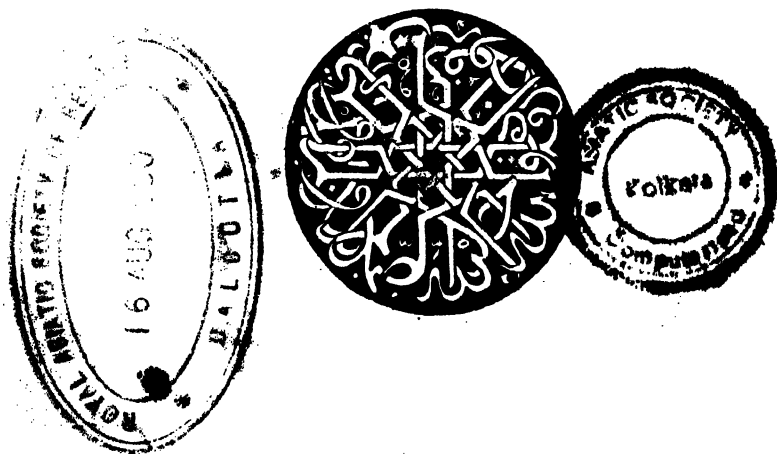


Muslim Monuments
OF
A H M A D A B A D
through their inscriptions

[*An aid to the Study of Mediaeval Gujarat*]

BY
M. ABDULLA CHAGHATAI



1942

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LII (a-b)

P. 96

Tr. 'a,' 1127 A. H./1715 A. D.; 'b,' 1107 A. H./1695 A. D.

MUSLIM MONUMENTS OF AHMADABAD THROUGH THEIR INSCRIPTIONS

BY

M. A. CHAGHATAI

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*XLVII	Kotwal Khān's grave	1066	1656	"	92
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* (b)	"	1135	1722	"	93
* (c)	"	1135	1722	"	94
*XLIX	Sayyid Muḥammad Mosque	1092	1681	"	94
*L (a)	Mosque of Mūsā Suhāg	1100	1688	"	94
* (b)	"	1102	1690	"	94
*LI (a)	Qāzī's Masjid	1102	1693	"	95
* (b)	"	1110	1698	"	95
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*LIV (a)	"	1113	1701	"	97
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1 Nos.	2 Where found	3 Hijri Era	4 Ch. Era.	5 Period	6 Pages
*LV	Bābā Lulū's Shrine	1117	1706	Aurangzeb	98
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LVII	Sayyid Qutbu'd-Dīn	1158 ?	1743	II "	100
*LVIII	'Aidarūs's Rauzā	1194-99	1779-84	"	100
*LIX	Ruknu'l-Haq's grave	1200	1785	"	100

* The reproduction of these inscriptions has not been considered necessary.



In publishing these inscriptions the writer has received material assistance from a number of friends whose names have been duly acknowledged in their respective places. But for the assistance of Khan Bahadur M. S. Commissariat and Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, it would have been impossible for him to publish this monograph on Ahmadabad Inscriptions. To both of them the writer must express his most sincere gratitude for the assistance he has received from them.



وما توفيقى إلا بالله
عليه توكلت و إليه أنيب

My welfare is only in Allāh
In Him I trust and unto Him
I turn

M. A. CHAGHATAI

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MUSLIM MONUMENTS OF AHMADABAD THROUGH THEIR INSCRIPTION¹

Introduction

In 1935 the writer had the opportunity to study the fascinating monuments of Gujarat Muslim Kings during his stay at Ahmadabad, which city represents an independent chapter of Muslim Art and Architecture in India. The majority of Ahmadabad monuments are mosques. They are adorned with marble slabs having Arabic and Persian inscriptions. The *Naskhi-Tughra* style of the calligraphy of these inscriptions harmonises completely with the decorative motifs in stone-carving, which constitutes a speciality of Gujarat. These inscriptions are not very easy to decipher precisely owing to this artistic innovation, yet an effort was made to collect their estampages² with the help of Prof. Shaikh Mohammad Ibrahim Dār of Gujarat College, Ahmadabad, who deserves the writer's sincere gratitude.

For the authoritative account of the Muslim monuments of Ahmadabad we generally depend upon the work of the earlier European archaeologists,³ which have been excellently printed and contain a large number of fine illustrations. Even to-day they are indispensable to every scholar who wishes to study these monuments on scientific lines. But when we study these works in the light of the inscriptions themselves, we realise that sometimes these early scholars have not been justified in their conclusions. This has been the main reason that has led us to describe the monuments with the help of the original sources in the light of the inscriptions they bear.

1. In 1939, through the courtesy of Mr. P. G. Shah, a lantern lecture was delivered by the writer before the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, on the same subject at which Diwan Bhahadur K. M. Jhaveri presided.

2. In 1936 an exhibition of the impressions of these inscriptions was held at Lahore under the auspices of the Idara Ma'arif Islamia. A catalogue was also published which is referred to in this monograph as "EX". Moreover, the writer is grateful to the Idara Ma'arif Islamia, Lahore, for other substantial help he then received. A similar exhibition was also held at the Town Hall, Bombay, in 1939 under the auspices of the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay, on the occasion of the centenary celebration of the late Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji which was presided over by the Hon. Mr. Justice H. V. Divatia.

3. Vide Bibliography.

These inscriptions have been arranged chronologically and the text and translation of all have been given together with illustrations of such as were thought necessary. We hope that this effort will be treated as a supplement to other larger works on Ahmadabad¹ and that it will prove to be an aid to the study of Gujarat Muslim History.

Chief Authorities on the History of Mediaeval Gujarat²

The discourse by the late Sayyid Abdul Haye of Lucknow, entitled *Yād-i-Ayyām* (Recollection of the Past), and delivered before the All-India Muslim Educational Conference at Surat in 1919, should serve as an eye-opener for all serious students of Gujarat Muslim history and culture. After an interval of about a score of years, Khan Bahadur M. S. Commissariat, the well known Parsi historian, published the first volume of his *History of Gujarat*. This is doubtless a monumental work and is so far the only detailed history of Mediaeval Gujarat in English. We hope that this pioneer work will point the way to future students of the history of Mediaeval Gujarat. Gujarat is awaiting other serious attempts from learned scholars along each of the avenues of study pointed out in the *Yād-i-Ayyām*.

The Muslim monuments of Ahmadabad constitute, of course, the authority for the history of that city during the period of Muslim rule. These have been considered in the following pages in the light of their inscriptions. Further investigation of these monuments seems extremely necessary. We shall consider these monuments through the legends connected with them and they shall also be taken as constituting a part of the Muslim monuments of Gujarat as a whole. In this way it would be possible to glean information they have guarded within themselves during all these centuries.

Among the provinces of India, Gujarat stands higher than any other as regards historical material. Besides the well-known *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* and *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, we are fortunate in possessing another mine of information in the pages of the *Arabic History of Gujarat* of Hājji'ud-Dabir edited by the late Sir Edward Denison Ross. This Arabic compilation about Gujarat is unique in its comprehensiveness and accuracy. No other work of such high value exists for any other province of India. Another similar Arabic work of a little later date is the *Nūru's-Sāfir*, which is, however, a chronicle of the 10th century of the Hijra and deals mainly with events concerning the 'Aidrūs Sayyids of Surat. Still it

1. References to illustrations and inscriptions already published in these works on Ahmadabad have been duly given wherever necessary.

2. Vide Bibliography.

contains a good deal of useful material for the general history of Gujarat of that period.

We know that Maḥmūd Begadā ruled over Gujarat for the remarkably long period of fifty-five years, and his reign was an era of great success and prosperity for Gujarat. Consequently, greater attention should be devoted to elucidating the details of his glorious reign. Recently, Mr. P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona has brought to light one Sanskrit work called *Rājavinoda* dealing with the life of this Sultan Maḥmūd Begadā written by Udayarāya who was courtier of the same Sultan.¹ To the same period belongs a unique Persian work called *Majmau'n-Nawādir* from the fine collection of Prof. H. M. Shairani at Lahore, compiled at Chāmpāner during Maḥmūd Begadā's life-time in 1497 by Faizul-lāh b. Zainu'l-'Abidin Husain Banyānī. It is a literary work and cannot be considered as pure history, but it contains episodes concerning different phases of society, such as kings, ministers, scholars, poets, philosophers, grammarians, jurists, teachers, etc. It is in the manner and plan of Nizami 'Uruzi's *Chahar Maqāla*². There is also the *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar-Shāhi* of which a manuscript exists in the Bholanath library at Ahmadabad. We hope that discovery of new material from time to time will help to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of the history of Gujarat.

Gujarat is quite rich in libraries, both private and public, and some of them might possess valuable MSS. throwing light on many of the obscure problems of Gujarat history. His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda was fully justified when he said in his speech on the occasion of declaring open the 17th meeting of the Historical Records Commission that "The History of Gujarat has not received the attention which the history of other parts of India has." This is also specially applicable with post-Muslim period of the history of this province.

