana Shah (1672-87) and Mughal emperor Aurangzeb<sup>22</sup> (1658-1707).

Bahri was a prolific writer whose works include *Kulliyat-i-Bahri*, *Man Lagan*, *Bangab Nama* and *Hikayat* in Dakhani Urdu and 'Arus-i- 'Irfan, *Dasturul Amal*, chronology of Chanda Shah, *Nisbat-i-Aflas*, *Nasl Nama-i-Sufi Sarmast*, *Lashkar Nama* and *Sharh-i-Ghazal-i-Hakim Nasir Khusrau* in Persian. Of these, *Kulliyat-i-Bahri* and *Man Lagan* have been edited and published in 1939 and 1955 respectively. His works are found in several libraries at Hyderabad, Madras, Bombay, Ahmadabad, Calcutta and Bijapur.<sup>23</sup> Bahri remained most of his time at Gogi, a centre of mystic congregation. It is here that he completed the free translation of his Dakhani work *Man Lagan* into Persian. *Man Lagan* was one of the most popular and favourite books of the mystical circles of South India.<sup>24</sup>

Bahri went to Bijapur before it fell to the Mughals and remained there for a couple of years as a royal guest of Sikandar 'Adil Shah who bestowed on him costly gifts, royal robe and seal, besides granting him 120 acres of land. All these precious gifts by the 'Adil Shahi ruler and the literary treasure of 50 thousand verses composed by him were plundered by dacoits on the way to his journey to Hyderabad. Being dejected, Bahri finally decided to settle down by the shrine of his spiritual mentor Shah Baqar at Gogi, till he breathed his last (1717).<sup>25</sup>

Thus, we see that stalwarts and eminent scholars like Shamsud Din Muhammad and Hajib-i-Khairat under the Tughluqs and Qadi Mahmud Bahri under the 'Adil Shahis and the Mughals have been associated with the place Gogi, the abode of *Sufi* saints, men of erudition and learning. Having dealt with this historical background of the place, we now dwell on the point of its being renamed as Ustadabad since the days of Muhammad bin Tughluq, as evidenced by a Persian epigraph discovered at Gogi.

The name Ustadabad given to the ancient town of Gogi needs some clarification, as there has been some controversy among the scholars over the identification of Ustadabad. Ghulam Yazdani, the Director of the Archaeological Department of the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad and honorary Muslim Epigraphist to the Government of India, discovered two broken pieces of an inscription dated AH 738/AD 1338 in a mosque at Gogi and published it in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32<sup>26</sup>, surmising that the said inscription which records the building of a fort called Ustadabad with lofty towers and gateways, might have originally pertained to Shahpur, a neighbouring town, as it had the ruins of a fort, whereas there was no trace of any medieval fort at Gogi. Further, Yazdani thought that Muhammad bin Tughluq must have changed the name of the ancient Hindu town Shahpur to Ustadabad after his tutor (*Ustad*) Qutluq Khan.<sup>27</sup> But the leading eminent authority on Perso-Arabic epigraphy in India, Z.A. Desai has set aside the argument or conjecture of his senior Dr. Yazdani and identifies Ustadabad with Gogi, with the logical assertion that the fort constructed during the regime of Muhammad bin Tughluq, seems to have been completely destroyed in the Mughal period because



Gogi was an important urban centre till the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> He correctly agrees with the view of Yazdani that the new name Ustadabad was coined after the imperial *Ustad* (tutor) Qutlugh Khan. His unquestionable identification of Ustadabad with Gogi has been upheld and adopted by scholars like Nazir Ahmad<sup>29</sup> and Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi,<sup>30</sup> brushing aside the said controversy, referred to above.

As regards the name Ustadabad identified with Gogi, it did not gain currency or popularity among the succeeding regional dynasties like the Bahmanis and later the 'Adil Shahis. Among the available historical data, contemporary or non-contemporary, we do not come across the mention of the place name Ustadabad. Even the standard works on the Tughluqs by Agha Mahdi Husain do not refer to it. It seems that the new name Ustadabad remained in currency only under Muhammad bin Tughluq in the Deccan and with the emergence of various independent regional dynasties, one after the other, its currency as Ustadabad was further diminished. And soon the older name Gogi came to stay, as is corroborated by various available later sources. By way of a single quotation, Mahmud Bahri, a poet-cum-*sufi* saint, referred to above, used the place name Gogi<sup>31</sup> rather than Ustadabad Gogi or simply Ustadabad, in his verses, thereby reflecting its currency as a place name under the 'Adil Shahis and the Mughals downward.



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## VIDISHA : A PLACE NAME

**V**idisha, a town and a district headquarters of the same name in Madhya Pradesh, occupies an importance place in the history of the country, and archaeologically and historically considered to be one of the richest regions in Madhya Pradesh. Its historical grandeur has motivated me to delve deep into its origin and currency under different names in various historical periods and its existing currency 'Vidisha' as a place name.

Vidisha, situated on 23° 30' North Latitude and 77° 50' East Longitude, is a railway station on the Delhi-Bombay mainline of the Central Railway, at a distance of about 56 kilometres from Bhopal by rail. It is surrounded with square stone walls, apparently built of the materials from the ruins of the ancient city Vidisha or Besnagar, the outer-wall being pierced through by three gates. Within this enclosure, the town is possessed of a good number of Muslim buildings, erected out of remains of ancient structures. The whole town smacks of its departed grandeur with its vast and varied history.<sup>1</sup>

Vidisha is referred to as a *janapada* in the Puranic literature and appears as a holy place (*tirth*) in the *Skand Purana*<sup>2</sup>, and included in the *Avanti Janapada* before the birth of the Buddha. The region around Vidisha was known in ancient time as *Dasharna* (eastern Malwa), with Vidisha or Besnagar as its capital. Both Kautilya and Kalidasa referred to this region as *Dasharna*. It is referred to as *Akara* in Sanskrit literature.<sup>3</sup>

We learn from *Dipavamsa* that Prince Asoka was appointed Viceroy at Ujjain by his father (BC 298-72). On his way from Patliputra to that place, he met Devi, a banker's daughter of Vidisha or Besnagar, and married her. Her son Mahendra and daughter Sanghamitra are famous in history as their father's emissary to Ceylon. It is said that before sailing for Ceylon, Mahendra came to visit his mother at Vidisha.<sup>4</sup>

During the weak rule of Brihadratha, the last Mauryan king (BC 199-91), it appears, Vidisha like other contemporary towns, emerged an independent city-state for the time being. Its proof lies in the discovery of a few copper coins with signs of three Brahmi letters, deciphered as *Vedisa* or *Veddasa* (Sanskrit *Vidisa*) and their characters being similar to those of the inscriptions of Asoka.

During the Sunga regime (BC 185 onwards), Vidisha became the capital of *Akara* (eastern Malwa) and one of the most flourishing cities of India.<sup>5</sup> Vidisha is



supposed to have been the north-eastern part of the Satvahana empire (bc 182–AD 238).<sup>6</sup> Some portions of Vidisha region seem to have been subjugated by the Vakatakas, as *Puranas* mention Vindhyashakti (c. AD 255-75) as a ruler of Vidisha. The region formed part of the Gupta empire (AD 271-476). Kalidasa who adorned the court of Chandragupta Vikramaditya II (AD 375-415), has immortalised the beauty of Vidisha and its environs in his famous works *Meghaduta*, *Malvikagnimitra* and *Raghuvamsa*.<sup>7</sup>

Vidisha (Mahabalistan) first appears in the Muslim writings in Al-Beruni's description of India.<sup>8</sup> In AD 1234, Iltutmish attacked Bhilsa (then known as Vidisha) during his Malwa campaign and took its possession. However, regular authority of the Muslims over the region could be established only with the conquest of Mandu by 'Alau'ddin Khalji in AD 1305.<sup>9</sup> Thenceforward, Bhilsa has never been lost sight of by the medieval historians, being an important stage on the old Trunk road from Delhi to the Deccan.<sup>10</sup> After the Khaljis, Malwa continued to be a Tughluq province<sup>11</sup> till about AD 1401 when Dilawar Khan Ghauri, the Governor of Malwa, declared himself independent and established the dynasty of the Sultans of Malwa (AD 1401-1531). Under the Sultans of Malwa, Bhilsa was one of the provincial capitals.<sup>12</sup>

Malwa was incorporated as a province of the Mughal empire in 1561. Under the Mughals, the territory of the present Vidisha District was included in the *Sarkars* of Raisen and Chanderi of the Malwa province. Bhilsa's importance was reduced by making it the headquarters of a *mahal* only<sup>13</sup>, in the *Sarkar* of Raisen. It had been the *jagir*<sup>14</sup> of the veteran Mughal general 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, son of Bairam Khan, and also a mint-town<sup>15</sup> of the Malwa province. During the reign of Shah Jahan in his 28<sup>th</sup> regnal year (AD 1654-55), Raja Debi Singh Bundela was the *Faujdar* of Bhilsa, the same post holding under Aurangzeb also by succeeding Raja 'Alam Singh.<sup>16</sup> In the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign (AD 1660), Iraj Khan, son of Qazilbash Khan, was assigned the *Faujdari* of Bhilsa.<sup>17</sup>

Following the death of Aurangzeb in AD 1707, Dust Muhammad Khan (AD 1708-26), an Afghan adventurer, set up an independent principality at Bhopal (termed as Nawwabs of Bhopal) and took the possession of Bhilsa fort. By AD 1736, Bhilsa passed under the Marathas. Again in AD 1757, Nawwab Faid Muhammad Khan (AD 1742-77) occupied Bhilsa. By AD 1775, it came under the Sindhyas of Gwalior.<sup>18</sup>

Bhilsa, the historic city, is one of the many places of antiquarian interest. It is mostly famous for its ancient site called Besnagar, once a capital town, lying about 2 miles north-west of the present town Vidisha. The famous Buddhist monuments of Sanchi are only 5 miles from Bhilsa and originally formed part of once the capital town of Besnagar.<sup>19</sup> Among the archaeological objects in Vidisha, mention may be made of the Bhillaswamin Temple, Muslim monuments near Lohangi Rock, *Gumbad-ka-Maqbara* and Bijaymandal Mosque.<sup>20</sup> In all 29 Perso-Arabic inscriptions have

come to light from this historic city, listed in various *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*.<sup>21</sup>

The historic city Vidisha finds its mention under various names. The historicity of the ancient city of Besnagar, identified with ancient Vidisha goes back to some centuries before the birth of Christ. Besnagar figures prominently in Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical literatures in various forms such as Vessanagar, Vaisyanagar, Visvanagar, etc.<sup>22</sup> A few copper coins have been discovered with signs of three Brahmi letters, read as *Vedisa* or *Veddasa* (Sanskrit *Vidisa*), datable to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>23</sup>

Tradition connects the town with Raja Rukmangada, who neglecting his own wife for the Apsara Visva, named the town Vishvanagar after her.<sup>24</sup> The earliest reference of Vidisha is found in the *Ramayana* by Valmiki, so also in *Mahabharata*.<sup>25</sup>

Egyptian astronomer and geographer Ptolemy (c. AD 100-170) who worked in Alexandria, refers to (AD 150) Vidisha as Adisathra.<sup>26</sup> The Jain scriptures use the form Bhadalpur and regard it the holy place of Sital Nath, the 10<sup>th</sup> *Tirthankar* of Jain religion. While in Brahmanical religious observances again, the place is called Bhadravati.<sup>27</sup>

Sometimes after the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, the old town Besnagar on the western side of the Betwa river, seems to have been completely devastated by a tremendous deluge or by some tragic political event, or foundation of Bhilsa led to the abandonment of the old city. The population deserted the site of the old town and travelled southwards to settle on the eastern bank of the river. This new town was known as Bhillaswamin or Bhaillaswamin, so named after the idol of the sun-god to whom a temple was dedicated here. The name of the place was later corrupted into Bhelsa (Bhilsa) according to Dr. Hall.<sup>28</sup>

When Al-Beruni visited the town in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, he described the town as Bhailasan, also known as Mahabalistan, existing on the road from Mathura to Ujjaini and Dhara. But he admitted that the Hindus had always called it Bhilsa ever since its foundation.

In the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, the place finds mention in Varahamihira's *Brihatsamhita*. The earliest reference to the name Bhaillaswamin is found in an inscription of Vikram Samvat 935 (AD 878). An epigraph from Vidisha, pertaining to the time of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (AD 939-68), refers to the temple of Bhillaswamin.<sup>29</sup> From Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh, comes an inscriptional record dated AD 953-54, containing a reference to Bhasvat which has been identified with Bhillaswamin, the modern Bhilsa (prior to 1956). This fact is also confirmed by one more epigraph of the Chandellas, dated AD 1133. Rajshekhar's literary work of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, *Kavyamimamsa*, also refers to this place. The name Bhillaswami or Bhaillaswami figures as Bhaillasvamipura in Bhopal copper plate inscription of Mahakumara Harish



Chandra, dated vs 1214 (AD 1157). While an inscription of the Parmara ruler Udayaditya from Udayapur in Vidisha District, dated AD 1173, speaks of its surrounding area as *Bhilaswami- Mahadevadasakamandala* i.e. the district called Bhillaswamin, comprising ten sub-divisions.<sup>30</sup> The place name Bhaillaswamipura is also found in the Vidisha stone inscription of the time of Jayasimha II, dated vs 1320 (AD 1263) and Mandhata copper plate inscription of the time of Jayavarman, dated vs 1331 (AD 1274).