Function of Inscriptions

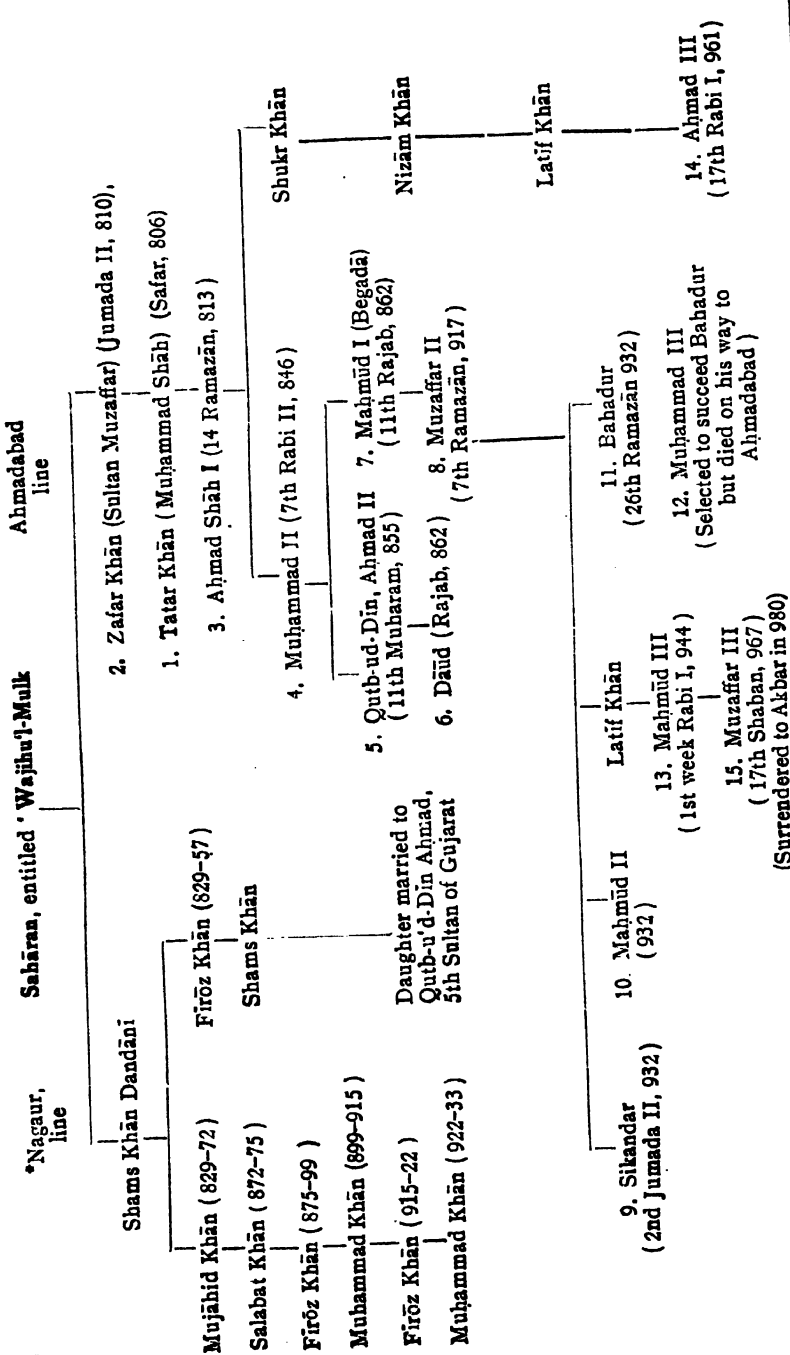
Historians agree that epigraphic evidence (inscriptions, coins etc.) occupies the first place in the list of sources of history because it provides the most important and also the most reliable data for a student. Epigraphs elucidate many points, e. g., (a) they immortalise the builder as well as the monument, and supply correct dates, names and titles of the personalities, (b) they bring to light the art of calligraphy as exercised by renowned calligraphists of the period ; (c) they describe events which have

1. Gode, P. K., "Dates of Udayarāya and Jagaddhara", *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. IX, Part II, September 1940, pp. 101-125.

2. M. Iqbal, *Majm'au'n-Nawādir*, *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August, 1939, pp. 98-106.

Genealogy of the Muslim Sultans of Gujarat

(The dates are of the Hijra era)



* See the writer's paper on "Nagaur—a Forgotten Kingdom", *Bulletin DCR.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 166-184.

been either completely missing or incorrectly recorded in the pages of history ; and (d) literary and cultural developments of the period may also be followed from them.

Muslim Sultans of Gujarat and their Genealogy

There have been fifteen kings in the dynasty of the Muslim Sultans of Gujarat. It actually began in 793 A. H./1390 A. D. with Zafar Khan as the ruler of Gujarat who later on became Sultan Muzaffar. The capital at that time was Nahrwāla Paṭṭan. The inscriptions of this dynasty from Ahmadabad begin from the early years of Ahmad I, the founder of Ahmadabad, and continue right up to the inscriptions of the period of Muzaffar III, dated 973 A. H./1565 A. D. The four minor kings Dāud, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II, and Muḥammad III, who ruled each for a period of a few days are the only ones who have left no inscriptions. They had no opportunity to add anything to the architectural treasures of Ahmadabad.

Another peculiarity of the Ahmadabad inscriptions is that while naming a monarch his full genealogy is also mentioned. This is a feature quite peculiar to these inscriptions and has not been known elsewhere. This makes the records of undoubted accuracy. We append the full genealogy of these Sultans of Gujarat which would serve to make the inscriptions quite clear to the reader.

The Names of the Sultans, their Titles and the Dates of their Reigns.

1. Tatar Khān, son of Zafar Khān, entitled Nāsiru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, came to throne of Gujarat as the first independent ruler of Gujarat, in the month of Jumada II, 806 A. H. (Dec. 1403 A. D.) at Asawal. He died during the same year in the month of Sha'ban according to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (Bombay ed. 1890, p. 16). But according to the *Arabic History of Gujarat* of Hajji-u'd-Dabir (p. 904) he had already been the minister of Sultan Nāsiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad, son of Fīrōz, son of Rajab Tughluq, at Delhi in 793 A. H./1390 A. D., where he was known as Muḥammad Khān, with the title of Tatar Khān.

2. Zafar Khān, father of Tatar Khān declared himself independent King of Gujarat at Birpur, with the title of Muzaffar Shāh, in 810 A. H. (1407 A. D.). After ruling for a period of three years and seven months he died in the month of Safar, 813 A. H. (May, 1410 A. D.) (ms. 19). He is mentioned as ' Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Muzaffar Shāh ' (*Catalogue of Coins, the Sultans of Gujarat*, p. 1).

3. Ahmad Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, ascended the throne as the third Muslim king of Gujarat on the 14th

Ramazān, 813 A. H. (10th Jan. 1411 A. D.) (MS., 22). He was the founder of Ahmadabad, and was called Nāsiru'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh. He was born on the 19th Zi'l-Hijjah, 793 A. H. (18th Nov. 1391 A. D.) and ruled for thirty two years, six months and twenty two days (MS., p. 44) which means that he died on the 6th Rabi II, 846 A. H. (14th Aug. 1442 A. D.) According to his inscriptions (VIII, x) and coins (SG., i-16) his full name is 'Abu'l-Faṭḥ Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh.

4. Muḥammad son of Ahmad I, ascended the throne on the 7th Rabi II, year 846 A. H. (15th Aug. 1442. A. D. (HD. 1). In inscription xiii and coins (SG., 16-20) he is mentioned as Ghiathu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Maḥāmid Muḥammad Shāh; but HD. (1) records his name as Abu'l-Jūd Muizzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh. He died on the 8th of Muharram, year 855 A. H. (10th Feb. 1451 A. D.,) (HD., 3)

5. Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh ascended the throne on the 11th Muharram, year 855 A. H. (15th Feb. 1451 A. D.) (HD., 3) In inscriptions (xiv-xv) and coins (SG., 20-24) he is called Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzzaffar Ahmad Shāh. But according to HD., (3) he was also called Abu'l-Faṭḥ Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh and MS. (50) gives his name as Jalāl Khān. He died in Jumādā II, 862 A. H./March 1458 A. D. (HD. 14).

6. Dāud son of Qutbu'd-Dīn occupied the throne after him but he passed away within a few days (MS., 69 and HD., 14).

7. Abu'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh known as Maḥmūd Begadā, the younger brother of Qutbu'd-Dīn ascended the throne on the 11th Rajab, 862 A. H. (25th May 1458 A. D.) (HD., 14). The MS. (70-71) gives his name as Faṭḥ Khān. Generally 863 A. H. is noted as the date of his accession (SG., ix and MS., 71) but this is wrong. The correct year of his accession is 862 A. H. as can easily be verified from several inscriptions, such as that in the Chunār wādā Mosque at Bharoch. This mosque was built in his reign and is dated 1st of the month of Ramazān, 862 A. H. This inscription is in two slabs placed on either side of the *mehrab* (EX., 75-76 and EIM., 1933-4, Suppl. p. 29). Apart from it some of his coins (SG., 43 No. 269) bear the same year. Sultan Maḥmūd Begadā died on Monday the 2nd of the month of Ramazān, year 917 A. H. (23rd Nov. 1511 A. D.) (HD., 88). Some of his coins, however, in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (SG., 62 Nos. 506-7), are dated 919 A. H. This seems impossible; but we know that in certain cases, when the successor for some reasons was not able to strike his own coins, he continued the coins of his predecessor. In any case, all these coins require careful scrutiny. One other point must also be mentioned here, viz. that the published text of the MS. (p. 120) mentions the year actually 919 A. H. as the year of his death. This is obviously a misprint, because we have

carefully compared the printed text with a manuscript copy of this work belonging to the Deccan College and the latter clearly gives the date 917 A. H. Besides the 2nd Ramazān, 917 A. H. (24th Nov. 1511 A. D.) is given as the date of the accession of his successor Muzaffar II.

8. Prince Khalil, son of Maḥmūd, ascended the throne with the title of Muzaffar Shāh II, on the 3rd Ramazān, 917 A. H. (24th Nov. 1511 A. D.). He died on Friday the 2nd Jumada II, 932 (16th March 1526 A. H. (HD., 97, 130). The MS. (194) records 22nd of Jumada II, of the same year as the date of his death which is incorrect because that day did not fall on Friday. He is called Abu'n-Nasr Shamsu'd-Dīn Muzaffar Shah, which title is found in his inscription (xxx), and his coins (SG., 64-80).

9. After Muzaffar Shāh his son Ziāu'd-Dīn Sikandar ascended the throne, but he was killed soon after on the 14th of Sha'ban, 932 A. H. (24th May 1526 A. D.) (HD., 130).

10. Nāsir Khān, the younger son of the Muzaffar II, immediately seized the throne and ruled for some time with the title of Maḥmūd Shāh II (MS. 197). This is not mentioned by HD.

11. Bahādur Shāh, son of Muzaffar II ascended the throne on 26th Ramazān, 932 A. H. (5th June 1526 A. D.) MS., (205); and HD. 139 calls him al-Muzaffaru'l-Ghāzi Shamsu'd-Dīn Bahādur Shāh. He passed away on the 3rd Ramazān of the year 943 A. H. (13th Feb. 1537 A. D.) (HD., 263-4).

12. Muḥammad III was an adopted son of Bahādur Shāh's mother, but he also met with his death on his way to Ahmadabad (HD., 263, 496).

13. Sa'du'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Latif Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, occupied the throne as Maḥmūd III in the beginning of Rabi I, 944 A. H. (August 1557 A. D.) (HD., 264). The MS. (265) mentions 943 instead of 944. He was killed in 961 A. H. (1553 A. D.) (HD., 304).

14. Aḥmad, a cousin of the last Maḥmūd, ascended the throne on 17th Rabi I, 961 A. H. (20th Feb. 1553 A. D.) This Aḥmad III has been a great problem for scholars. According to HD. (391) this Abu'l-Faṭh Aḥmad Shāh was the son of Latif Khān, son of Nizām Khān, son of Shukr Khān, son of Aḥmad Shāh, the founder of Ahmadabad, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh. In inscription xxxvi this Aḥmad is called Ghiāthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Maḥāmid Aḥmad Shāh, the son of the uncle of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Latif Shāh. But in this inscription (xxxvi), instead of showing his direct connection with Aḥmad I, his relationship with Latif Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh, has

been shown which seems somewhat strange. Besides this connection occurs even on the coins (SG., Nos. 717-718, pl. viii but it has not been included in legends p. 148). He died in the beginning of Sha'ban, 967 A.H. (April 1560 A.D) (HD., 477).

15. After the death of Ahmad III, the kingship of Gujarat again reverted to the old line of Gujarat. And HD. (478) has noted with accuracy that Abu'n-Nasr Muzaffar Shāh III, son of Maḥmūd III, ascended the throne and he was the last king of this line of Muslim rulers of Gujarat, because he surrendered to Akbar in 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.). After which Gujarat became a part of the Empire of the Mughals.

Peculiarities of the Ahmadabad Inscriptions

The Muslim monuments of Ahmadabad lie within an area of a little over six square miles, and nearly half of them are contained within the central city founded by Ahmad I. But the inscriptions described here cover a period of nearly eight centuries from 445 A.H. / 1035 A.D. to 1200 A.H. / 1785 A.D. This is by far the longest period covered by inscriptions among all the historical cities of India. Some of the important monuments have their inscriptions missing.

All the inscriptions from Ahmadabad bear the Hijri era with the exception of that on the mosque of Rānī Sabrāi which gives the Solar year.

Two inscriptions of Ahmad I (viii and ix) clearly mention that he had built two congregational mosques. The other inscriptions of his reign show that the other monuments were built by various nobles who held high offices and had big titles. These titles are mentioned in their inscriptions, along with the offices they held, after the manner of the Arabic Muslim tradition. This very notable practice is not found in the inscriptions of any other Muslim dynasty in India.

Five of the inscriptions discussed here adorn the decorative walls of step-wells (*vāvs*) and two of them are bilingual. They contain very minute details of their history. These *vāvs* are a peculiarity only confined to Gujarat. They constitute a special feature of architecture and they show a considerable scientific knowledge of well-digging. Abdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān has expressed this great contribution of the Gujarat people in an indirect way by pointing that the Gujaratis were not endowed with special knowledge necessary for the construction of hot baths or *hamāms*, nor were they aware of their use.¹ This might be taken to imply that these step-wells and public tanks were peculiarly suited to the habits of the Hindus. The Muslim rulers of Gujarat accordingly built separate step-wells for their subjects wherever it was necessary.

1. *Maathir-i-Raḥīmī*, II, pp. 501-2.

Hardly two or three mosques erected by royal ladies will be found in any other part of India, but in Ahmadabad no less than six imposing mosques record in their inscriptions that they had been built by ladies, four of whom belonged to the royal house and the other two to very noble families.

According to Arabic traditions we know that eunuchs had the control over the affairs of the *haram*. They also had similar positions in the royal *haram* of the Gujarat Kings. For example, the Khwāja Sarāe (eunuch) Isan Sultānī, entitled Khawassu'l-Mulk was in charge of the *haram* of Maḥmūd Begadā and he built a superb mosque at Qutb-i-Ālam in 874 A. H./1469 A. D. This sort of activity attested by inscriptions, is not traceable anywhere else.

The style of calligraphy of all these Gujarat Muslim inscriptions displays a special type of *Naskhi-Tughra* in a particularly beautiful decorative form. All this shows that the artisans of Gujarat had imbibed deeply the culture of Islam.

The Muslim Architecture of Gujarat

The Muslim architecture of Gujarat shows a wonderful and unique characteristic, inasmuch as it could not completely shake off the overwhelming influence of the Jaina trabeate system with its elaborate stone carving even to the last. In spite of this fact that it embodies fully all the special features of Muslim architecture (such as the *minars* or minarets, the pedentive and squinch arch, the stalactite and honey-combing, the half-domed double portal and perforated windows with geometric Patterns etc.),¹ yet with the accession of Maḥmūd Begadā, who ruled for over half a century, it entered upon its most magnificent stage.

Therefore, Ahmadabad presents the wonderful phenomenon of mosques in stone everywhere exhibiting a great variety of architecture and beauty and a blending in design of Saracenic and Jaina forms. About this the great authority, Fergusson, says: "The Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad is so essentially derived from the local Jaina forms which it replaced, that, without some knowledge of the former, it is impossible to understand the peculiar merits of that most pleasing variety of the Saracenic architecture of India."²

The central *mehrab*s of the grand mosques built by Sultan Aḥmad I, himself in 1414 and 1423 A. D. respectively (VIII, X) contain *pietra dura* decoration of a very early style, which shows that it was the Musal-

1. Sir John Marshall, "Monuments of Muslim India" in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 571.

2. Quoted by James Burgess in his *Muhammedan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, London, 1900, Part I, p. 11.

mans who first introduced this form of decoration into Gujarat¹. Gujarat artists have always excelled those of the rest of India in fine stone carving as can be seen in the early Hindu and Jaina temples. Still this Hindu and Jaina art shows no trace of the *pietra dura* in variegated precious stones inlaid on white marble, which, later on in the Mughal period, developed along such extraordinary beautiful forms as can be seen at Sikandrā, I'tamadu'd-Dowla and the Tāj at Agra.

It may be of interest to cite here a significant incident which occurred during the reign of Maḥmūd Begadā. It proves that the artists of Gujarat, who had inherited the indigenous arts and crafts of Gujarat, were quite capable of carrying out the construction of Muslim monuments under the guidance of their Muslim masters. The MS. records that a man from Khorāsān petitioned to the Sultan saying, "I am perfectly skilled in laying out gardens and in designing buildings. If a place be allotted to me I will lay out a garden that will gladden the Sultan's heart". The Sultan said, "Choose in the neighbourhood of the city such a place as may suit your purpose," and he ordered his officers to give him whatever site he might require. The man laid out a nice garden, and built a small and pretty tank in it, and he contrived fountains and water-falls, an art previously unknown in Gujarat. The Sultan was very delighted on visiting this, and rewarded the builder. At this time a Gujarati carpenter named Hālu also approached the Sultan saying, "I will also build a garden as good as that and opposite to it, if you permit". The Sultan said, "Why not, if you can do it?" Hālu within a certain time laid out a garden better than the first one. On seeing this the Sultan was much delighted, and asked him, "The people of Gujarat are not acquainted with this art; whence then did you learn it?" He replied: "I disguised myself as an ignorant labourer and worked for the man from Khorāsān, and partly by watching what he did and partly by my own skill, I acquired the knowledge". The Sultan was pleased and praised him for his work and intelligence and perseverance and gave him large presents with a handsome dress of honour. Several of those buildings remain to this day and that garden is well known and famous, and the people of Gujarat call this garden Halol.²

The individuality of Maḥmūd Begadā in the domain of architecture is quite obvious from his monuments at Muhammadabad, Chāmpāner and other places. One of the mosques built by the queens of Ahmadabad after the period of Maḥmūd Begadā, that of Rānī Sabrāi, deserves special mention, for it is a complete picture of femininity. Fergusson has judged

1. See Chaghatai, M.A., *Pietra-Dura Decoration of the Taj* "Islamic Culture, October 1941, pp. 465-72.

2. MS. F., p. 69.

it to be one of the most exquisite structures in the world and his judgment was not exaggerated.

Sidi Sa'id's mosque at Ahmadabad is considered to be a superb specimen of Gujarat Muslim architecture owing to the marvellous type of perforated windows in its walls. The identity of its builder has been a mystery because the inscription bearing such information usually to be found in the central *mehrab* of the other mosques of Ahmadabad is not available. Prof. M. S. Commissariat was the first to offer the correct solution of the puzzle, and to assign its construction to Sidi Sa'id Sultānī on the basis of the *Arabic History of Gujarat* of Hajjiu'd-Dabir. It says: "As-Sa'id died on Monday, the 3rd of the month of Shawwāl, year 984 A. H. (24th Dec. 1576 A. D.) Shaikh Sa'id entitled al-Habashī Sultānī possessed a very fine character, good qualities and high dignity. His grave is in the mosque near the royal palace on the high public road. It used to be one of the old buildings built of brick, but Shaikh Sa'id had it rebuilt in stone. He laid its foundation in stone, raised it to a height and roofed it with domes. Each stone was cut accurately into lengths of one or two yards and was properly fixed. These stones were adorned with fret-cutting of very exquisite designs in decorative motifs. He extended its spaciousness. He purchased the adjoining land and added it to the mosque, as an appurtenance of the mosque. He also made a platform near the courtyard of the mosque. To its right he built a cell which at present contains his grave. As soon as he found leisure after the completion of the dome of the mosque and after assuring the water supply and building the platform, death overtook him." Hajjiu'd-Dabir has also composed a poem in praise of Sa'id for constructing this unique mosque. Its last verse contains the chronogram of the date of completion of the mosque.