In the medieval days, in various Persian sources, the name of the place appears under different spellings. Rashidu'd Din in his work *Jamiut Tawarikh* (AD 1310) in which he has mainly derived the details from the work of Al-Beruni (AD 970-1039), refers to the place as Mahabalistan, saying that it is the name of the idol of that place.<sup>31</sup> Minhaju's Siraj in his work *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* dedicated to Nasiru'd Din Mahmud Shah (AD 1246-66), refers to the town as Bhilsa.<sup>32</sup> Diyau'd Din Barani in his work *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* mentions the name of the place as Bhailasan.<sup>33</sup> In *Tuzak-i-Babari*, Emperor Babur (AD 1526-30) spells the name of the place as Bhilsan.<sup>34</sup> While Abul Fadl in his stupendous work *Akbar Nama* mentions the name as Bhilsa.<sup>35</sup> So is the case with 'Ali Ibrahim Khan in *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan* (completed by Mulla Bakhsh at Banaras i.e. Varanasi in AD 1786)<sup>36</sup>. Thus, it is evident that during the Muslim period, the place was, more or less, known as Bhilsa with certain variations in its spelling.

Under the Mughals, during the time of Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707) in AD 1682, Bhilsa was renamed as 'Alamgirpur. This new name did not gain much currency and was normally used in official documents only.<sup>37</sup> An inscription<sup>38</sup> from Raisen, a district headquarters in Madhya Pradesh, pertains to the reign of Shah 'Alam II (AD 1759-1806), dated AH 1187 (AD 1773-74), referring to the place as 'Alamgirpur - Bhilsa' together because of non-popularity and meagre currency of the new name 'Alamgirpur' alone. Passing under the Sindhyas of Gwalior, it seems to have retained its name simply as Bhilsa. Having been raised to a status of a district in 1904, its name Bhilsa remained in currency till 1956 when the formation of new Madhya Pradesh took place and the town and the district were renamed as Vidisha.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, beginning with the name Besnagar (later identified with ancient Vidisha), it has traversed a long way centuries together under various nomenclatures in distorted forms, discussed above. In the last millennium, it finds mention under various distorted forms as Bhilsa, Bhīlsa, Bhīlsā, Bhailla, Bhelsa, Bhaillesa, Bhaylasan, Bahabalasan, Bahailasan, Bhilasan, Bahabalistan, Mahabalistan, Mahabhalesan, Bhaillasvamipura, etc., after the name of Bhillaswamin or Bhaillaswamin Temple, in various contemporary and later sources, including translation works. During the Muslim period, the name of the town is found recorded as



Bhilsa, Bhailasan, Bhilsan, 'Alamgirpur and Bhilsa – the last-mentioned name came to stay as late as AD 1956 when there was a switch-over from the name Bhilsa to Vidisa or Vidisha<sup>40</sup>, in view of the discovery of important archaeological objects and certain copper coins, bearing Brahmi letters – reads as *Vedisa* or *Veddasa* (Sanskrit *Vidisa*), datable to the third or second century BC.

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40. For various aspects of the history of Vidisha and its neighbourhood, see *Vidisha through the Ages*, chief editor K.K. Chakravarty (Delhi, 1990).



## NATHARNAGAR AND QADIRNAGAR

In this article, an attempt is made to study a couple of place-names during the period of Walajahi Nawwabs of Arcot (Carnatic).

Following the Nawa'it rule (AD 1710-42)<sup>1</sup> in the Carnatic, a new dynasty under Anwaru'd Din Khan Shahamat Jang (1743-49) came to power, popularly known as Walajahi (also called Anwari), with its capital at Arcot. After a short rule, Anwaru'd Din was killed in the battle of Ambur in July 1749 at the age of 77, leaving behind five sons and seven daughters.<sup>2</sup>

Anwaru'd Din had designated<sup>3</sup> his third son Muhammad 'Ali as successor who became the Nawwab at the young age of 27<sup>4</sup> in 1749, adopting the titles Nawwab Walajah, Amiru'l Hind, 'Umdatul Mulk, Asafu'd Daula Muhammad 'Ali Anwaru'd Din Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang Sipahsalar.

Muhammad 'Ali Walajah ruled for 46 years (AD 1749-95) – the longest period among the Walajahi Nawwabs of Arcot. His regime was quite eventful as he was engaged in wars<sup>5</sup> against the Marathas, the French, Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan, receiving active support from the English and the Nizam of Hyderabad. He expired in the 76<sup>th</sup> year of his age in October 1795 and lies buried at Tiruchchirappalli.<sup>6</sup>

Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Walajah treated his non-Muslim subjects with great generosity and toleration. Hundreds of acres of land were given as *in'am* to *maths* and *chattarams*, as evident from the extant documents in Persian, Telugu and Modi languages. The Hindu *gosvamis*, *mahants* and *purohits* and Muslim *faqirs* and mystics were paid a daily allowance. The graves of saints and holy men were venerated and grand mausoleums were constructed over them.<sup>7</sup>

It was during the ruling time of his father Anwaru'd Din that Muhammad 'Ali had endeared himself to the former who considered him most worthy and fittest to run all affairs of the government successfully. Hence, his father kept him near, designated him as his true successor, and while dividing his kingdom among his sons, he entrusted to Muhammad 'Ali especially the provincial kingdom of Arcot.

With the installation of the Walajahi dynasty in the kingdom of Arcot, a good number of places were renamed after the new ruler or dynasty, prominent personages or saints. The list of such places is rather long and it is not possible in this paper to

take all such places into account. I have confined myself to only two places Trichinopoly and Tanjavur, renamed as Natharnagar and Qadimagar, respectively.

Among the Nawwabs, particularly Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Walajah took keen interest in renaming<sup>8</sup> towns and places, both during the time of his father as a governor of a particular province and as a ruler of the entire kingdom.

To begin with, Muhammad 'Ali as governor of Arcot Province took the initiative of renaming the capital city Arcot (12° 54' N. 79° 20' E.) as Muhammadpur after his own name, and surnamed it *Daru'n Nur* (i.e. House of Light)<sup>9</sup>.

Afterwards, during the regime of his father, Muhammad 'Ali was shifted to the province of Trichinopoly. The history of Trichinopoly goes back far into antiquity. In the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it was overrun by Malik Kafur, the Khalji general. About 1372, it became part of the Vijayanagar kingdom and after 1565, it passed into the hands of the Naik rulers of Madura. In 1731, with the death of last Naik ruler, advantage was taken by the Nawwab of Arcot, through his *diwan* Chanda Sahib who seized Trichinopoly and imprisoned queen Minakshi. His rivals called in the Marathas who took Trichinopoly in 1741. Two years later, the Nizam of Hyderabad invaded the Carnatic and Trichinopoly surrendered to him. He appointed Anwaru'd Din (father of Muhammad 'Ali) as Nawwab of Carnatic in 1743 and from that date Trichinopoly passed under the rule of the Walajahi Nawwabs of Arcot.<sup>10</sup>

After his deputation at the provincial capital, Trichinopoly, Muhammad 'Ali carried out the necessary repairs to the fort and named the town as Natharnagar, after the name of the holy saint Hadrat Nathar Wali where during his tenure as governor, was built the illuminating dome, so also a beautiful mosque known as Masjid-i-Muhammadi.<sup>11</sup>

The saint Nathar Wali, referred to in an inscription<sup>12</sup> as *Salar-i-Din* (leader of religion) and after whom Trichinopoly was renamed Natharnagar, hailed from Constantinople and belonged to the ruling family there. His father's name was Sultan Sayyid Ahmad Kabir. First he became the disciple of Sayyid 'Ali Badshah Julus at Hormuz in Iran and afterwards performed Haj along with his spiritual successors of Shaikh Shihabu'd Din Suhrawardi (1145-1234). He had already established Suhrawardiyya order in the far south before Madura was invaded by Malik Kafur in 1310. One of his disciples was Shaikh Baba Fakhru'd Din (d. 1295) who reached Penukonda in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh and made it a great centre of mystic activities. Nathar Wali breathed his last in March 1275.<sup>13</sup>

Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Walajah had great veneration for the saint Nathar Wali. No less enthusiastic was his Chief Queen Begam Jan Mahal Khass who got erected the dome of the saint out of profound reverence and she herself lies buried near the tomb of the saint. The Nawwab cherished his burial at Mecca, failing which



he desired Natharnagar as his last resting-place near the holy shrine. Thus, he was destined to lie buried along with his queen near the holy tomb. Renaming of Trichinopoly as Natharnagar by the Nawwab shows his great veneration for the saint and deep attachment with his holy shrine.

Thanjavur (10° 47' N. & 79° 8' E.)<sup>14</sup> with its chequered history, was another town that was named Qadirnagar<sup>15</sup> and surnamed *Daru'z Zafar*, i.e. House of Victory, by Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali after Hadrat Sayyid 'Abdu'l Qadir Manikpuri,<sup>16</sup> who lies buried at Nagore, a seacoast town in the Nagapattinam Taluk of Thanjavur District in Tamil Nadu. The saint was popularly known as Miran Sahib. He was born at Manikpur (25° 46' N. & 80° 24' E.) in Pratapgarh District of Uttar Pradesh in November 1504. He was the disciple of Shaikh Ghauth of Gwalior (d. 1563). He passed away in November 1570 at Nagore. His death-anniversary is celebrated with great zeal and fervour, coinciding with the Kandiri (recte Qadiri) festival – an occasion marked by communal and social harmony. It is interesting to note that Nagore the last resting-place of the saint had been named Qadir Patan<sup>17</sup>, both in veneration and due to great popularity of the versatile spiritual figure.

With special reference to *Ruqqa'at-i-Walajahi* (Ed. T.Chandrasekharan, Madras, AD 1958), a valuable collection<sup>18</sup> of epistles, pertaining to the reign of Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Walajah (c. 1773-74), that gives an idea of the character of the administration of the Nawwab, it is added that Trichinopoly (presently called Tiruchchirappalli) after its renaming as Natharnagar had gained wide currency in the Walajahi kingdom of Arcot and its reference in day-to-day letters occurs directly as Natharnagar and not as Trichinopoly *alias* (*Urf*) Natharnagar, whereas this was not the case with the new name Qadirnagar used for Thanjavur. Because of lack of currency as Qadirnagar, its reference in the above quoted work, occurs more often as Qadirnagar '*Urf* (i.e., *alias*) Thanjavur.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, from the above discussion, we can infer that during the period of Walajahi Nawwabs of Arcot, places have been named or renamed after the personal name of the ruler, so also associating well known places with the names of the holy saints, thereby showing great respect and reverence, deep spiritual attachment and immense popularity of the saints. At the same time, this fact comes to the fore that under the Walajahi Nawwabs of Arcot, different epithets were used for various place names, a trend then in vogue, following the healthy examples of erstwhile Muslim rulers in other parts of the country.

Now, the names of these two places Natharnagar and Qadirnagar do not survive. These places have switched over again to their original names as Trichinopoly i.e., Tiruchchirappalli and Thanjavur.



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Under Nawait rule in the Carnatic, there were three rulers: Sa'adatu'llah Khan (1710-32), Dost 'Ali Khan (1732-40) and Safdar 'Ali (1740-42). M. Yousuf Kokan, *Arabic and Persian in Carnatic* (Madras, 1974), pp.12-13.
2. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*, English translation, M. Husayn Nainar, Pt.I (Madras, 1934), pp.30-31, 51-57, 144-47; M. Karim Khairu'd Din Hasan, *Sawanihat-i-Mumtaz*, ed. Habib Khan Sarush (Madras, 1961), pp.264-65. For his career, N.S. Ramaswami, *Political History of Carnatic under the Nawwabs* (New Delhi, 1984), pp.84-121.
3. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *op.cit.*, pp.127-31.
4. Muhammad 'Ali was born in July 1723. M. Yousuf Kokan, *op.cit.*, p.90.
5. For detail, N.S. Ramaswami, *op.cit.*, pp.122-203.
6. M. Karim Khairu'd Din, *op.cit.*, pp.39, 44-45.
7. T. Chandrasekharan, Ed., *Ruqa'at-i-Walajahi* (Madras, 1958), Introduction, p.ii.
8. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *op.cit.*, p.60.
9. *Ibid.* For its history, W. Francis & others, *Gazetteer of South India*, Vol. II (Rep. Delhi, 1988), pp.25-27.
10. W. Francis, *op.cit.*, pp.172-73.
11. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *op.cit.*, p.132. For the history of Trichinopoly (10° 49' N. 78° 42' E.), W. Francis, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp.202-07.
12. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1963-64, D, 167.
13. For detail about Nathar Wali, M. Ilyas Quddusi, '*Inscriptions of Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Walajah*', *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. XX (Mysore, 1994), pp.74-76; Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Ab-i-Kauthar* (Delhi, n.d.), pp. 357-59.
14. For history of Thanjavur, W. Francis, *op.cit.*, pp.134-36.
15. Burhan Ibn Hasan, *op.cit.*, p.60.
16. For biographical detail of the saint, S.M. Husain 'Alam, *Sawanih Hayat-i-Hadrat Qadir Wali* (Madras, AH 1379).
17. T. Chandrasekharan, *op.cit.*, pp.203-04.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3, 6, 9, 11-12, 14-17, 20, 22-26, 29-30, 32-37, 39-41, 44, 47-50, 53, 55-56, 58-59, 62-65, 75, 79, 84, 87, 90, 98, 103-05, 115, 118-19, 144, 171, 323, 327, 329, 340, 401.
19. *Ibid.*, pp.130, 137, 140, 144, 152, 156, 171, 178, 180-81, 201, 218, 281, 302, 324.