عمر. (الجامع لله
عامر جاء سعيد

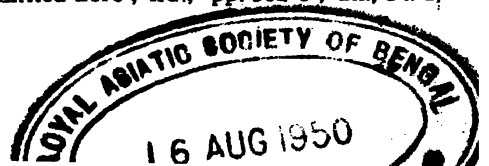
"Sa'id, the prosperous constructed the mosque in the name of the Almighty God",¹ gives the year 980 A. H./1572 A. D.

But apart from Hajjiu'd-Dabir, we also find the mention of Sidi Sa'id and his mosque in another contemporary Arabic source viz., *An-Nuru's-Sāfir* of Sidi Shamsu'sh-Shamūs Mohiu'd-Din Abdul-Qādir b. Abdilla al-'Aidrusī. He says: "The noble slave Sidi Sa'id Sultānī al-Habashī died in Ahmadabad on Monday the third of the month of Shawwāl, year 984. He belonged to the Hanīfite school of thought. He was an orthodox follower of the Imām Abū Hanīfa to the extent that often he used

1. HD., pp. 640-43. Prof. Commissariat has also given a life sketch of Sidi Sa'id from the same source, which is omitted here; HG., pp. 502-5; BA., Pt. I, pp. 41-43, Pls. 46-51.

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to criticise Imam Shāffā'i. He was well-versed in jurisprudence in addition to possessing great knowledge of other sciences. He knew the Qur'ān by heart and used to be greatly devoted to his prayers to the Almighty. During the month of Ramazān he used to recite the Qur'ān five times. Military officers used to pay him the greatest respect and were eager to receive him and to help him. They also used to pay him a pension equal to five thousand gold coins. He was a patron and lover of the learned. When he performed his pilgrimage to Mecca he received instructions from Ash-Shaikh Ibn Hajar al-Haitimi. He had great pleasure in collecting books. This went to such an extent that he used to circulate notices in the dominions of Egypt in order to acquire books. He erected a magnificent mosque in Ahmadabad, apart from his other generousities. His grave is in his mosque and beside him there is the grave of our (the author's) Shiakh Ash Shaikh Abdu'l-Mu'ti (d. 989 A. H./1581 A. D.)¹.

In short, this superb mosque of Sidī Sa'id, which has acquired international fame for its unique perforated windows, and perpetuates the fame and name of its builder, is the last monument built 980 A.H./1572 A.D. in the regime of Gujarat Muslim kings because in the same year Ahmadabad became part of the Mughal empire.

Gujarat Muslim Architectural monuments had gone on increasing in beauty and in number throughout the course of history even upto the last Mughal king. The Mughals not only added their own monuments, keeping up their special tradition of gorgeous and splendid edifices, such as they had already built in Agra, Delhi and Lahore, but they also did their best to conserve and preserve the precious gems of Gujarat Muslim Architecture built by the Gujarat Muslim Sultans before them. From the days of Jehangir to those of Aurangzeb, the Mughals saved several magnificent monuments of Ahmadabad on several occasions from impending destruction. In this respect Aurangzeb stands out prominently, as we find amply evidenced in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*.²

Analysis of the Text of the Inscriptions

When we carefully classify these inscriptions which are about ninety in number, we come to the conclusion that they actually adorn a wide range and variety of monuments such as mosques, tombs, step-wells, city-walls, reservoirs, gardens, colleges, and inns. The texts of all these represents a very high standard of Arabic and Persian. Those from mosques and tombs specially are in Arabic and in the majority of cases these also contain quotations from the Holy Texts constantly repeated. In the text

1. *An Nuru's-Sūfir*, Baghdad, 1934, pp. 357-58.

2. MA., Vol. I, pp. 290, 323, 333, 342, 345, 347, 348, 373.

as printed here these repetitions have been retained, but in the translations these passages are not repeated. All such quotations have been noted below together with their full translations, and the inscriptions wherein they occur have also been enumerated under each. The reader would be able to know which quotation it is by the alphabetical letter attached to each and indicated in its proper place in the translation. In the translations of the Quranic verses we have followed Marmaduke Pickthall.

(a) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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

II, III, IV, V, XI, XII b, XXIV, XXVI, XXXI, XL, XLI, XLII, XLVI b-c, LV, LII a-b, LIV b, LV.

(b) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is His Messenger.

III, XII b, XL, XLI, XLII, XLIV, XLVIII a-b, L a, LII a-b.

(c) قال الله تبارك و تعالی

Sayeth Allah, the blessed and exalted.

XIII, XIV, XVII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXV, XXX, XXXIV.

(d) قال الله تعالی

Sayeth Allah the exalted.

XVI, XXIII, XXIX, XXXV.

(e) قال الله سبحانه و تعالی

Sayeth Allāh, the most holy and exalted.

XXVI, XXVIII a.

(f) الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم لا تاخذه سنة و لانوم - لم ما
 فى السموات و ما فى الارض من ذالذى بشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم
 و ما خلفهم و لا يحيطون بشىء من علمه الا بما شاء و سع كرسيه السموات و الارض
 و لا يؤده حفظهما و هو العلى العظيم -

Allāh! There is no God save Him, the Alive, the Eternal. Neither slumber nor sleep overtaketh Him. Unto Him belongeth whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth. Who is that intercedeth with Him save by His leave? He knoweth that which is in front of them and that which is behind them, while they encompass nothing of His knowledge, save what He will. His Throne includeth the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them. He is the Sublime, the Tremendous. (Qur'ān, ii, 255).

III, XVI c.

(g) إنما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر و أقام الصلاة (g)
و اتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين -

He only shall tend Allāh's sanctuaries who believeth in Allah and the Last Day, and observeth proper worship, and payeth the poor due, and feareth none save Allāh. For such (only) is it possible that they can be of the rightly guided. (Qur'an, ix, 18).

XXXVIII, XLVI b, l. a.

(h) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا -

And the places of worship (mosques) are only for Allah, so pray not unto any one along with Allāh. (Qur'an, lxxii, 18)

II, VIII, X, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI.

(i) يبشروهم ربهم برحمته منه و جنات لهم فيها نعيم " مقيم خلددين فيها (i)
ابدأ ان الله عنده اجر " عظيم -

Their Lord giveth them good tidings of mercy from Him, and acceptance, and gardens where enduring pleasure will be theirs: there they will abide for ever. Lo, with Allāh there is immense reward. (Qur'an ix, 21-22)

III, XL, XLI, XLII.

(j) قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم

Said the Prophet, may Allah's blessings and peace be upon him.

XIII, XIV, XVIII, XXIII, XXVI, XXVIIIa, XXX, XXXI.

(k) قال النبي عليه السلام

Said the Prophet, peace be upon him.

XX, XXI.

(l) قال عليه السلام

Said (the Prophet), peace be upon him.

XVI.

(m) في الحديث

In the tradition.

XXV.

(n) من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة -

Who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build a house for him in paradise. (The Tradition of the Prophet).

XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XLVI b, L b.

The same Tradition of the Prophet is also found in some places with slight variations. Thus in XVII and XXII it reads بيتاً مثله which means 'a similar house'; in XXV and XXXI has قصرأ instead of بيتاً which means 'palace' and in XVIII and XLVI some more words are added which, cannot be traced elsewhere.

The writers of these inscriptions have usually been imitating their forerunners both in style and phraseology. The clause بتغاء لمرضات الله و طلباً لجزيل ثوابه (desirous of the approbation of Allāh and demanding His abundant reward) is found in XII, XVI, XVII, XXI and XXIII which is more or less an adaptation from Qur'ān and other Holy Texts.

Moreover, it is really strange that with the exception of XXXIV and XXXVIII hardly two inscriptions of the whole lot bear the name of the calligraphist.

The following poetical metres are found in the versified inscriptions:—

رمل	Ramal: VII a-b, XXIV, XXVII, XXXII, XXV c, L a, LIII a, c,
هزج	Hazaj; X b, X b, XLIII, XLV, XLVIII, XLVIII c
رباعى	Rubā'ī; I b, XII a, XIX b, LII b,
مقارِب	Mutaqārab; VI a, XXV, XLVIII c, XLIX, LVI,
خفيف	Khafif; XXXIII,
مجتث	Mujtath: XLVI a,
مضارع	Muzar'a; XXXVIII, XLVII,

Some of the verses of the above inscriptions are not in their proper form and some of them are rather incomplete. An attempt, however, has been made to explain them as they are.

As regards dates noted generally at the end of the text of the Arabic and Persian epigraphs they sometimes mention only the year and sometimes full dates giving the exact day, month and year. In the latter case the names of certain months bear further specific appellations. For instance, as found in the inscriptions IV a b, XXV, XXIX, the name of the month is noted thus : من رجب رُجَبٌ قَدْرُهُ "in (the month of) Rajab, may its dignity increase."