## A COPPER-COIN-HOARD FROM KALAMB IN YAVATMAL DISTRICT OF MAHARASHTRA

**T**his numismatic study is based on a hoard of 963 medieval copper coins<sup>1</sup>, covering the period of a century and a half, discovered (c. 1979-80) in the course of digging operations for laying a drain by a villager at Kalamb in Yavatmal tahsil, about 23 km north-east of the district headquarters, on the Yavatmal – Ralegaon road. From the dates on these coins, it is reasonably presumed that the hoard under study was buried in the last decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century during the regime of Emperor Aurangzeb.

This interesting hoard represents the issues of four (one central and three provincial) dynasties *viz.*, Sultans of Gujarat – representing Mahmud Shah III (AH 943-61/AD 1536-53); the Great Mughals – representing Emperor Akbar (AH 963-1014/AD 1556-1605), Jahangir (AH 1014-37/AD 1605-27), Shah Jahan (AH 1037-68/AD 1628-58) and Aurangzeb (AH 1068-1118/AD 1658-1707); Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar – representing Burhan Shah (AH 1000-03/AD 1591-95), Murtada Nizam Shah (AH 1009-19/AD 1600-10) and Burhan III (AH 1019-41/AD 1610-31); and Qutb Shahis of Golconda – representing Abdullah Qutb Shah (AH 1035-83/AD 1626-72). Majority of the coins (650 constituting 67%) are that of the Great Mughals, while 304 issues, forming 32% of the hoard, belong to the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar. Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Shah III and Abdullah Qutb Shah are represented by a solitary coin, each.

The presence of Nizam Shahi and Mughal coins in such large numbers in this hoard discovered by chance at Kalamb is both indicative and corroborative of the well known fact that Kalamb had been part and parcel of the two dynasties respectively.

Kalamb<sup>2</sup> has been a place of great antiquity. The earliest reference to it is found during the Vakataka period. In the Riddhapur plates issued by the Nala king Bhavadatta (the invader against the Vakataka ruler of Vidarbha, Narendrasena) a village finds mention as Kadambgirigram; it is identified with modern Kalamb.

At the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Khaljis invaded the Deccan and the Berar region first passed under the Delhi Sultanate and later under the Bahmanis. Berar formed the northernmost province under the Bahmanis and the fort of Kalamb was the stronghold of the northern part of Yavatmal district. Fathullah Imadul Mulk, the

provincial governor of Berar under the Bahmanis, declared himself independent in 1490 and thus laid the foundation of Imad Shahi dynasty in Berar. By 1574, Imad Shahi dynasty was extinguished and Yavatmal district with the rest of Berar became a province of the Nizam Shahi kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Among the three Persian inscriptions copied from Kalamb, one is bilingual (Persian and Marathi) inscription, on a direction-stone set up in the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah II in AH 1000/ (AD 1591-92)<sup>3</sup>. Berar was ceded to the Mughals by Chand Bibi. It was then divided into thirteen *sarkars* or revenue divisions by Akbar. Kalamb and Mahur were two of the thirteen revenue districts with their headquarters at Kalamb and Mahur respectively. The *sarkar* of Kalamb comprised 19 villages. Kalamb lost its earlier importance during the following period when Berar formed part of the Nizams of Hyderabad.

Coming to the study of these copper coins, to begin with, we deal with the only issue of the Gujarat Sultan Mahmud Shah III in the hoard. It is a coin of known variety found listed in the catalogue of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay<sup>4</sup>. Neither the mint-name nor the date is visible on the coin. The legend in Arabic both on the obverse and the reverse runs from the bottom upwards. It reads: *al-Wathiq Billah al-Mannan Nasirud Dunya wad Din Abul Fath*, on the obverse, and *Mahmud Shah bin Latif Shah as-Sultan*, on the reverse.

It may be noted that the known copper issues of Mahmud Shah III bear the mint-names Muhammadabad Shahr-i-Mukarram, Ahmadabad Shahr-i-Muazzam, Daulatabad-Baroda, etc. and the available dates found on them range between AH 944 and 961 (AD 1537-53).<sup>5</sup>

Next in chronological order are the coins of the renowned Mughal dynasty, represented by its emperors like Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. In comparison with the Nizam Shahi coins, Mughal issues in this hoard are mostly abraded, hinting towards their length of currency in the region. Of the 650 Mughal issues, 192 belong to Akbar, representing the following mints:<sup>6</sup> Darul Khilafat Agra (2), Ilhabas, i.e. Allahabad (1), Alwar (1), Bairata (58), Atak Banaras (1), Chitor (9), Hadrat Dehli (14), Darulkhilafat / Darus Salam Dogao (6), Darus-Sultanat Fathpur (4), Gobindpur (1), Kangra? (1), Darus-Sultanat Lahore (4), Darul-Khilafat Lakhnau (2), Srinagar (2), and Urdu Zafar Qarin (8). It may, however, be clarified that out of 192 coins of Akbar, mint-name on 78 coins are completely off the flan and cannot be read. On majority of the coins, Hijri dates are given and the rest bear the Ilahi years. On 69 coins, the dates have appeared partially and on 9 issues they are completely cut off.

As the Mughal empire expanded, so did the area of circulation for the copper coin and its silver and gold counterparts. Mughal monetary system was powerful, persuasive and long-lived. From 1561 annexation of Malwa, to the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda in 1686-87, the royal treasuries pertaining to the regional and provincial kings, yielded stocks of coin and bullion to the imperial Mughal mints.<sup>7</sup>



Copper became the coinage for popular use in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century under Akbar. The Mughal regime opened its principal copper-producing mints near copper mines in Rajasthan and at the point of entry near the Nepal border for copper brought overland down the Himalayan hill tracks into North India. The testimony of coins in hoards found in Delhi shows that copper coin travelled from the outer frontier provinces of the empire to its heartland within the year of their mintage. This is no doubt a startling feature of the Mughal monetary system. According to Irfan Habib, copper retained its primacy as a medium for state tax payments and for ordinary subsistence transactions of daily living until the end of Akbar's reign (AD 1605).<sup>8</sup>

Akbar adopted the standard Suri Paisa in the three copper mints which operated in Delhi, Lahore and Narnaul. The Mughal coppers simply indicated the mint and date. This feature was maintained by Akbar on the copper coinage of India until the initiation of new model coinage, to coincide with the introduction of the Ilahi Era in AH 992 in the 29<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1584). The regnal years, recomputed on a solar basis, became Ilahi years. The ancient Persian month names were resurrected and the month along with the year of striking were indicated on the coins.<sup>9</sup>

Most of Akbar's coins under study here are of known types and varieties. But still there are several coins that are somewhat rare with new dates. Among the coins of Akbar, the largest number (58 coins) belong to the Bairata mint, ranging in their legible dates between AH 972 (AD 1564-65) and AH 1006 (AD 1597-98).

Bairata (27° 26' N, 76° 11' E) is a large village in the range of hills, 44 km west-south-west of Alwar, a district headquarters in Rajasthan. The *Ain-i-Akbari* (II, p.202) lists Bairata as a town with a stone fort in *Sarkar Alwar* in *Suba Agra*. It also records, 'Bairat possesses a copper mine, so profitable that from a *man* of ore, they obtain 35 *sers* of metal (i.e. about 87% pure copper)'. Its revenue, 7.2 million *dams* per annum, was the largest single assessment for Alwar *mahal* (revenue division) and formed 18% of the revenue from all sources for *Sarkar Alwar*.<sup>10</sup>

A few words may also be said about some of the mints represented among Akbar's issues in the hoard. The mint at Delhi maintained its primary position among the provincial headquarters copper mints.<sup>11</sup> This mint is represented by 14 coins, out of which 6 are dated in the Hijri and 8 in Ilahi era. These coins are of three varieties. The first variety reads *Fulus-i-Darb-i-Dehli* on the obverse, and the Ilahi year with the Persian month, on the reverse. The second variety has *Fulus-i-Darb-i-Hadrat Dehli* on the obverse, and the Hijri date both in words and numerals, on the reverse. The third variety has the legend *Nim Tanka-i-Akbar Shahi Darb-i-Dehli* on the observe, and the Ilahi year with the Persian month, on the reverse.

A solitary rare coin of the Alwar mint reads: *Fulus-i-Darb-i-Alwar* on the obverse, and the Hijri date 977 (both in words and numbers) on the reverse.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* (II, p.202) lists Alwar as the chief town of *Sarkar Alwar* in *Suba Agra*, without mentioning any mines in connection with Alwar. *Bulletin of the Geological Survey of India*, No. 23 (Delhi, 1965), defines a whole region of old copper mines in the southwest quadrant from Alwar from 20 to 50 km distant. Geological Survey reports seven major old mine sites and the same number of prospect pits scattered throughout this part of modern Alwar district. Thus, the copper mint at Alwar probably derived its metal from this copper-field in *Sarkar Alwar*, in addition to Bairata, referred to above. In other words, the newly mined copper was initially converted to coin at Alwar, after which the mint was moved closer to the source of the metal at Bairata.<sup>12</sup>

Copper coins of Akbar from Atak Banaras mint are rare. In the hoard, there is a coin of known variety from this mint that reads: *Fulus-i-Darb-i-Atak Banaras* on the obverse, and *40 Ilahi Bahman*, on the reverse. It may be remarked that on the frontier, Atak Banaras was opened as a copper mint probably with a view to servicing the trade attendant on the conquest of Kashmir and Kabul.<sup>13</sup>

In the hoard among Akbar's issues, Chitor mint is represented by 9 coins of one and the same known type, bearing different dates, AH 980, 987, 992, 1001, 1002, 1003 written in words and number on the reverse, with the legends *Sikka-i-Fulus-i-Darb-i-Chitur* on the obverse. Here, it may be added that besides Ajmer, Narnaul and Dogaon, Chitor mint never adopted the Ilahi pattern for the date purpose. For raw copper, a new mint Chitor became a dominant producer.<sup>14</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari* (II, p. 279) lists Chitor as the chief town of *Sarkar Chitor* in *Suba Ajmer*. It was conquered in AH 975 (AD 1567-68). The *Ain* further states, 'in Chainpur and other dependencies of Mandal are copper mines, which are extremely profitable'. Mandal (25°26' N, 74°35' E) is given as a *pargana* with a brick fort in *Sarkar Chitor*, which is now a small town 104 km south of Ajmer and 66 km north of Chitor. The mint for this would have been Chitor.<sup>15</sup>

As regards the Dogaon mint (Lat. 27°40', Long. 81°35'), there are six coins of Akbar, representing both the known varieties found listed in the catalogues. The first and earlier variety reads *Fulus-i-Darb-i-Darul Khilafat Dogao* on the obverse, and the Hijri date both in words and number, on the reverse. The second later variety has *Fulus-i-Darb-i-Darus-Salam Dogao* on the obverse, and *Allahu Akbar*, followed by the Hijri date in words, on the reverse.

Dogaon, Narnaul and Ajmer were the three most productive copper mints to have remained open throughout the period of transition. Ajmer and Narnaul were the mints which converted the copper mines in Rajasthan into coin of the Mughal domain, while Dogaon was a land port of northern frontier, minting the copper which flowed in trade from Nepal. It remained active even at a late date.<sup>16</sup>

Abul Fadl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (II, p.100) lists Bahraich as the chief town of *Sarkar Bahraich* in *Suba Awadh*. He mentions (p.83), 'in the vicinity of the town



(Bahraich), there is a village called Dogon (Dogaon) which for a long time possessed a mint for copper coinage'.<sup>17</sup> Both Dogaon, the trading centre, and Bahraich, the administrative centre of the area, coined the copper coming out of Nepal. As in the case of Alwar / Bairata or Ajmer / Chitor, the copper coming out of the mountain kingdoms in trade was initially coined at the *Sarkar* headquarters Bahraich. Later, this operation was shifted to Dogaon for convenience of those participating in and monitoring the commercial activities.<sup>18</sup>

Though a known type of coin but rare is the single coin from Gobindpur mint (Lat. 23° 38', Long. 86° 9'), identified with a place in Chhota Nagpur in West Bengal.<sup>19</sup> It was another mining mint, ranking fifth in total production. Gobindpur mint is unknown in later Mughal reigns.<sup>20</sup> The coin under study reads *Tanka-i-Akbar Shahi Darb-i-Gobindpur*, on the obverse, and *45 Ilahi Ardibihist*, on the reverse.