Some of the versified inscriptions bear the *Tāriks* or chronograms which reflect a very high taste of literature and they bear the following Hijri era:—

888	XXIV;	972	XXXVII;	1063	XLV a, b;	1109	LII a, b;
944	XXXII;	1020	X b;	1065	XLVI;	1113	LIII a;
945	XXXIII;	1047	XLIII;	1092	XLIX;	1117	LV;
960/1	XXXVI;	1049	XXV c;	1100	L;	1200	LVII;

I-III

Muslim Inscriptions of the Rajput Period in Gujarat

There are many Muslim monuments in Ahmadabad which are to-day known by different local names and are not always connected with their original ones, these latter being actually found only in their original inscriptions. This is very probably due to these buildings having been occupied by different people at a later period and thus being associated in the popular mind with the names of the later occupants. Large portions are often missing from the inscriptions on many of these monuments but these can be restored from other available sources. Many inscriptions, which originally belonged to other monuments of a different nature, have been often wrongly attached to other buildings of a later date. Therefore one has to be very careful in scrutinizing every necessary detail.

We have been able to trace the history of what is chronologically the most important among the early inscriptions (I a). It is dated 24th Rabi I, 445 A.H./15th July 1035 A. D., and is from the mosque known as *Kāch* (or *Kāchni masjid*¹), in the Tajpur quarter. This date is about twenty five years after the death of Mahmud of Ghazni, who conquered Somnāth and passed through the ancient capital Pattan Nahrwāla (Pāṭan Anhilwād) sixty miles from modern Ahmadabad. We think this is the earliest inscription, commemorating the construction of a mosque, so far known in India. As Ahmadabad was built in 813 A. H./1411 A. D., i. e., four centuries later, this inscription was probably connected with a mosque built during the Rajput period, perhaps at Asawal or Karṇāvati, on the site of which Aḥmad Shāh is presumed to have founded his capital. We gather from the later marginal Persian texts on the tablet that when the mosque was being renovated and re-erected, this inscription was recovered from its foundation and it was secured against being lost by fixing it in its present position. This has been recorded in Persian on the right and the left sides vertically instead of horizontally. This is in accordance with the ancient mode of arranging inscriptions.

I (a)

باقیم شد از بنیان این مسجد	هذا المسجد فى الرابع و العشرين من ربيع الاولى و سنة خمس و اربعين و اربعمائه	این بنا تا ربيع قدیم است
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1. The mosque is of stone, and it has one storey raised on timber beams above its eastern side. This upper storey was formerly roofed with glazed tiles, hence its name *Kāchni masjid* or "glass mosque" (BA., Pt. II p. 76.).

This mosque (was built on) 24th Rabi I, in the year four hundred and forty-five (15th July 1035 A. D.).

On the margins :—

'This is an old date and it was found from the foundations of this mosques'.

In reality the *Kāchnī masjid*, as it now exists, is the same mosque which was founded by Tāj Khān bin Sālār¹ situated near the Jamālpur Gate. It was here that a discussion took place between Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr² and Sayyid Shāh Shaikh Jeo. The mosque was, no doubt, built on the site of a more ancient *masjid*, whose original inscription (dated 445 A.H./1035 A.D.) having been discovered in its foundations, was preserved by fixing it in its present position in the later building.

There is also another inscription (I b) on the same back wall of this *masjid* just near the central *mehrab*, which is a Persian quatrain in *Nasta'liq* style, which is obviously of the seventeenth century (1100 A. H. / 1688 A. D.) although not dated.

I (b)

قبه نور هست بیت الله همبرین طاق طاق عرش الله
نقشها ساختم علی نادر بر مقام فقیر نور الله

The dome of light is the House of God,

The highest arch is the arch of God's Throne,

'Alī Nādir has made the figures (decorations)

In the abode of Faqīr Nurullāh.

On the authority of the *Miārt-i-Ahmadi*³ we may assert that 'Alī Nādir was the grandson of Shāh Alījī Gāmdhanī (d. 973 A.H./1565 A.D.), who was a great poet of Hindustani. His full name was Shāh 'Alījī Nādiru'l-lāh alias Sayyid Abdul Qādir, son of Sayyid Mustafā, son of Sayyid 'Alījī Gāmdhanī. This Persian inscription obviously shows that it does not actually belong to the mosque but that the slab has been fixed at that particular place in this mosque in order to save it from being lost.

1. This Tāj Khān bin Sālār Khān is not to be confounded with Tāj Khān Narpālī, the builder of Shāh Ālam's mausoleum (MS., p. 144). It was this second Tāj Khān after whom the Tajpur quarter of Ahmadabad has been named. Formerly the *Kāchnī masjid* used to be included in the Jamalpur quarter.

2. This Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur claimed to be the Mahdī and had come to Ahmadabad towards the close of reign of Sultan Maḥmūd Begadā (MS., p. 136).

3. MA., Vol. II, p. 41.

II

Mosque of Mir Hāji

There is a modern mosque right in the middle of the Kalupur quarter, called the mosque of Waliu'l-lāh, Fortunately it has two fine inscriptions on marble slabs, both fixed in the central *mehrab* one over the other. The upper one is not very clear yet we can make out something of the history :—

	يا الله	يا الله	۱
	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		۲
	و ان المساجد لله فلا		۳
...	تدعوا مع الله احدا		۴
...	تاريخ بنا اصل مسجد محلت		۵
...	مسجد مذکور را مير حاجی عرف		۶
...	وقف نمود سنه ست و ثلاثين و سستمايته		۷
...	اللهم اغفر وارحم بعد دو (صد؟) هفت سال مرمت کرد		۸
...	مسجد مذکور شيخ محمد على بن محمد بن		۹
...	ابراهيم عرف حكيم		۱۰
...	در عهد سلطان محمود بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه		۱۱
...	بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان		۱۲
...	مرمت مسجد مرتب بنده درگاه مبارك		۱۳
...		۱۴
...	باجمعين ارحم الراحمين —		۱۵

1 O Allah! O Allah!

2 'a'

3-4 'h'

5 The date of construction of the original mosque of Muḥallat...

6-7 The said mosque was dedicated by Mir Hājī alias...(in the) year six hundred and thirty six (636 A. H./1238 A. D.)

8-13 O God, forgive and have mercy. After two (hundred ?) seven years the said mosque was repaired by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Alī bin Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm alias...Hakīm....., during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Muzaffar Shāh as-Sultan. The slave of the exalted court.

14

15with the whole universe the Most Merciful.

The words and the style of writing of this inscription, without Maḥmūd Begadā's usual *kunyat* Abdu'l-Faṭḥ etc., encourages us to say that this inscription might be dated to the very beginning of his reign, even before his insignia and title were framed by the state. The idea seems to have been to keep the older record intact and the inscription is arranged within an arch more or less like those on contemporary tomb-slabs. Such was not the style of the other mosque-inscriptions of Maḥmūd Begadā's period. It is, therefore, probable that this inscription was put up to preserve the old information recorded in an earlier inscription without caring for the style of calligraphy then prevailing. This inscription clearly supports our belief that the site of Ahmadabad was well populated by Musalmans even before the days of the Muslim Sultans of Gujarat.

III

Grave Slab

Pīr Muḥammad Shāh's shrine at Ahmadabad is connected with a great endowment and houses a library of important books, and there are several old graves and mosques within its precincts. Numerous inscriptions are visible upon the walls of its mosques. These do not concern the place itself, which is of a much later date than those mentioned in these inscriptions. The central *mehrāb* of the mosque bears an inscription (III) which is not easy to decipher. It is, however, evident that it is a gravestone and is dated 675 A. H./1276 A. D.

(On the margin) بسم الله — آيته الكرسي — الخ

۱ لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 ۲ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله و حده
 ۳ ۱-بشرهم الخ
 ۴ عظيم
 ۸-۵
 ۹ سنم خمس و سبعين و ستمايتم

On the margin :—'a', 'f',

- 1 'b'
- 2 'a', Praise be to God by Himself.
- 3-4 'i.'
- 5-8
- 9 year six hundred and seventy five (1276 A. D.).

All this shows that the site of Ahmadabad had early Muslim remains before the actual foundation of the city by Aḥmad I. It was then known by the name Asawal. It is just possible that careful search might

unearth traces of similar other ancient Muslim relics. No doubt, Gujarat has been one of the provinces to which many pious Muslims come before the coming of the later invaders. Here they settled down and here they must have lived and died and been buried. Ahmadabad deserves special mention in this connection for many such ancient Muslim graves are to be found along the banks of the Sabarmati and in the various quarters of the city. Local Muslims regard these graves with great reverence, because in their opinion the occupants of these graves must have been among the companions of the Prophet. Two domes with four small cupolas at their four corners, lying close to each other on the road leading to the Astodya gate just near the Municipal office, sufficiently reflect from their style of construction and from the material used on them that they actually belong to a very early period.

We are fortunate to find the mention of the ancient Asawal as a well populated town of Gujarat even before the foundation of Ahmadabad. Al-Birūnī mentions Asawal¹ one of those places near the coast of Gujarat, and he says that it lies at a journey of two days from the coast. At the end of the eleventh century Rājā Karaṇ Solankī is said to have attacked a Bhil chieftain, named Asha, who lived at Ashapalli or Ashawal. The Bhil was defeated and slain by Karaṇ.² According to Idrisī, the Arab geographer, Asawal was a well-populated trading and manufacturing place and a rich town in 1150 A. D.³ Here also the great Sultan Muḥammad bin Tughluq halted in 745 A. H./1344 A. D., when he came to suppress the insurrection of Taghī, the cobbler, and from here he proceeded to Naharwāla⁴ From this brief account of Asawal, subsequently the site of Ahmadabad, we can gather some idea of its importance all through the history of Gujarat.