Among the coins of Akbar is a single issue from Kangra? that reads, *Darb-i-Kangra? Sana 1006*, on the obverse and the legend on the reverse is not clear. If the legend is correctly read, then it is an addition to the list of mints under Akbar. The available catalogues consulted do not mention or record the mint name Kangra.

A couple of coins come from the Srinagar mint which are dated in Ilahi era. They commonly read *Darb-i-Srinagar* on the obverse and *38 Ilahi Bahman* and *45 Ilahi Amardad* on the reverse, respectively. Regarding such copper issues from Kashmir, it may be clarified that the copper coins in AH 994-98 (AD 1586-90) were struck to the local pattern. By AH 1000 / RY 37 (AD 1592-93), the local fabric issues were discontinued and the mint name changed from Kashmir to Srinagar, the capital, and regular Ilahi *dams* and rupees were struck.<sup>21</sup>

Akbar's travelling mint named *Urdu Zafar Qarin* (the Camp associated with Victory) finds representation in 8 issues, dated AH 1000 (AD 1591-92), Ilahi 36 and 37 (AD 1591-92). Here, it may be added that the designation *Urdu Zafar Qarin* ceased to be employed on gold and silver issues, but was actively used on copper coins from 35<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1590) onwards.<sup>22</sup>

In the hoard under discussion, Emperor Jahangir is represented by 136 coins issued from Ahmadnagar (1), Alwar (1), Bairata (130), Narnaul (2) and Udaipur (1). Mint name on one coin is cut off. As regards the date on these issues, in majority of cases (105), it is completely out of flan and in seven partially legible. These issues of Jahangir are both interesting and historically important, as a very small number of coins of this Mughal emperor is hitherto listed in the catalogues. Here again, a vast majority of the coins is from the well-known Bairata mint. Some of the Bairata issues furnish new dates. These were issued from first regnal year (1605-06) to 21<sup>st</sup> (1625-26). Jahangir's coins are dated in Hijri and regnal years, with the exception of one dated in Ilahi year.



Of great interest in this hoard is a rare coin of Jahangir from Ahmadnagar which has been made on the pattern of Nizam Shahi coins (see below). The calligraphical arrangement of the legend of this coin closely resembles the legend on the coins of Murtada II, also found in this hoard and described below. The legend reads *Jahangir Darb-i-Ahmadnagar* on the obverse, and *Fi Shuhur Sana* on the reverse.<sup>23</sup> In the *Catalogue of Coins in the Central Museum Nagpur*, no copper issue of this emperor from Ahmadnagar mint is listed.

Among the coins of Jahangir in the hoard, worth mentioning is the very rare issue from Alwar (Lat. 27° 34' Long. 76° 38') that reads *Darb-i-Alwar Sana...* on the obverse and *Sana-i-Rawani* on the reverse. The word *Rawani* found on the copper coins of Jahangir, simply means 'current coin'. R.B. Whitehead in his catalogue remarks that besides the coins of Akbar, no Alwar coins of any other Mughal emperor have been found.<sup>24</sup> Thus, the Alwar issue of Jahangir in the present hoard gains a lot of importance.

Among the coins of Jahangir, there are a couple of rare issues from the Narnaul mint (Lat. 28° 15' Long. 76° 20'). It reads *Fulus-i-Jahangiri* and the regnal year on the obverse, and *Darb-i-Narnaul* on the reverse. Abul Fadl in his work *Ain-i-Akbari* (II, p. 205), lists Narnaul as the chief town of *Sarkar Narnaul* in *Suba Agra*. In the list of its dependencies is Singhana Udaipur (28° 06' N, 75° 50' E) in the Aravalli Ranges, 27 km west of Narnaul, which has a copper mine and mint for copper coinage.<sup>25</sup> Since no coin of Singhana has been identified, the mint name must have been Narnaul. John S. Deyell is of the view that the late copper coins issued by Udaipur may have been of this mint rather than the city of that name in Mewar. They were issued during a brief period when no copper coins of Narnaul mint are known.<sup>26</sup> Such a view held by Deyell needs further study for confirmation.

Among the issues of Jahangir, there is a coin minted at Udaipur (Lat. 24° 35'; Long. 73° 42') in Rajasthan, bearing the legend *Sikka-i-Jahangiri* on the obverse and *Darb-i-Udaipur* on the reverse. As regards the issues of Jahangir from this mint, they are extremely rare and hence this mint remains unrepresented in the catalogues of Central Museum Nagpur, Provincial Museum Lucknow, Punjab Museum Lahore, etc.

In the hoard among the Mughal coins, the largest number (277 issues) belongs to Shah Jahan, representing Akbarabad, i.e. Agra (3), Bairata (186), Kara (1), Lakhnau (3), Narnaul (36) and Udaipur (39) mints. Mint names on 9 coins are off the flan. In most cases (212 issues), dates are cut off and on 23 issues, they are partially legible.

All Akbarabad issues are of the same type and have the legend *Fulus-i-Shahjahani* and the regnal year (or Hijri date) on the obverse, and *Darb-i-Akbarabad* and the Hijri date, on the reverse.<sup>27</sup> Among the Mughal coins in the hoard, the largest number of Bairata issues belongs to Shah Jahan with the following

two known types of legends: *Sahib Qiran-i-Thani* or *Fulus-i-Shah Jahani*, on the obverse and *Darb-i-Bairata* and the Hijri date or the regnal year, on the reverse.<sup>28</sup> A solitary rare piece comes from the Kara mint reading *Sikka-i-Fulus-i-Shah Jahani*, on the obverse and *Darb-i-Kara*, on the reverse. As regards the three issues in two types from the Lakhnau mint, which read *Fulus-i-Shah Jahani* or *Sahib Qiran-i-Thani*, on the obverse, and commonly *Darb-i-Lakhnau sana...*, on the reverse, they are very rare. It is because of their rarity that Lakhnau mint with above legends remains unrepresented in the Provincial Museum or State Museum Lucknow, Punjab Museum Lahore, Central Museum Nagpur and British Museum London. However, one of the above types with the legends *Fulus-i-Shah Jahani* is found catalogued by W.H. Valentine in his work.<sup>29</sup>

Though of known variety or type are the coins of Narnaul and Udaipur mints, the total of 36 and 39 issues of these mints respectively in a single hoard is quite significant. The Narnaul issues (on the basis of nine legible dates) range in their dates between regnal year 2 (1629-30) and regnal year 32 (1658). Dates on 27 coins are cut off. The Udaipur issues on the basis of 19 legible dates, range between Shah Jahan's 1<sup>st</sup> (1628-29) and 25<sup>th</sup> regnal year (1651-52). Such known type issues of the said two mints are found listed in the catalogues prepared by V.P. Rode<sup>30</sup> and C.J. Brown.<sup>31</sup>

In this hoard among the Mughal issues, Aurangzeb is represented by the smallest number, to be exact 45 coins, from Bairata (17), Burhanpur (1), Narnaul (6), Shahjahanabad (1), Surat (14) and Zafarabad (1) mints. Mint-names on 5 coins are cut off. As in the case of his predecessors, Bairata mint continued to mint coins under Aurangzeb also. Bairata issues of this Mughal emperor are no doubt available but in a very meagre number, bearing different legends than those of the issues under study here. Here the Bairata issues bear two types of legends *Fulus-i-Aurangzeb Shahi* and the regnal year or *Fulus-i-Alamgiri*, on the obverse, and commonly *Darb-i-Bairat Sana...*, on the reverse.

An extremely rare issue of Aurangzeb from Burhanpur mint in which the date is either abraded or cut off, bears the legends *Fulus-i-Aurangzeb Shahi*, on the obverse, and *Fulus-i-Darb-i-Burhanpur*, on the reverse. Akbar had established a mint at Burhanpur (Lat. 21° 81', Long. 76° 16'), issuing coins in all the three metals. Once established, the Burhanpur mint continued to strike official coins continuously until the reign of Shah Alam II (1759-1806). There was, however, a reduction in quantity during the middle of 17<sup>th</sup> century which could be related to the shift of the Mughal capital of the Deccan from Burhanpur to Daulatabad in 1635 and subsequent decline in royal attention to that city and mint for half a century. When Aurangzeb returned to the Deccan in 1681, Burhanpur became a centre for mounting the Deccan war against the Marathas.<sup>32</sup>



In the published data on hoards, we find mints from all over the empire represented in the cases where attributions are listed. Strangely, Burhanpur minted coin is not well represented in these listings. The Burhanpur mint output seems to have entered into the general circulation patterns of the empire-as the city was node for one of the prominent north – south overland routes.<sup>33</sup>

Thus, the only issue from the Burhanpur mint among the Mughal coins in the hoard, referred to above, remains unrepresented in the catalogues of different museums.

Among the coins of Aurangzeb, half a dozen issues from Narnaul are also not without interest as these pieces bear the type or legends, not represented in the different catalogues. Here, the Narnaul issues bear two types of legends which read *Fulus-i-Aurangzeb Shahi* or *Fulus-i-Alamgiri* with the regnal year, on the obverse, and *Darb-i-Narnaul Sana ...* or *Darb-i-Narnaul*, on the reverse.

There is a solitary coin from Shahjahanabad (i.e. Delhi) mint of a known type but rare and found listed in the *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow* (Vol. II, Nos.3415-16). It reads *Fulus-i-Alamgiri 1071* on the obverse and *Darb-i-Shahjahanabad Sana 3*, on the reverse.

Surat mint is represented by 14 issues of known types, dated between regnal year 4 (1661-62) and regnal year 9 (1666-67). These coins of known type<sup>34</sup> bear a common legend *Fulus-i-Aurangzeb Shahi*, on the obverse, and *Darb-i-Surat Sana...* on the reverse.

A rare but known type of copper issue of Aurangzeb from the Zafarabad mint bears the legend, *Fulus-i-Aurangzeb Shahi*, on the obverse, and *Darb-i-Zafarabad*, on the reverse. A few issues of this variety are available in the Central Museum Nagpur.<sup>35</sup> It may be added that Bidar in the Deccan was named Zafarabad (Lat. 17° 55' Long. 77° 32') by Prince Aurangzeb after its subjugation by Mughal forces in AH 1067 (AD 1656-57), just before he was called to Delhi by illness of Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and Alamgir II (1754-59) issued coins from this mint.<sup>36</sup>

In the hoard under study, there are in all 304 Nizam Shahi issues, representing three of its rulers, Burhan Shah II, Murtada Nizam Shah and Burhan III, from Burhanabad, Ahmadnagar and Daulatabad mints. The detailed study of these coins in their chronological order is as follows.

Burhan Shah II is represented by a solitary coin. It is a known type issue, dated AH 1001 (AD 1592-93) from the mint Darus Sultanat Burhanabad. It reads *Darb-i-Darus Sultanat Burhanabad* (struck at Burhanabad, the capital) on the obverse, and *Fi Shuhur Sana Ihda wa Alf* (in the year one thousand and one) on the reverse.<sup>37</sup> The name Burhanabad was given by Burhan II to the town Bhingar, adjacent to Ahmadnagar. It was also known as Burhannagar.<sup>38</sup>



Here, a clarification pertaining to the dating system of the Nizam Shahi coins is necessary. In a recent paper Aravind S. Athavale remarks, "A significant aspect of the dates of Nizam Shahi coins is that they are specified in the *Shuhur* era. Strangely enough, this aspect of the Nizam Shahi coins has been totally overlooked. The dates have been assumed to be in Hijri in all the published literature so far, even though the coins clearly bear the inscription *Fi Shuhur Sanah...* (in the *Shuhur* year...) preceding the date".<sup>39</sup> In this regard, it is important to note that *Fi Shuhur Sana* is an Arabic phrase, meaning 'in the months of the year, i.e. in the year', and this Arabic construction is found employed in the coins of the Delhi Sultanat also with reference to the Hijri year.<sup>40</sup> Here in the case of the Nizam Shahi coinage also, the phrase refers to the Hijri year and not the *Shuhur* year. For reference to the *Shuhur* year, the Arabic phrase on the Nizam Shahi coins would have been *Fi Sanah Shuhur (Fi Sanat-i-Shuhurin)*. On the other hand, the dates mentioned on their coins are in consonance with the Hijri years, fully tallying with the ruling period of different Nizam Shahi kings. And it is in this perspective that the dates in all the published literature have been correctly adopted in Hijri years. Since the *Shuhur* era was very popular in the Deccan and was followed even in the days of Maratha supremacy, it led Mr. Athavale to the above misconception about the application of *Shuhur* years in the Nizam Shahi coins. Here, I would like to add that *Sana Shuhur* based on solar reckoning, was mainly used in the revenue records. Grant Duff says that *Shuhur San* i.e. *Shuhur* Era was known as the *mirg* or the cultivator's year, as it always commenced in the beginning of June when the fields began to be sown.

It may also be noted that names of the months are the same as in the Hijri Era. *Shuhur* Era upto AH 743 (AD 1342) was a Hijri year, but from that year onwards, it was reckoned as the solar year, beginning with 6<sup>th</sup> June. The reason for the introduction of the *Shuhur* Era in the Deccan is not difficult to understand. The Hijri Era being lunar, causing difference of 11 days in a year, must have upset all calculations regarding the dates of collecting revenue at particular seasons of the year.

Among the Nizam Shahi issues, it is Murtada Nizam Shah who is dominantly represented by 301 coins from Ahmadnagar mint, ranging in their legible dates between AH 1009 (AD 1600-01) and AH 1017 (AD 1608-09). These coins provide some new dates. So far, according to Athavale, only two dates (AH) 1011 / AD 1602-03) and (AH) 1017 / AD 1608-09) were known from Murtada II's Ahmadnagar issues. Some new dates are AH 1009, 1010, 1012 and 1013 (AD 1601-05) are known from the coins of the present hoard. All these coins conform to his more than two known types of Ahmadnagar mint, which differ only in the arrangement of the same legend. Dates are fully clear on 31 coins, partially legible on 46, and on 224 issues either cut off or too obliterated. These coins bear the legends *Murtada Darb-i-Ahmadnagar* on the obverse and *Fi Shuhur Sana* followed by the date on the reverse.<sup>41</sup>

The availability of the coins of Murtada Nizam Shah from Ahmadnagar mint shows that despite the Nizam Shahi capitulation to the Mughals (AD 1600) during the reign of Akbar, Ahmadnagar and the greater part of the kingdom were still under the control of the Nizam Shahi nobles being led by the *de facto* ruler Malik Ambar. In 1607, Malik Ambar captured Daulatabad and shifted his capital there. He regained much of the lost Nizam Shahi territories. By AD 1610, he regained the fort and city of Ahmadnagar.<sup>42</sup>

There are a couple of coins of known variety from Daulatabad mint, pertaining to the reign of Burhan Shah III. These issues bear the legend *Burhan Nizam Shah Ghazi Darb*, on the obverse, and *Fi Shuhur Sana Daulatabad*, on the reverse.<sup>43</sup> Date on these issues is cut off.

In the light of these issues from Daulatabad mint where the capital had been shifted, it is well established that Ahmadnagar, once the Nizam Shahi capital, was no more under Malik Ambar and the puppet Nizam Shahi ruler Burhan Shah III.

A solitary known type issue in the entire hoard under study belongs to the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah from Haidarabad mint, bearing the legend *Sultan Abdullah Badshah Ghazi*, on the obverse, and *Darb-i-Darus Sultanat-i-Haidarabad*, on the reverse.<sup>44</sup> The date in this issue is either cut off or obliterated.

In this hoard of 963 coins, 956 issues have been deciphered and properly classified. Seven coins remain unassigned, as these are too obliterated.

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**STUDY OF 78 COPPER COINS WITH PERSO-ARABIC  
LEGENDS, EXCAVATED AT ADAM,  
DISTRICT NAGPUR**

**A**dam (21° 00 N: 79° 27 E)<sup>1</sup>, in Kuhi Taluk, District Nagpur, on the left bank of the Wagher of the Wainganga drainage system, about 60 km south-east of the district headquarters, is an early historical site, representing the cultural milieu of the Vidarbha region. The excavations were conducted here during the period 1988-92, under the versatile guidance of respected Dr. Amarendra Nath, the then Superintending Archaeologist, Excavation Branch (1), Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur, and now Director (Excavation & Exploration, and Project & Museum), Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. The outcome of the excavations at Adam reveals the fact that it is a key site as far as Vidarbha is concerned, showing complete fivefold cultural and archaeological sequence from a ceramic microlithic level to the present day. It is also worth mentioning the fact that its Period II (datable to the first quarter of the second millennium BC has been termed as 'Vidarbha Chalcolithic, as the ceramic industry of this period did not correspond with any of the contemporary Chalcolithic cultures of the regions, adjoining Vidarbha.

Of all the antiquities discovered at the site, most outstanding was a sealing, bearing the legend *Asaka Janapad*.

At the site, during the excavation, in all 263 coins were recovered, out of which 12 were silver-based punch-marked coins, 167 of copper, 83 lead and 1 of brass (12+167+83+1=263). Among the inscribed coins, those of Bhadras, Mitras, Maharathis and Satvahanas were significant from the stratified deposits, datable between *circa* BC 150 to AD 200.

Of 167 copper coins, 78 issues in Arabic script, were submitted to me for study and a report thereon.

These coins bearing Perso-Arabic legends under study, represent five dynasties, both central and provincial, covering a period over five centuries, beginning from the first decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and upto the second decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But for seven coins (Registration Nos. 2, 3, 4, 2045, 5335, 6310 and 7661) which were found as surface-collection, majority of these have been reported from the

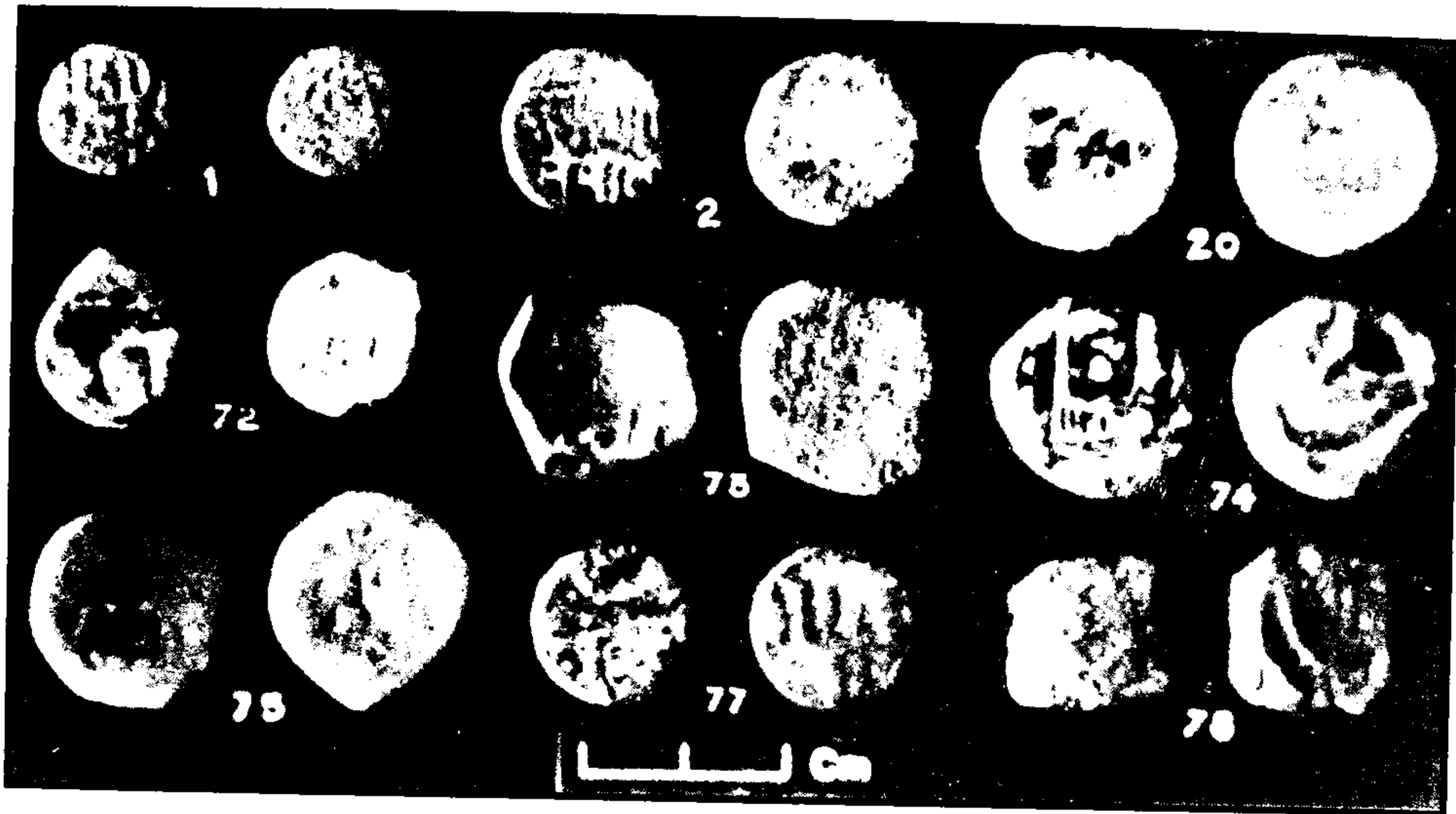
stratified deposit invariably of layer (1). Among these coins, a hoard of sixty three was noticed in trench No. 2 B5 (Reg. 3808 to 3870) and the rest were found distributed in trenches B5 (Reg. No.30), C14 (Reg. No. 5080), D8 (Reg. No. 11992) and M5 (Reg. No. 5085, 5125, 5126, 5194 and 5195). These coins have been studied in their chronological order, being given serial numbers accordingly. Hence, in this report, references are made to them in serial numbers.

Among these 78 copper coins, seventy issues belong to the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda i.e. Hyderabad in the Deccan (AD 1512-1687), representing two of its last rulers Abdullah Qutb Shah and Abul Hasan Qutb Shah. Among the rest eight coins, there are the issues of the Khalji monarch Alaud Din Muhammad Shah, Bahmani ruler Alaud Din Ahmad Shah II, Mughal emperors Aurangzeb, Shah Alam Bahadurshah I and Muhammad Shah, and Bhonsla Raja Parsoji II, one coin remaining unidentified. (Illus.44)

The break-up of these 78 copper coins which represent eight rulers of five different dynasties, is as follows:

<b>A.</b>	<b>Khalji Dynasty</b>	<b>No. of coins</b>
	Alaud Din Muhammad Shah (AH 695-715/AD 1296-1316)	1 (Serial No. 1)
<b>B.</b>	<b>Bahmani Dynasty</b>	
	Alaud Din Ahmad Shah II (AH 838-62/AD 1435-57)	1 (Serial No. 2)
<b>C.</b>	<b>Qutb Shahi Dynasty</b>	
	(i) Abdullah Qutb Shah (AH 1035-83/AD 1626-72)	69 (Serial Nos 3-71)
	(ii) Abul Hasan Qutb Shah (AH 1083-98/AD 1672-87)	1 (Serial No. 72)
<b>D.</b>	<b>Mughal Dynasty</b>	
	(i) Aurangzeb Alamgir (AH 1068-1118/AD 1658-1707)	1 (Serial No. 73)
	(ii) Shah Alam Bahadurshah I (AH 1119-24/AD 1707-12)	1 (Serial No. 74)
	(iii) Muhammad Shah (AH 1131-61/AD 1719-48)	1 (serial No. 75)





44. Adam, Nagpur Dist., Maharashtra : Photograph of selected copper coins discovered during excavations, which represent eight rulers of five different dynasties viz., Khaljis, Bahmanis, Qutb Shahis, Mughals and Bhonslas of Nagpur.

<b>E. Bhonslas of Nagpur</b>	
(i) Parsoji II	2 (Serial Nos. 76-77)
(AH 1231-32/AD 1816-17)	
<b>F. Unattributed or unidentified</b>	1 (Serial No. 78)

**Total 78**

### **A. Khalji Dynasty**

#### **Copper coin of Alaud Din Muhammad Shah**

Chronologically speaking, the earliest coin, round in shape (Illus.44, No.1) in the lot, weighing 2.66 grammes, is that of the Khalji monarch Alaud Din Muhammad Shah (AD 1296-1316) which is a well-known variety found published<sup>2</sup> in various catalogues. Its margin on the reverse is too dim and mutilated to establish its specific date or the mint-name. Its bilingual legends in Arabic and Nagari scripts are as given below:

#### **Obverse**

السلطان الا

عظم علا الد

نيا والدين

(as Sultanu'l  
A'zam 'Alau'd  
Dunya wa'd Din)

#### **Reverse**

**In double circle**

شاه

محمد

(Muhammad Shah)  
Around the circle  
श्री सुलंता अलावदी...  
(Sri Sultan Alawadi)

### **B. Bahmani Dynasty**

#### **Copper coin of Alaud Din Ahmad Shah II**

Next in chronological order is a single copper coin (Illus.44, No. 2) belonging to the Bahmani king Alaud Din Ahmad Shah II (AD 1435-57). This round coin weighing 7.40 grammes, is of a known type, published<sup>3</sup> in various catalogues. Here, it may be mentioned that in June 1992, a hoard of 103 Bahmani<sup>4</sup> copper coins was reported at Ladkhed in Yavatmal District during the digging operation of a house. This hoard of Ladkhed comprised 34 coins of various types of the said Bahmani ruler that included six pieces of similar type, bearing the same legends in Arabic as given below in the coin under study.