IV-V

Earliest Inscriptions Referring to the Muslim Dynasty of Gujarat

If we trace the advent of the Muslims in India, we find that it was to Gujarat that the first Muslims, coming to India by sea, arrived in the year 15 A. H./636 A. D., i. e., just five years after the death of the Prophet. The first conquest in India by the Muslims was that of Sindh and it took place seventy eight years after this first advent of the Muslims into Gujarat.⁵ The beginnings of the Muslim dynasty in Gujarat go as far

1. Al-Birūnī, *India* (tr. by Sachau), Vol. I, p. 209.
2. *Rās Malā*, by Alexander Kinloch Forbes, London, 1924, Vol. I, p. 103.
3. Joubert's Idrisī, Vol. I, pp. 170-176.
4. HD., p. 882; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 169; Elliot-Dawson, Vol. III, p. 200; MG., pp. 59-60; Zia Barani., p. 518.
5. Sayyid Abdul Haye, *Yad-i-Ayyam*, Aligarh, p. 6.

back in history as 697 A. H. 1297-8, A. D., but the present attempt is confined to the inscriptions of the Muslim Dynasty of Gujarat preserved on the monuments of their Capital at Ahmadabad. Nevertheless, a very brief account of the origins of this dynasty is essential.

“During the reign of the great Sultan Muḥammad Tughluq, Prince Firōz, then heir-apparent, went to a hunting expedition, during which he wandered from his companions and lost his way and at last found shelter in a village of the Tāluqa Thānesar in the Sirhind Division of the Panjab. The chief men of that place were two brothers, Sādhu and Sahran by name, men of wealth and consequence, who belonged to Tank tribe of Rajputana. The prince was hospitably entertained by them and fell in love with their sister, peerless in beauty and loveliness. After he had satisfied his hosts about his rank and family, he was offered the young lady in *nikāh*-marriage, and set out for Delhi accompanied by the two brothers, who had decided to follow his fortunes. Shortly after, both the brothers accepted Islam and such was the loyalty and zeal of Sahāran that he received at the royal court the title of Wajihu'l-Mulk (the Chief of the State). When Firōz Tughluq ascended the throne at Delhi, Zafar Khān and Shams Khān, the two sons of Wajihul-Mulk were promoted to the rank of nobles and appointed to the office of cup-bearers. Zafar Khān was born at Delhi on 30th June 1342 A. D. and he was well past his prime when, under his new title he was appointed in 1391 A. D. to the charge of the important province of Gujarat at a critical period.”¹

Sakhāwī says in his account of Maḥmūd Begadā : “His grandfather Muzaffar had embraced Islām at the hands of Muḥammad Shāh (Tughluq), the ruler of Delhi. He was sent as viceory over Gujarat to suppress rebellions there. Later, when disorder broke out in Delhi and the kingdom was divided into petty states, Muzaffar continued to rule over Gujarat. His son arrested and imprisoned him, and proclaimed himself independent ruler of Gujarat in place of his father. But his rule did not last long, for his father's party regained power and the son was put to death. A few years later Aḥmad, the son of the deceased, avenged his father by murdering his grandfather and established himself in Gujarat”².

There are different statements as to the attitude of Tatār Khān and his son Aḥmad towards Muzaffar. It is however certain that Tatār Khān was a minister of Sultan Nāsiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Tughluq and even in the reign of his successor, Nusrat Shāh, he continued in his service. He was sent to Sāmāna with a small force and remained a minister of Nusrat Shāh as well. When Iqbal Khān Mallu came to Panipat and laid siege to it, he

1. MS. BY., pp. 68-70 ; HG., p. 48 ; HD., p. 903.

2. Sakhāwī, Vol. X, p. 144.

realised that he could no longer control the affairs of Delhi; so he made his way towards his father, who was in Gujarat, with the permission of Sultan Nusrat Shāh on the pretext of getting help from him.¹

At a later date Tatār Khān in Gujarat having come to know of Amir Timur's invasion of India turned back towards Delhi. After Timur's departure from India Tatār Khān saw the unsettled condition of the central government and so he pressed his father to march against Delhi. But Zafar Khān was always cooling his ardour by objecting on the ground that such action would be reproved as being venal and avaricious. At last in 806 A. H. / 1403 A. D. Tatār Khān became the first independent Sultan of Gujarat with the title of Nāsiru'd Dīn Muḥammad Shāh as noted above.²

But later on when the Tughluqs were losing ground everywhere and many tributary rulers of India were declaring their independence, Muzaffar Shāh, who was already an independent ruler, declared himself King of the whole Gujarat in 810 A. H. / 1407 A. D.

It is very fortunate that through some important inscriptions relating to the founder of the Gujarat Muslim dynasty, which have been discovered in other parts of Gujarat, we have been able to confirm a good deal of the very interesting information about Muzaffar.

One of them (No. IV) is from the wall of the tank adjoining the Juma' Masjid of Baroda, and the other (No. V) is on the Naulakhī *Vāv* situated in the grounds of Lakshmivilas Palace of Baroda. The subject matter of both the inscriptions is more or less identical. They refer to the construction of a well or tank. But the inscription from the palace *vāv* (step-well) bears the name and titles of Zafar Khān b. Wajīhu'l-Mulk, Khān Ā'zam, Khāqān-i-Mu'azzam, Ulūgh-i-Qutlūgh Hūmāyūn, Masnad-i-'Ālī, the ruler of Gujarat. The fief of Barodrā (Baroda) at that time was under the control of one Malik Ādam b. Sulaimān. Both the inscriptions bear the same date, viz., the 1st of Rajab, 807 A. H. / 3rd January 1405 A. D. The builder of both the wells is Amīr Nathu, son of Takhir. The former inscription is bilingual which is fortunate, as it gives us some further information.

IV (a)

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ - بِتَوْفِیْقِ وَّ عِزٰیْتِ رَبّٰئِنِّیْ وَّ بِكْرَمِ عَمِیْمِ یَزِیْدَانِیْ -
و بِنَائِدِ سَعَادَتِ حَبِیْبِ سَبْحَانِیْ مُحَمَّدِ رَسُوْلِ اللّٰهِ صَلٰی اللّٰهُ عَلَیْهِ وَّ سَلَمَ - امیر معظم

1. HD., pp. 904-5; *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, pp. 159-65; and *Firishta* (Persian edition, Lucknow), Vol. I, p. 155.

2. MS. F., p. 15.

و مکرم نتهو تا کبیر الراجی الی رحمتہ اللہ عمارت این بائیں مرتب و تمام گردانید
و ذلک فی الغرة من رجب رجب قدره سنہ سبع و ثمانمایتہ -

'a.' By the grace and solicitude and divine and universal generosity of the Omnipresent; and by the auspicious support of the friend of God, Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (Allāh's blessings and peace be upon him) Amīr Mu'zzam wa Mukarram (exalted and revered) Nathu-i-, Takhir had recourse to the mercy of God. The construction of this step-well was prepared and completed on the 1st of the month of Rajab (may its dignity increase), in the year 807 (3 Jan. 1405 A. D.)

The Sanskrit portion is composed partly in verse and partly in prose. The metrical part consists of three stanzas. The first stanza is in praise of God. The second stanza praises Mīr Nātha, and ridicules his enemies. In the third is recorded the construction of a well by Mīr Nātha the son of Takṣara, and the well is compared with the milky ocean. This stanza also probably gives the date of the construction in words, for the month Pauṣa of the Hindu calendar and the bright half of the same are mentioned in it. Then follows the prose part of the inscription which clearly mentions the date in numerals and records also the construction of the well by Mīr Nātha, the son of Takṣara the last portion of the fifth line very clearly records a town by name Saḥaṭapura, "the best".

The Sanskrit portion is as follows¹ :

- १ ॥ श्रीः ॥ सृष्टिकर्ता जयति ॥ अमंदानंदहेतुर्योऽव्यक्तोव्यक्तेतरः परः । दद्याद्विश्वस्य वि-
- २ श्वस्य कर्ता देवः स वः श्रियम् ॥ १॥ धनुर्द्वरं मीरशिरोवतंसं श्री मीरनाथं नयनैर्निपथि
प्रत्यर्धिनः के
- ३ भण नाम मीरु पादं प्रभूतं युधि नाप्नुवन्ति ॥ २ ॥ वर्षेस्मिन् वासवमिते श्री-
विक्रमाङ्गक्षणात्पौषे मासि सि-
- ४ ते वृषाकपितिथौ पक्षे बलक्षे सति । क्षीराभोधिसमामकारयदिमा पुण्यश्रिये वापिकां स
श्री तक्षरनंदनो गुणनिधिः
- ५ श्री मीरनाथः रूती ॥ ३ ॥ संवत् १४६२ वर्षे मीर श्री तक्षर (सुत) श्री मीरनाथ इमां वापीं
अकारयत् ॥ श्री सद्दटपुरे श्रेष्ठे सृष्टि क -
- ६ पूता^३

*Transcription of the Sanskrit.**

- 1 Śrīḥ. Sṛṣṭikarttā jayati. Amandānandahetur yo 'vyakto vyak-
tetarahaḥ parah; dadyād viśvasya vi—

1. The language of the text is grammatically incorrect.
2. Mutilated letters.
3. Rest illegible.

- 2 śvasya karttā devaḥ sa vaḥ śriyam (1). Dhanurdharam Mīraśi-
rovatamsam Srī Mīra Nātham nayanair nipīya ; pratyarthinaḥ ke
3 bhaṇa nāma bhīru pādām prabhūtam yudhi nāpnuvaṅti (2).
Varṣe' smin - - - vāsavamite Śrī Vikramārkakṣaṇāt, Pauṣe
māsi si—
4 te vṛṣākapi tithau pakṣe valakṣe sati ; kṣīrāmbhodhisamāma-
kārayad imām puṇyaśriye vāpikām, sa Srī Takṣaranandano
guṇanidhiḥ
5 Srī Mīranāthaḥ kṛtī (3). Samvat 1462 varṣe Mīra Śrī Takṣara
(suta) Srī Mīra Nātha imām vāpīm akārayat. Srī Saḥaṭapure
śreṣṭhe sṛṣṭi ka-
6 pūtā

Translation of the Sanskrit :

Victory ! Victorious is the Creator of the Universe,

He, who is the source of undiminishing bliss, the Unmanifest, above
manifestation and beyond, the Creator of the whole Universe, may that
God grant unto you blessings.¹

Seeing this archer, Srī Mīra Nātha, the crestjewel of the Miras on
the field of battle, say which of his enemies shall not take to cowardly flight.