Obverse	Reverse
الوائق	احمد
بتأييد الملك لاله	شاه بن احمد
ابو المظفر	شاه بهمن شاه
(al- Wathiq bi taidil Malikil Ilah Abu'l Muzaffar i.e. the one who trusts the support of the Lord God, Abu'l Muzaffar)	(Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah Bahmanshah i.e. Ahmad Shah son of Ahmad Shah Bahmanshah)

### C. Qutb Shahi Dynasty

Among the coins under study, 70 coins belong to the Qutb Shahi dynasty. Of these, 69 coins (Serial Nos.3-71), on the basis of their dates represent Abdullah Qutb Shah (AD 1626-72) and one (Serial No. 72) represents Abul Hasan Qutb Shah (AD 1672-87). The noteworthy point about these coins is that they record neither the name 'Abdullah Qutb Shah' nor the name 'Abul Hasan Qutb Shah'. However, it may be added that these copper issues of the two rulers are quite well-known and published. The legends in Arabic in the coins of the rulers are the same except the dates, AH 1068 (AD 1657-58) falling under the reign of Abdullah Qutb Shah and AH 1095 (AD 1684) pertaining to the ruling time of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah.

#### (i) Copper coins of Abdullah Qutb Shah

In the lot, 69 issues of Abdullah Qutb shah (AD 1626-72) dated AH 1068, bear the following touching legends in Arabic<sup>5</sup> (Illus.44, No. 20). In majority of the coins, the date portion is fully or partially cut off.

Obverse	Reverse
والسَّعَاةُ	دار السَّلاطنته
ختم	ضرب
١٠٦٨ بالخير	حيدر آباد
(Khatama Bil-Khair 1068 Was Sa'adah i.e may it come to a happy and auspicious end)	(Duriba Daru's Sultanat Haidarabad i.e. minted at the capital Haidarabad)



**(ii) Copper coin of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah**

There is a solitary copper coin of the time of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah (AD 1672-87), bearing the same legends as mentioned above in the coins of Abdullah Qutb Shah, but the date AH 1095 (Illus.44, No.72).

It is worth mentioning here that long back in the first decade of the last century, a large hoard of 3800 copper coins dated AH 1068, belonging to Abdullah Qutb Shah was dug up in Wun (now Yavatmal) District of Maharashtra<sup>6</sup>.

In the Vidarbha region, in recent times, there has been frequency of the coins of these two Qutb Shahi rulers. A hoard of 438 copper coins was submitted to the Epigraphy Branch for study in July 1981 by Sub-Divisional Magistrate, Morshi, District Amravati, Maharashtra, that included 302 coins of the two above-mentioned Qutb Shahi rulers, bearing the same legends, referred to above. In June 1993, a hoard of 616 copper coins, in a broken earthen pot, was reported at Pandharkawda, Tahsil Kelapur, District Yavatmal, Maharashtra, in an open agricultural field during the process of its plough. This lot of Pandharkawda comprised 568 coins of Abdullah Qutb Shah and 41 coins of Abul Hasan Qutb Shah, bearing the legends, mentioned above.

A hoard of 963 medieval copper coins, discovered (c.1979-80) at Kalamb in Yavatmal District of Maharashtra, was sent by the Director General, ASI, Janpath, New Delhi, to Epigraphy Branch, Nagpur, for study. This hoard represented the issues of four dynasties viz, Sultans of Gujarat, the Mughals, Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, and Qutb Shahis of Golconda; there being a solitary issue representing Abdullah Qutb Shah. It was a known type coin, bearing the legend in Persian *Sultan Abdullah Badshah Ghazi* on the obverse, and *Darb-i-Darus Sultanat-i-Haidarabad*, on the reverse<sup>7</sup>.

As said earlier, these Qutb Shahi coins do not contain the names of the rulers. Absence of names on the coins, is of great political significance. This variety of rather pathetic but well-known coins of both the Qutb Shahi rulers, forebodes the dismemberment of the feeble Qutb Shahi dynasty. The content of the legends in the obverse is indicative of the fact that the Qutb Shahi rulers had accepted the Mughal suzerainty and hence did not dare issue coins bearing their names, after AD 1656. The date AH 1068 (AD 1657) in the coins of Abdullah Qutb Shah is quite significant when Haiderabad was occupied by the Mughal army and the Qutb Shahi Sultan was forced to give his daughter in marriage to Aurangzeb's son Muhammad Sultan and declare him heir to the throne<sup>8</sup>. Abdullah Qutb Shah had no male heir but was blessed with three daughters. The eldest daughter surnamed Bari Sahibni (i.e. the Great Lady) was married to Prince Muhammad Sultan according to one of the conditions of the fateful treaty of AD 1656. It was then decided that as the king i.e. Abdullah Qutb Shah had no male heirs, the

throne of Tilang-Andhra i.e. Golconda, should go to Prince Muhammad Sultan<sup>9</sup>. Thus, Abdullah Qutb Shah foresaw the speedy downfall of his kingdom, which came to an end with his successor and son-in-law Abul Hasan Qutb Shah and rightly predicted it on his coins in a legend discussed above and the same legend was continued after him by his successor<sup>10</sup>.

It is said that these Qutb Shahi coins were current for some time chiefly as *dams* of Aurangzeb<sup>11</sup>.

### D. Mughal Dynasty

#### (i) Copper coin of Aurangzeb Alamgir

The coin (Illus.44. No.73) appears to be an issue of Aurangzeb<sup>12</sup> (1658-1707) whose reverse is completely abraded, depriving us of the mint name and other relevant detail. Its legends in Persian in the obverse<sup>13</sup> reads as under:

#### Obverse

[عالم گیرے]  
فلوس

(Fulus<sup>14</sup>-i-  
'Alamgiri)

#### Reverse

(Peeled off)

#### (ii) Copper coin of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah I

Shah Alam Bahadur Shah I<sup>15</sup> (AD 1707-12), the son and successor of Aurangzeb, is represented by a solitary copper coin (Illus.44, No. 74) from Ellichpur mint, which is a well known type, found published. Its legends in Persian are as follows:

#### Obverse

شاه عالم  
۱۱۲۱  
بادشا غازے

(Shah 'Alam  
1121  
Badshah Ghazi)

#### Reverse

ضرب  
س  
فلوایلچپور

(Fulus-i-  
Darb-i-  
Ellichpur<sup>16</sup>  
i.e. copper coin  
minted at Ellichpur)

**(iii) Copper coin of Muhammad Shah**

Serial No. 75 is the copper coin of Muhammad Shah<sup>17</sup> (1719-48) from Ellichpur mint (Illus.44, No. 75), a known type and published<sup>18</sup> in catalogues, with the following legends in Persian:

**Obverse**

[محمد شاه]

بادشاه

سکه مبارک

Sikka-i-Mubarak

[Muhammad Shah]

Badshah

i.e. auspicious coin

of Muhammad Shah Badshah

**Reverse**

ضرب

فلو ایلچپور

(Fulus-i-

Darb-i-

Ellichpur

i.e. copper coin

minted at Ellichpur)

**E. Bhonslas of Nagpur****Copper coins of Parsoji II**

A couple of coins from Nagpur mint, with Trishul mark (Illus.44, No. 77) belong to the Bhonsla ruler Parsoji II (AD 1816-17)<sup>19</sup>, having been issued in the name of a later Mughal king Ahmad Shah (AH 1161-67/AD 1748-54). It is a known variety, published in a catalogue with the legends in Persian as follows.<sup>20</sup>

**Obverse**

احمد شاه

بادشاه

(Ahmad Shah

Badshah)

**Reverse**

جلوس

نا ۳ گپور

(Julus

(Nagpur)

**F. Unattributed or unidentified**

The last coin ((Illus.44, No. 78) remains unattributed or unidentified . Its obverse is completely worn out to admit of any decipherment, whereas in the reverse, the word 'Shah' in crude hand is legible.<sup>21</sup>



## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For detail about the excavation at Adam, *Indian Archaeology 1988-89 – A Review*, pp.50-62; *ibid.*, 1989-90, pp.61-65; *ibid.*, 1990-91, pp. 45-50; *ibid.*, 1991-92, pp.63-69.
2. H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Dehli* (Delhi, 1936), p.93, No. B 342; Stanley Lane Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1884), p.41, No. 182.
3. Muhammad Abdul Wali Khan, *Bahmani Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Hyderabad* (Hyderabad, 1964), p.100, No, 67, but the date not legible.
4. For other Bahmani coins, reported from various districts of Vidarbha, see *Indian Archaeology, 1959-60 – A Review*, p.60; *ibid.*, 1962-63, p.63; *ibid.*, 1963-64, p.84; *ibid.*, 1968-69, pp.60-61; *ibid.*, 1969-70, p.56; *ibid.*, 1970-71, p.62; *ibid.*, 1972-73, p.56; *ibid.*, 1973-74, p.48.
5. Muhammad Abdul Wali Khan, *Qutb Shahi Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Hyderabad, 1961), p.34, No.339.
6. R. Burn, *The Qutb Shahis of Haidarabad or Golconda*, *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XI (64), 1909, pp.317-18. From Akola and Wardha districts also, the coins of Abdullah Qutb Shah have been reported. *Indian Archaeology 1968-69 – A Review*, pp.60-61.
7. M. I. Quddusi, 'A Copper Coin Hoard from Kalamb in Yavatmal District of Maharashtra', *Medieval Indian Coinages : A Historical and Economic Perspective*, ed. Amiteshwar Jha, IIRNS Publications, Anjaneri (2001), pp.179-86.
8. H. K. Sherwani, *History of the Qutb Shahi Dynasty* (New Delhi, 1974), p.470.
9. It is worth mentioning here that in the war of succession which followed the imprisonment of Shah Jahan (AD 1658-66) by Aurangzeb, Prince Muhammad Sultan having been lured to take side with Shah Jahan's second son, Shah Shuja, was arrested and imprisoned along with his wife, and died within prison in November 1677. H. K. Sherwani, *op.cit.*; p.601.
10. Abul Hasan Qutb Shah married to the third daughter of Abdullah Qutb Shah, who came to be known as Badshah Bibi after the accession of her husband to the throne. H. K. Sherwani, *op.cit.*, p.601.
11. *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XI (64), 1909, p.317-18.
12. Various districts of Vidarbha, viz., Akola, Amravati, Buldhana, Chandrapur, Nagpur, Wardha and Yavatmal, have brought to light silver and copper coins of Aurangzeb. For detail, *Indian Archaeology 1963-64 – A Review*, p.84; *ibid.*, 1964-65, p.70; *ibid.*, 1965-66, p.76; *ibid.*, 1966-67, p.63; *ibid.*, 1967-68, p.63; *ibid.*, 1968-69, p.61; *ibid.*, 1969-70, pp. 56-57; *ibid.*, 1970-71, p.62; *ibid.*, 1972-73, pp.55-56; *ibid.*, 1973-74, p.48.

13. Cf. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1914), p.268, No. 1978.
14. Copper coins are generally denoted by the word *fulus*, the broken plural of the Arabic word *fals*, which means a small copper coin.
15. Daryapur in Amravati District and Aheri and Tembhorni in Chandrapur District in Vidarbha region have also brought to light the coins of this Mughal ruler. *Indian Archaeology*, 1965-66 – *A Review*, p.76; *ibid.*, 1968-69, p.61; *ibid.*, 1972-73, p.56; *ibid.*, 1979-80, p.97.
16. C. R. Singhal, *Supplementary Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the State Museum, Lucknow*, (Lucknow, 1965), p.127, No. 870, but the date AH 1121. For other coins of the Ellichpur mint reported from elsewhere in the Vidarbha region, please see, *Indian Archaeology*, 1967-68 – *A Review*, p.63; *ibid.*, 1968-69, p.60; *ibid.*, 1970-71, p.62.
17. Other coins of Muhammad Shah from Vidarbha region have been reported from Dhamak and Daryapur in Amravati District, Aheri in Chandrapur District, Hiwara in Buldhana District and Patan Sawangi in Nagpur District. *Indian Archaeology*, 1963-64 – *A Review*, p. 84; *ibid.*, 1965-66, p.76; *ibid.*, 1966-67, p.63; *ibid.*, 1968-69, p.61; *ibid.*, 1972-73, p.56; *ibid.*, 1973-74, p.48.
18. C. R. Singhal, *op.cit.*, p. 153, No. 1057, but the date not legible.
19. Other coins of the Bhonslas have been reported from Tohangaon in Chandrapur District and Kholapur in Amravati District. *Indian Archaeology*, 1961-62 – *A Review*, p. 94; *ibid.*, 1979-80, p.97.
20. Prashant P. Kulkarni, *Coinage of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur* (Nagpur, 1990), p.153, No. 361.
21. Cf. *ibid.*, p.183, Type 70 (70.1).