In this year . . .² of the Vikrama era, on the bright Vṛṣākapi day of the
month of Pauṣa, when the fortnight was bright, Śrī Mīra Nātha, caused to
be constructed this well, a vertiable Ocean of Milk, for earning merit. ³

In the year 1462 Śrī Mīra Natha, son of Śrī Takṣara caused this
well to be constructed.

In this auspicious town of Saḥaṭapura, the best,⁴

IV (b)

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ
بعد حمد کردگار و درود مرسل پروردگار در عهد
خان اعظم خاقان معظم اَلْعُ قُتْلُغُ همايون مسند
عالی دام عالیا ظفر خان بن وجیر الملک مقطع عرصہ

* The transcriptions of the Sanskrit inscriptions was in this paper made by
Messrs M. A. Mehendale and A. V. Naik of the Deccan College Post Graduate
and Research Institute. The writer is grateful to them for this help.

1. The text of the inscription is grammatically incorrect.
2. These letters are mutilated.
3. Rest illegible. 4. About Saḥaṭapura see below.

گجرات باقبال ملک ملوک الشرق اعظم ملک آدم بن سلیمان
مقطع برودره سلم الله تعالى نصیر الدولم والدين امیر قنهور
تا کپور دام علوه عمارت این بائین بتوفیق الله تعالی مرتب و تمام گودانید
و ذلک فی الغره من رجب رجب قدره سنه سبع و ثمانمایتہ

'a,' 'b.' After the praise of God and salutation to the Messenger of Providence, during the reign of the Great Khān, the exalted Khāqān, Ulugh-i-Qutlugh, Masnad-i-'Ālī (may his dignity ever remain high), Zafar Khān, son of Wajihu'l-Mulk, the holder of the territory of Gujarāt, and in the auspicious rule of the Malik of Maliks of the East, the great Malik Ādam, son of Sulaimān, the holder of the fief of Barodra, (may Almighty God protect him), Nasīru'd-Dawla wa'd-Din, Amir Nathū Takhīr (may God raise his dignity high), prepared and completed this step-well by the grace of Almighty God. It took place on the 1st of the month of Rajab (may its dignity increase) in the year 807 A. H. (3rd Jan. 1405 A. D.)

This epigraph also was bilingual, but its Sanskrit version was on a separate slab of marble which is missing from its original place, as is obvious from the gap in the left hand wall of the present inscription.¹ We gather from the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*² that Zafar b. Wajihu'l-Mulk had the same titles as noted above in the inscription. Specially as to the mention of Malik Ādam b. Sulaimān we are able to say that there was a person of this name at the beginning of the reign of Aḥmad I. We find in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* that Moiu'd-Din b. Firoz Khān, a cousin of Aḥmad, then the governor of Baroda, had revolted against Aḥmad in the very beginning of his reign; and at his instigation Bhikan, Adam and Afghan, who were the helpers of Aḥmad, were attacked.³ On the authority of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, Bayley has remarked⁴ that Malik Adam b. Sulaiman and Afghan were one and the same person and Farīdī in his translation of the MS. has asserted that Bhikan and Ādam Sulaiman Afghān were friends of the Sultan.⁵ This Malik Ādam b. Sulaiman played an important part in firmly establishing the kingship of Aḥmad I. For some years he was in charge of the fief of Baroda. This inscription now sets at rest all doubts regarding this important personage.

J. Forbes writes as under in his *Oriental Memoirs* after he arrived at Broach from Bombay (Jan. 1783) and began exploration through Gujarat :
" in the environs of Brodera are some very expensive bowrees, or wells,

1. Abdul Husain, one of the servants of His Highness of Baroda, who had helped the writer in visiting the *vāv*, stated that some years ago he had observed the Sanskrit slab also. At present this *vāv* serves as a source of water for the palace gardens and has been converted into a tube-well.

2. MS., p. 12.

3. *Ibid*, 22.

4. MS. BY., pp. 88, 96.

5. MS. F., p. 11.

with grand flights of steps descending to the water, through rows of stone pillars and pilasters. The largest of the Brodera wells is a magnificent work, with the following inscription over the portal, in the Persian character; of which I insert the translation, as a specimen of such dedications:

'In the name of Alla.

The God of Mercy and Beneficence.

God is one

And God who sent Mahomet into the world.'

Jaffier Khan Ben Vazalmool, viceroy of Guzerat, was successful and mighty in battle. Brodera was under his command, he was an officer high in rank, with the most honourable titles. By his favour, Soliman his chief minister was appointed governor of Brodera; where, by blessing of Allah, he accumulated great riches, and employed them in works of charity and beneficence. By him, this work of beauty, strength and admiration, was by the Divine permission, completed on the first of the month of Rabez, in the 807th year of the Hejira'.

The water of Soliman's well is reckoned extremely pure, and is much sought after."¹

It is not without interest that Forbes, who had seen many such step-wells in the environs of Baroda, should have given the inscription only from the largest one. According to Forbes the inscription was on the portal of the step-well. It seems that the step-well noticed by Forbes was not the Naulākhi *vāv* in the grounds of the Lakshmivilas Palace, but some other *vāv* nearly as large.

In consequence of the presence of three inscriptions from step-wells within the Baroda state, giving almost identical details, we may safely say that when Zafar Khān was ruler of Gujarat, his nobles had realised the needs of the people's welfare and as part of their duty to their subjects had managed to assure a copious water supply through means of these step-wells.

It is really astonishing to find that both these step-wells were constructed and designed by the same person at about the same date, and for an identical purpose. Even the calligraphy of both the inscriptions seems to be the work of the same scribe.

We should not omit to mention here that inscription No. IVa from the Juma' Masjid² of Baroda, does not bear the names of Zafar Khān and

1. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs* (2nd ed., London, 1834), Vol. II, pp. 285-87. In Forbes' reading Jaffier Khān is the same Zafar Khan and Vazalmool is Wajihu'l-Mulk. Burgess has also cited one such step-well from Baroda at Sewari, six miles west of Baroda, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (London 1903), p. 116.

2 This Juma' Masjid of Baroda was built by the orders of Prince Khalīl Khān (later Sultan Muzaffar II) in 910 A. H./1504 A. D., which is testified by a long and beautifully calligraphed inscription on its facade in *Naskhī* style (EX. No, 66).

Sulaimān but it does bear the name of Amir Nathū as the builder. The Sanskrit text of the same also bears the name of the town Sahaṭapura, where also a step-well was constructed. It is just possible that at that period this Sahaṭapura might have been outside the jurisdiction of the ruler of Gujarat. The exact location of this is almost impossible to fix.¹

At Mangrol a Persian inscription in verse on the Gadi Gate mentions that Zafar Khān, entitled Muzaffar Khān, son of Wajihu'l Mulk, the great minister of the central government, was appointed to the post of the governor of Gujarat and under him Malik Yāqub held the fief of Sorath and Malik Tamīm also held a similar position at Mangrol. It records the construction of the citadel, city-wall and the gateway fitted with steel gates. Malik Mūsa was the *kotwāl* of the city who was in charge of the work, and Ustād Qāzī and Malik Zahīr were expert supervisors of the work. It was completed on the 14th Rajab 797 A. H. / 5th May, 1394 A. D.² Another inscription in Persian verse, at the Sepoy Guard of Mangrol, belonging to the regime of the same Zafar Khān, mentions that the citadel of Mangrol was completed in 800 A. H. / 1397 A. D., when Malik Badr Bhingal at Sorath and Malik Shaikh son of Tāj at Mangrol, were putting forth their best efforts for this work³. Yet another inscription in Persian, from the *Idgāh* of Gogā, mentions the name of Khān-i-Ā'zam

1. In *The Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Vol. II, p. 274) we find a mention of Saitpur سیت پور. When Akbar was returning home from the town of Dhaulqā, after one night's halt he went to the town of Kaḍī, after stopping for one night there he marched to the town of Saitpur. Here a dispatch was received from Raja Bhagawān Dās and Shāh Qulī Mahram mentioning the auspicious news of the capture of the Fort of Baḍnagar. After this he proceeded to Sirōhī. Mr. De has discussed this point particularly and he says (Trans. II. 421) that mss. of the *Tabaqāt* سیت پور have Saitpur and its litho edition has Sītapur. Mr. Beveridge's translation of the *Akbarnāma* has Sathpur. In the *Iqbāl-Nāma-i-Jahāngirī* there is سیت پور Sītpur. If we take both these Saitpurs and the one mentioned in the inscription as identical then we can presumably take the Saitpur of the inscription as the modern Siddhpur, a *talūqu* in the Baroda State. Because it was inevitable for Akbar to pass through modern Siddhpur after leaving Dhaulqā for home and taking up the route through Kadi and Sirōhī. There are *vāṅus*-(step-wells) at Siddhpur also. (BG., p. 229) Experts on coins have also cited one Saitpur سیت پور as one of the mint towns of Akbar but they are not definite as to its location (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. II, p. lxxxvi, and "Prof. H. M. Shairani's Collection", *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August 1933, p. 14).

2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Bavanagari*, p. 14. Malik Yāqub noted in this inscription was, according to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, given the title of Sikandar Khān in 789 A. H. (p. 253). Burgess has given the transcript of one Sanskrit inscription in (BG. p. 246) from the Juma' Masjid of Mangrol which is almost identical with this Persian inscription. Therefore these two together may be considered to form a bilingual epigraph; see also HG., pp. 74-76.