## HISTORICAL MUSLIM MONUMENTS OF NAGPUR

**D**uring the Gond and Bhonsla periods (1700-1854), the relations between Hindus and Muslims were extremely cordial. New Muslim Gond Rajas and the Bhonslas maintained brotherly relations, hence the Hindus and Muslims at large were socially close to each other. As the Gond Rajas were considerate of their Hindu brethren, so were the Bhonsla rulers towards their Muslim populace. The Bhonsla Rajas liberally granted lands and *jagirs* to their Muslim nobles and officials. Because of such an open-hearted policy, adopted by the Bhonslas, the Hindus and Muslims at large set an example of strong unity, religious tolerance and social harmony.<sup>1</sup>

What is more important and noteworthy, is the undeniable fact that there had been peaceful transfer of ruling powers from the new Muslim Gond Rajas to the Bhonslas, during the then strife-ridden political period. Besides the Gond Rajas, under the Bhonsla patronage, the Muslim nobles and officials carried out certain building activities, both secular and religious in nature, in and around Nagpur, which was the capital of the Gonds and the Bhonslas.

(1) **Shahi Masjid.** – This mosque had been constructed by the Gond Raja Bakht Baland Shah (d. 1709) in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the fort built by Raja Jatba (d. 1620), towards the western quarters, adjacent to the palace. This mosque is also known as Qala Masjid. This was the first symbol of Islamic or Muslim culture and civilization in Nagpur. Bakht Baland Shah and his descendants used to say their prayers in it.<sup>2</sup>

One Hafiz Nur Muhammad son of Hafiz Muhammad Murid was a very pious person, associated with the Gond government of Deogarh (Islamgarh). In 1702-03 when Bakht Baland shifted his capital from Deogarh to Nagpur. Hafiz Nur Muhammad also accompanied the Gond ruler and occupied a residence in the fort. It was the Shahi Masjid in the same fort where Hafiz Nur Muhammad had been appointed royal *Imam* (prayer-leader). After his death, this religious responsibility devolved on his son and successor Hafiz Abdul Bulaqi and grandson Hafiz Shaikh Ahmad. It was about 120 years, that the respected family of Hafiz Nur Muhammad rendered its religious responsibility as royal *Imam* of the Shahi Masjid.<sup>3</sup>

Now, the Shahi Masjid is being maintained by the local Muslims, residing in the fort area. In 1993, the old structure of the mosque was demolished, replaced by



a new structure with a modern style, spreading over an area of 3000 square feet. To the south of the courtyard of the mosque, are situated a few graves, probably belonging to those who had been appointed royal prayer-leaders, one after the other. To the northern side of the courtyard, is located an old well.<sup>4</sup>

(2) **Juma Darwaza.** – Juma Darwaza is actually one of the magnificent gates of the walled-city, still surviving. It was constructed by Chand Sultan Shah during his reign (1709-35) along with Budhwar Darwaza, Bhandara Darwaza, Umrer Darwaza and Aditwar Darwaza, all of them now extinct. Juma Darwaza is built of beautifully carved and chiselled black stones, which is about 50 feet high and 40 feet wide, bearing some attractive decoration and embellishment.<sup>5</sup>

(3) **Juma Talab.** – Under his new scheme to decorate and beautify Nagpur city, Chand Sultan constructed Juma Talab at some distance, facing the Juma Darwaza. During his reign, drinking water was supplied to the city from the same Juma Talab. Till the end of the Bhonsla regime, its boundaries were touching the Sitabuldi Hill. Later on, under various developmental schemes for the city, major part of the Talab was filled up. What we see today, it is only one-fourth part of the original tank. Its boundaries are made of black stones.<sup>6</sup>

(4) **Juma Masjid.** – This mosque built of black stones and with some embellishment, is situated in Gadi Khana, adjacent to Jauharipura. It had been erected by Chand Sultan outside the city-wall for Friday and Id prayers. With the rapid increase in Muslim population, people started saying their daily-prayers in it. Under the Gonds, its care and maintenance was assigned to the family of Miyan Wajihuddin, the *mutawalli* (trustee) of the mosque. The family of Wajihuddin came to Nagpur during the regime of the Gonds and attained prominence under Raja Janoji Bhonsla (1755-72). He held dignified position under the Bhonsla regime. It was at his instance that Raja Janoji had granted a village with its revenue for the expenses of the Juma Masjid. After Wajihuddin, his sons-in-law Maulawi Farhatullah and Mir Babar Ali, and Ahmadullah son of Maulawi Farhatullah were appointed *mutawalli* of the Juma Masjid.<sup>7</sup>

(5) **Masjid Patthar Phod.** – This mosque is situated in Jalalpura, being the memorial of those artisans and stone-cutters who had come to Nagpur for the beautification and renovation of the city. It appears to have been constructed in the first or second decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It still stands in its original position, occupying 2500 square feet area. Adjacent to it, on the eastern side, is its gate built of black stone, called Patthar Phod Darwaza.<sup>8</sup>

(6) **Masjid Alifuddin.** – This mosque is located in Tulsi Bagh. It was constructed by Alifuddin, a *mansabdar* under Raghuji II (1772-1816), in AH 1211 (1796), as evidenced by an inscription in Persian over the main gate. Its beautiful main gate is still in its original condition, built of black stone, bearing decorative motifs.

According to A. K. Dubey, Alifuddin was the Superintendent of *Farrash Khana* (carpet-store) and *Unt Khana* (camelry). He was from an Arab race and came to Nagpur from Aurangabad. After the demise of his patron Raghuji II, in the struggle that ensued, he strongly supported Parsoji (1816-17) against Appa Sahib. When Appa Sahib came to the Bhonsla throne (1817-18), he behaved tyrannically with Alifuddin so much so that the latter committed suicide, by jumping into a well. He resided in Tulsi Bagh near the mosque he had constructed.

In 1982, this mosque was reconstructed by the managing committee. Presently, a *madrassa* Darul Ulum Yusufiya is running in it.<sup>9</sup>

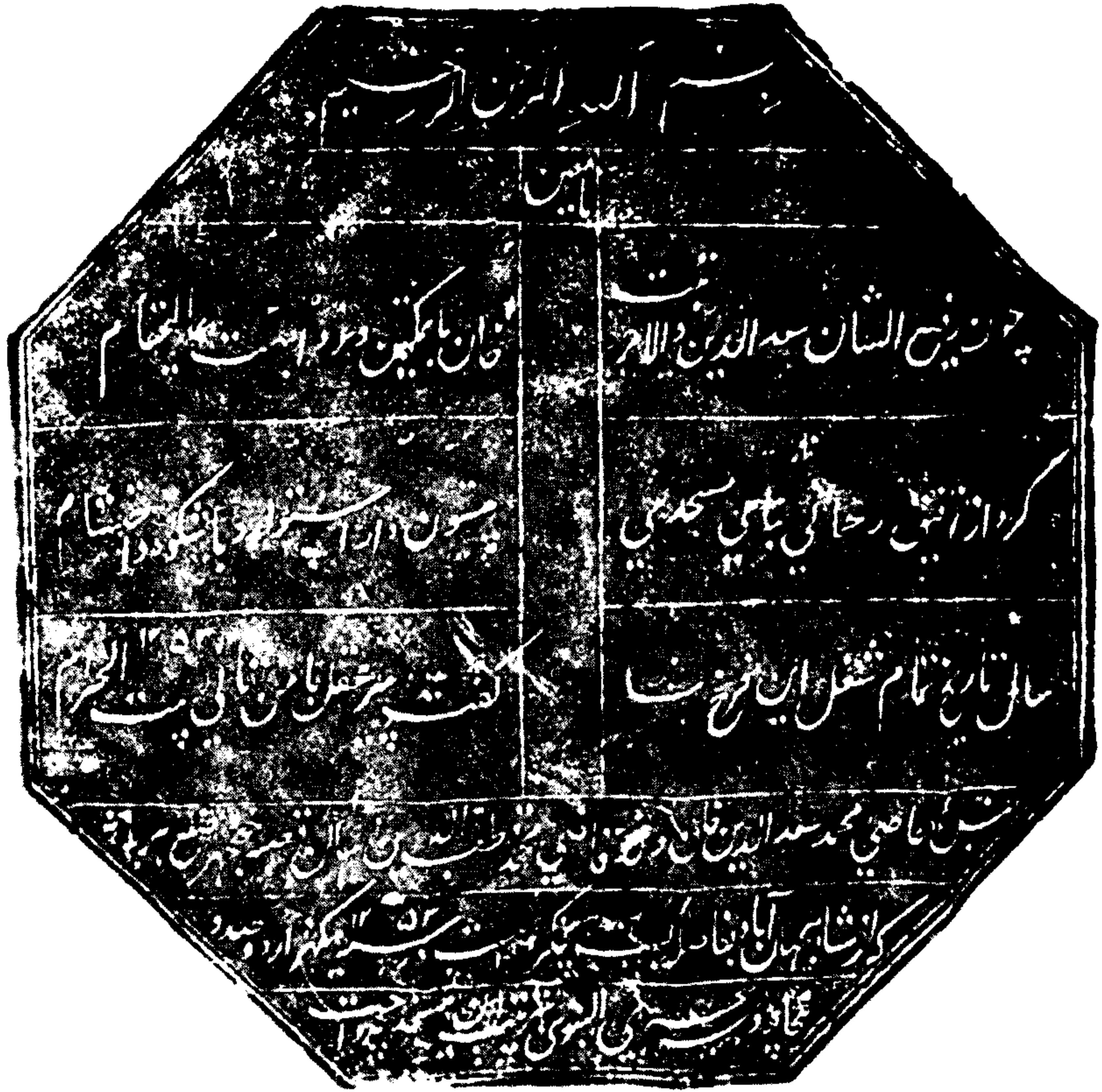
(7) **Chhoti Masjid, Bhaldarpura.** – This small mosque is built of black stone. It still stands in its original condition near Maulana Natiq Chawk in Juma Talab area. From the style of the mosque, it appears to have been constructed by some *mansabdar* under Raghuji II. Later on, some additions have been made to it. The entire mosque-complex occupies an area of about 3000 square feet.<sup>10</sup>

(8) **Masjid Buddu Khan Ka Minara.** – This mosque is located in Chhota Qazipura near Gandhi Bagh. It was built by Buddu Khan in 1814. He was the son of Hannu Miyan. Buddu Miyan was associated with the Bhonsla house and resided in the walled-city. He was very intimate with Khandoji *alias* Chamanji Bhonsla (d. 1789), the younger brother of Raghuji II. His family enjoyed the title of *Khan*. He had been bestowed a number of *jagirs* at different times. One of his fiefs was at Seoni in Umrer Tahsil in Nagpur District. In the city, he had grand houses, now all of them extinct.

One of the two *minars* of the Masjid Buddu Khan Ka Minara, collapsed during the trusteeship of Mir Husain Ali who got it repaired through funds in 1877. In 1990, the managing committee of the mosque got the old structure replaced by a new one, retaining the two historical *minars* as they are. Presently, the basic structure measures 40 x 30 feet. There are a few graves said to be those of Buddu Khan and his progeny in the courtyard of the mosque.<sup>11</sup>

(9) **Idgah.** – Muslims at the outset used to say their Id prayers in the Juma Masjid. With the passage of time, when the Muslim population increased, Id prayers began to be held on the Sitabuldi Hill. After the British occupation of the Sitabuldi Hill in 1817, Raja Rahman Shah (d. 1852) constructed a new Idgah, now in Mominpura, and appointed Bholi Shah its trustee and care-taker. This Idgah was reconstructed by Raja Muhammad Sulaiman Shah (d. 1880) in 1863, as evidenced by the Persian and Urdu inscriptions<sup>12</sup>, composed by Shuhrat Nagpuri. After the death of Rahman Shah and annexation of Nagpur in 1854, the Britishers duly recognised Sulaiman Shah as the successor Gond ruler and not only restored his stipends and fiefs, but also, in addition, paid him an annual pension of rupees one lakh twenty-five thousand. One Hasan Khan was his adviser and care-taker of his assets.





45. Nagpur, Dist. headquarters, Maharashtra : Persian record assigning the construction of a magnificent mosque to Muhammad Sadud Din s/o Qadi Muhammad Qutbud Din, a native of Jhajhar in Haryana, in AH 1253/AD 1837-38. *AREp.*, 1981-82, C 113.



This Idgah measures 160 feet a side. It is surrounded by walls on all sides; the eastern wall having three entrances. The descendants of Bhola Shah are still trustees of this historical monument.<sup>13</sup>

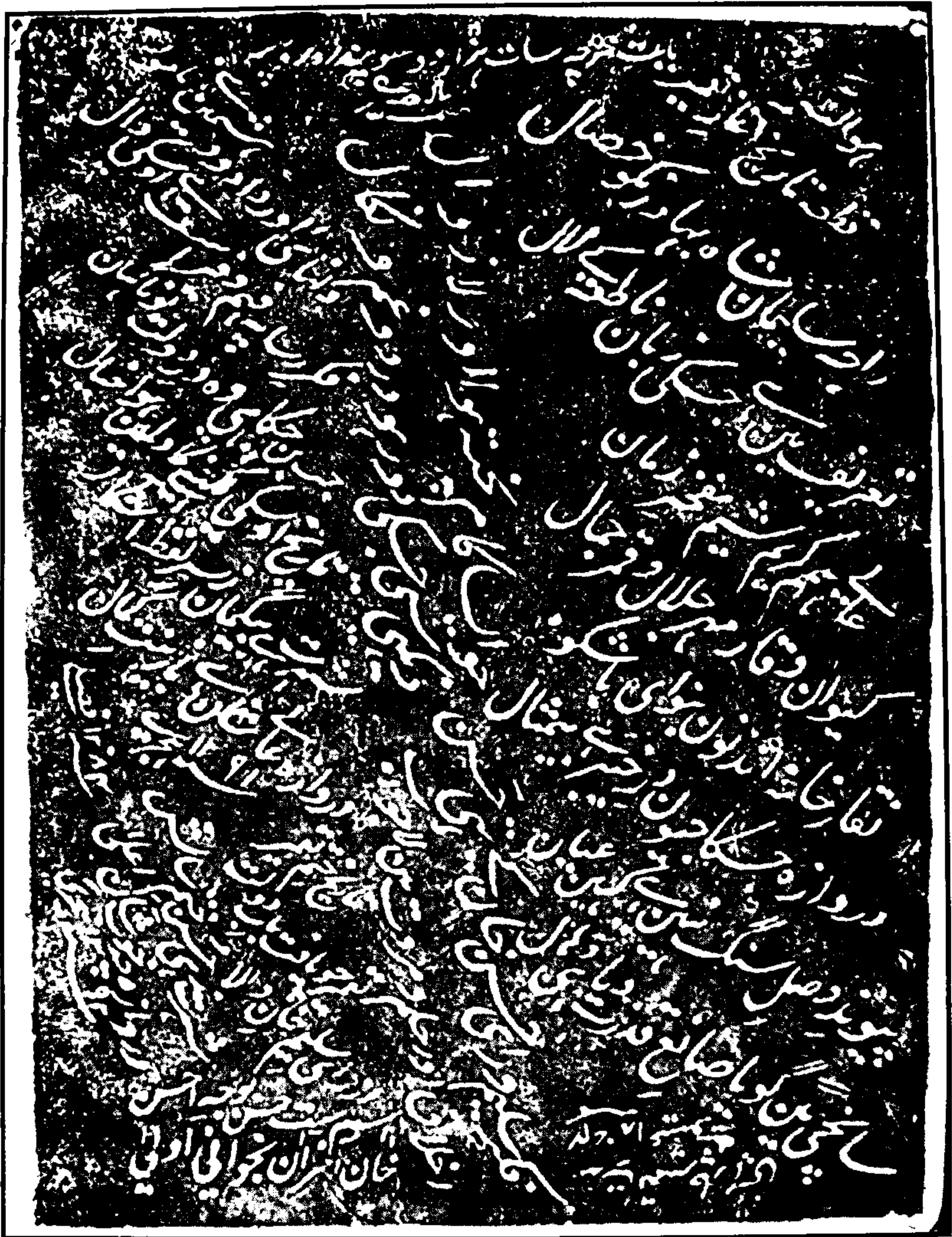
(10) **Masjid Juna Jail Khana.** – This is also a historical mosque to have been constructed by some *mansabdar* in the third decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is situated in front of the main gate of the Jail Khana of the Bhonsla period. In 1970, it was reconstructed in the existing modern style. In its courtyard are a well and two graves. The graves are probably those of some trustee and prayer-leader (*Imam*) associated with the mosque.<sup>14</sup>

(11) **Jami Masjid, Mominpura.** – This mosque was originally constructed by Muhammad Saduddin Khan, a dignified *mansabdar* under Raghuji III (1818-53), in 1837, as evidenced by a Persian inscription<sup>15</sup>, still in the custody of the managing body (recently installed in front of the main gate). (Illus.45)

The builder Muhammad Saduddin Khan was the native of Jhajjar in Haryana. His father Muhammad Qutbuddin was a well-known *Qadi* at Jhajjar. Saduddin came to Nagpur in the prime of his life during the regime of the said Bhonsla ruler. He was a man of parts and quite intelligent. He had been elevated to the post of *faujdar*, looking after complete civil and military administration under the Bhonslas. In 1839, he was appointed *faujdar* of Raipur, being bestowed a *palki* and a *sanad*. He passed away after the annexation of Nagpur (1854) and lies buried at Takiya Masum Shah. His only son Akbar Ali Khan *alias* Papa Miyan was hanged by the British, in connection with a conspiracy to cause revolt in 1857, and he lies buried at the Sitabuldi Hill.

Out of necessity, the Jami Masjid has been enlarged and reconstructed according to a map-plan prepared by a reputed architect and engineer of Hyderabad, Nawwab Sayyid Salamat Ali Khan. On 6<sup>th</sup> of March 1960, foundation-stone for the new construction was laid. Its main structure, measuring 104 x 60 feet, rests on a platform 9 feet in height. At the four corners are octagonal beautiful *minars*, front *minars* measuring 132 feet and back *minars* 86 feet in height from the land surface. The courtyard of the mosque is 122 x 62 feet, with its main gate on the eastern side 45 feet in height and built of marble. In front of the entire mosque-complex is a garden, spreading over an area of about 12000 square feet. This mosque is the synthesis or amalgamation of the Mughal, Qutb Shahi and Gondwana art and architecture according to the learned scholar and researcher Dr. Sharafuddin Sahil.<sup>16</sup>

(12) **Chhoti Masjid.** – This mosque is now known as Jami Masjid Ahl-i-Hadith. It was built by Ghulam Ali in 1839. The builder Ghulam Ali came to Nagpur in 1829 from Jhajjar. He was the youngest brother of Saduddin Khan. With the efforts of his elder brother Muhammad Salahuddin, he got the *mansab* of city-kotwal of Nagpur. He gained much intimacy with the Bhonsla ruler after the death of Salahuddin and



46. Nagpur : Perso-Urdu inscription, recording the construction of the *Naqqar Khana* (drum-house) at the order of Raja Sulaiman Shah under the guidance of Hasan Khan. The work was carried out in AH 1291-92, AD 1874 at the cost of Rs. 7215. *AREp.*, 1989-90, C 74



was consulted in the confidential matters of the Bhonsla state. In 1841 as ill luck would have it, he along with and Bhonsla officer Dada Fadnavis, was found involved in financial irregularities and corruption. He had to face imperial wrath, causing the termination of his services.

Here, it is befitting to note that the three brothers Saduddin, Salahuddin and Ghulam Ali were reputed nobles of their time. All of them were men of learning and erudition. Since they hailed from Jhajjar in Haryana, they laid out a garden named Jhajjar Bagh in Hansapuri (i.e. existing Mominpura) Division, consisting of their residential quarters '*Aina Mahal*', well, mosque and *Takiya* (graveyard). The then Jhajjar Bagh occupied present area of Muhammad Ali Road, Jami Masjid, Muhammad Ali Sarai, Masjid Ahl-i-Hadith, Muslim Library, Mominpura Urdu Primary School, Madrasa Furqaniya and the plots of land and property attached to the Jami Masjid.

With this historical background of Ghulam Ali, the builder of Chhoti Masjid (Masjid Ahl-i-Hadith), it may be added that after the annexation of Nagpur by the British when Muslims from eastern Uttar Pradesh began to settle here, one among them was Miyanji Abdul Wahid and his descendants who took proper care of the mosque. In 1982, this historical mosque was reconstructed in a modern style at the cost of 10 lakhs of ruppees.<sup>17</sup>

(13) **Naqqar Khana.** – Gond ruler Jatba had constructed a fort at Nagpur, spreading over an area of 8 to 9 acres of land. In the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when new Muslim Gond ruler Bakht Baland Shah laid the foundation of Nagpur and made it his capital in 1702, he made the ancestral fort his residence and added a few buildings in it. Later on his descendants also carried out building activities, one of them being the Naqqar Khana.

Naqqar Khana is actually the main gate of the existing fort, built of black stone in the style of the Juma Darwaza. It is 50 feet in height and 25 feet in width. It was constructed by Raja Sulaiman Shah in 1874 under the supervision of Hasan Khan, within the time-span of four months, at the cost of seven thousand two hundred and fifteen rupees. At the right hand of the gate is fixed an Urdu and Persian inscription<sup>18</sup>, composed by Sayyid Abbas Ali Shuhrat, giving us all the above detail. (Illus.46)

(14) **Other monuments.** – Besides the above-mentioned prominent historical monuments, there are still other monuments (some of them no more in existence) worth-mentioning. It may be recorded that for the rapid development of Nagpur, the new capital of the Gond Rajas, Chand Sultan, the son and successor of Bakht Baland, took keen interest and built a number of buildings, dug wells and laid out gardens in different quarters of the town.<sup>19</sup>



Sajan Gulzar, a saintly person who had migrated to Nagpur from Makanpur (in Kanpur District, U.P.) during the regime of Chand Sultan, became very popular under Raghuji I (1737-55). The Bhonsla ruler granted him *jagirs*. In a part of his *jagir*, he established his *Takiya*, now known as Takiya Diwan Shah. He also constructed a mosque and a *Khanqah* (hospice) which are still extant.<sup>20</sup>

Another spiritual personality who originally hailed from Afghanistan, came to Nagpur along with a local trader. He was Maulavi Sayyid Muhammad Gul. He became very popular in Nagpur among the members of the royal Gond family. He built a mosque and a *Khanqah* in Mahalla Namak Ganj Ka Taka.<sup>21</sup>

During the time of Raghuji II, other mosques which sprang up, are : Nawabpura ki Masjid, Chitnawis Park ki Masjid, Itr Walon ki Masjid (near Juma Darwaza) and Masjid Takiya Diwan Shah.<sup>22</sup>

Under Raghuji III, Masjid Mir Faiz (Central Avenue), Masjid Takiya Mahbub Shah and Masjid Boriyapura were constructed.<sup>23</sup>

The family of Shaikh Abdus Shakur always remained loyal to the Bhonslas, being associated with the court of justice. Masjid Najmuddin (Mahal) seems to have been constructed by some members of the family. Some graves in the premises of the mosque belong to the same family of Shaikh Abdus Shakur. They had built an *Imambada* adjacent to Masjid Gotu Miyan.<sup>24</sup>

Nawwab Siddiq Ali Khan<sup>25</sup> constructed a mosque and a well in Nawabpura which are still extant. While Alimuddin Gotu Miyan<sup>26</sup> built a mosque in Mahal area, which is known as Masjid Gotu Miyan. Mir Aziz<sup>27</sup> constructed a mosque called Masjid Mir Aziz and an *Imambada* in Mirchi Bazar Chawk, Itwari area.

Worthy of mention is some other monuments in the suburb of Nagpur. One Jamaluddin<sup>28</sup> who was a *Risaldar* at Hingna built a mosque there in 1826 during the regime of Raghuji III. While Mufti Imamuddin<sup>29</sup> constructed a well and a mosque at Pardi.

Before the conclusion of this paper, I would like to bring to the knowledge of historians and scholars, an important piece of information, provided by a Persian inscription, discovered from a grave in Sitabuldi, Nagpur.<sup>30</sup> It deserves special mention because this article is mainly based on historical Muslim monuments of Nagpur. This epitaphic Persian record points to the grave of Taj Muhammad *Mimar* (architect) who passed away in February 1787. The epithet *Mimar* with the name of the deceased, is indicative of the fact that he had been a famous mason of his time, flourishing under the Bhonslas. The occupant of the grave, seems to have been associated with the Bhonsla administration and he appears to have played important role in building activities under the patronage of Bhonsla rulers, so also under their Muslim nobles and *mansabdars*.

### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Dr. M. Sharafuddin Sahil, *Nagpur Ka Muslim Maashira Gond Aur Bhosla Ahd Mein* (Muslim Society of Nagpur during the Gond and Bhosla Period), Nagpur, 1996, p.87.
2. *Ibid.*, p.216.
3. *Ibid.*, pp.169-170.
4. *Ibid.*, pp.216-17.
5. *Ibid.*, p.217.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 60, 217.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 92, 217-18.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
9. *Ibid.*, pp.114, 218-19; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (AREp.)*, 1975-76, Appendix D, No. 144.
10. Dr. Sahil, *op.cit.*, p.219.
11. *Ibid.*, pp.219-20.
12. *Ibid.*, pp.220-21.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, p.221.
15. *AREp.*, 1981-82, Appendix C, No.113.
16. Dr. Sahil, *op.cit.*, pp.221-23.
17. *Ibid.*, pp.136-37, 223-24.
18. *AREp.*, 1989-90, Appendix C, No. 74; Dr. Sahil, *op.cit.*, pp.211, 224-26.
19. Dr. Sahil, *op.cit.*, p.24.
20. *Ibid.*, pp.171-72.
21. *Ibid.*, pp.184-85.
22. *Ibid.*, p.65.
23. *Ibid.*, p.68.
24. *Ibid.*, pp.93-94.

25. *Ibid.*, pp.100-103.
26. *Ibid.*, p.113.
27. *Ibid.*, pp.115-118.
28. *Ibid.*, pp.107-113.
29. *Ibid.*, pp.150-51.
30. *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1955 and 1956, p.118, pl. XXX (b).



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