3. CIB., p. 2; the published text says 700 A. H., which in reality should be 800 A. H.

Zafar Khān, son of Wajūhu'l Mulk, during whose regime it was built by Kamāl Hamīd on the 15th Rajab 797 A. H. / 6th May 1394 A. D.¹

The first and last of these Kathiawar inscriptions bear the name of one Sultān Nusrat Shāh during whose period Zafar Khān had built these monuments. This Sultān was the grandson of Firōz Shāh Tughluq and he ruled over Delhi for about four years, Rabi I, 797 to Rajab, 802 A. H. / Dec. 1394 to March 1398 A. D.²

V

At Verāval we have been able to trace one more bilingual inscription from the tomb of Maghribī Sabib just near the Custom House and it records the construction of the city-wall and a house. It runs thus :

- ۱ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - بتاریخ چهاردهم ماه شوال سنه عشر و ثمانیتم
بنا این حصار و خانہ
- ۲ در عهد خان اعظم ظفر خان و جیر الملک شمس الدنیا و الدین مظفر
شاه السلطان
- ۳ عهده دار و فرمائش ملک فضل الله احمد ابورجا و در بیست هفتم ماه
ربیع الاول سنه احدی عشر و ثمانیتم مرتب شد
- ۴ هر که می بیند بدعا سلامتی ایمان یاد کند و فاتحتہ کتاب بخواند (۷)

.. 'a' ; On the 14th of the month of Shawwāl, year 810 A. H. (13th March 1408 A. D.) this city-wall and house were constructed in the reign of Khān-i-Ā'zam, Zafar Khān, son of Wajūhu'l Mulk, Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Muzaffar Shāh, as-Sultān, by his servant and by order of Malik Fazlu'l-lāh Ahmad Abu Rajā. It was completed on the 27th Rabi I, year 811 A. H. (20th July 1408 A. D.) Whoever sees this should remember the builder and pray for the protection of the faith and recite the introduction of the Holy Book.

۱. संवत् १४६४ वर्षे चैत्र वदि २ [पुर्वे] श्रीप्राकार[मंडनं] श्री श्री शकरखान श्री...[साह]
२. मुजफर सुलतानि [सु] त[वहादे?] महामलिक श्री फझरल अहमद अबुरा [जा] प्रा[कार]
३.श्रावण व [दि] १३ निष्प[न]: ॥मंगलमस्तु.
1. Saṁvat 1464 varṣe Caitra vadi 2 [pūrve] Śrī prākāra [maṇḍanam] Śrī Śrī Jhapharakhāna Śrī.....[sāha]
2. Mujhaphara Sulatāni [su]ta [vahād?] Mahā-malika Śrī Phajharala Ahammada Abu Rā[jā]prā[kāra]
3.Śrāvaṇa va[di] 13 niṣpa[n]naḥmaṅgalam astu

1. CIB, p. 4, the published text says wrongly 777 A. H. which is due to a confusion in reading, it ought to be 797 A. H.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, pp. 159-165.

The Sanskrit version of the inscription is too much obliterated to yield any connected translation. It, however, gives the proper names Śrī Zafar Khān, Muzaffar Sultān, Maha-Malika, Śrī Fazarala Ahammada Abu Rājā. It refers to the construction of a city-wall (*prākāra*). The two dates are clearly legible. What they refer to is not clear. They may refer to the commencement and completion of the city-wall.

This inscription from Verāval bears the name, title and insignia of Zafar Khān as Sultan. Therefore it possesses a special importance.

VI

Foundation of Ahmadabad and the City-Wall

Sultan Aḥmad I, instead of continuing at Anhilwād Paṭṭan, the ancient capital of Hindu Gujarat, changed his seat of government and founded his new capital at Ahmadabad. This city remained the capital for about two hundred years, with the exception of a short interval, when Maḥmūd Begadā made his capital at Chāmpāner under the name Muhammadabad just after its conquest in 889 A. H. / 1484 A. D.

The chronogram of the year of the foundation of the city of Ahmadabad is expressed by the word *khair*¹ (auspicious) and it gives the year 810 A. H. / 1407 A. D. But Aḥmad, the founder of Ahmadabad, actually ascended the throne on 14th of Ramazan in the year 813 A. H. / 10th January 1411 A. D.² This means a discrepancy of about three years. Generally no importance is attached to this chronogram, but if we study the facts critically we find in it matters of great significance.

Zafar Khān, after having taken up his abode at Asawal in 806 A.H. / 1403 A. D., invested his son, Nāsir'ud-Dīn Tatār Khān with full powers.³ Muḥammad Shāh Tatār Khān made his capital at Asawal, just outside the site subsequently chosen for the city of Ahmadabad.⁴ After the demise of this Nāsir'ud-Dīn Tatār Khān Muḥammad Shāh, Zafar Khān nominated Aḥmad,⁵ (son of Sultan Muḥammad) as his heir-apparent. Later on in 810 A. H. / 1407 A. D., at Birpur Zafar Khān declared himself Sultan of Gujarat with the title of Muzaffar Shāh and returned to his old capital at Paṭṭan, where he died and where he was buried. The assumption by Zafar Khān of this title Muzaffar Shāh as King of Gujarat was for purely political reasons after he had freed himself from the bondage of Delhi and had made Gujarat an independent Muslim kingdom.

We can easily conclude that Asawal had acquired great importance because Zafar Khān had taken up his abode there and because it was at Asawal that his son Sultan Muḥammad had ascended the throne. It was

1. MS., p. 27. 2. *Ibid*, p. 22. 3. *Ibid*, p. 16. 4. MS. BY., p. 17. 5. MS., p. 18.

from this same place that he had started on his march to Delhi. It was also the place where Ahmad had been nominated as his successor by Zafar Khān. It is just possible, therefore, that Ahmad had continued to reside at Asawal as heir-apparent and had also begun to have the idea of founding a new city there in his own name.

The proclamation of Zafar Khān as Sultān Muzaffar in 810 A.H./1401 A. D. as a King independent of the Delhi Sultanate would naturally be looked upon as the true date of the foundation of the new city. So the chronogram *khair*, which so aptly indicates the same date, marks the founding of the independent Muslim kingdom of Gujarat as also of its capital city. In actual fact, however, the city itself materialised in 813 A.H./1411 A. D. on the accession of Ahmad himself.

The historians of Ahmadabad usually devote much space to accounts of the mosques built there and tend to ignore several other monuments which were equally important and necessary for the foundation of the city. No doubt, it is aptly called "the city of a thousand stone mosques." Each of them is said to have been adorned with minarets and excellent inscriptions, as asserted by Abul Fazl.¹ But according to local history,² the stone mosques of Ahmadabad number only between four hundred and fifty and five hundred. There are however, other prominent monuments of Ahmad I, which were erected by him, the city-wall, the triple gateway or *tin-darwāza* or tripolia, which at present spans the broad road running from the Bhadra to the Railway Station. This *tin-darwāza* has a Nāgarī inscription on a marble slab dated 1868 v.s./1734 Śaka/1814 A.D. which records an order made during the Subedarship of Chimnaji Raghunāth at Ahmadabad with regard to the rights of succession of a daughter on the petition made by certain Shariff of Ahmadabad.³ The main function of this triple gateway was to serve as the principal entrance to the Royal Palace, which actually stood upon the spot known today as the Bhadra. In the days of the Sultans it was called Daru's-Saltanat (the Palace of the Sultans) and here the great feudatories and foreign embassies assembled before approaching the royal presence. Unfortunately, the Daru's-Saltanat of the Gujarat Sultans no longer exists and the present Bhadra is a later erection of Ā'zam Khān the Mughal Subedar⁴.

VI (a)

The poet Hūlwī of Shirāz composed a history of the reign of Ahmad I in verse, of which some extracts have been quoted in the *Mirāt*-

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 484.

2. MA., Vol. II, p. 6.

3. The writer is grateful to Dr. Sankalia for supplying him with the substance of the inscription; see BA., Pt. I, p. 25, Pls. 6, 28, 29.

4. *Vide infra*.

*i-Sikandari*¹. Some of the verses from his work referring to the foundation of Ahmadabad and the construction of the city-wall might have been appropriately utilised in the inscription on the wall.

۱	چنین گفت حلوی شیرین سخن	۱	کم افشاند صد درج در در سخن
۲	کم چون چند کم شاه گردون خرام	۲	شدش بر لب رود سانبر مقام
۳	به الهام نبیی بحکم اله	۳	چنین آمد اندر دل پادشاه
۴	کم در آن زمینی مروح هوا	۴	کند تازه شهری معظم بنا
۵	همان احظر بقا طلب کرد شاه	۵	بفرمود تا هم در آن جایگاه
۶	بسازد یکی شهر عالی اساس	۶	کم گویند سگان خاکش سپاس
<	پی دفع یا جوج کین آوری	<	کشد بر زمین سد اسکندری
۸	مر ذوالقعدة و رفتم از هجریم	۸	ثلث عشر با ثمان مایم
۹	چو ترتیب آنشهر عالی مقام	۹	شد از ناصرالدین احمد تمام
۱	و را نام هم احمد آباد شد	۱	در آن ملت احمد آباد شد

ه ۸۱۳

- 1 Thus chanted Hülwi, the melodious bard,
who scatters numerous priceless pearls of poesy :
- 2 That once upon a time the king, all-embracing like the sky,
called a halt on the bank of the river Sambar.
- 3 Through divine inspiration and through command of God
a great idea came in to the king's mind :
- 4 That in that land of fragrant breezes
he should lay the foundation of a city fine.
- 5 He summoned the architect without delay,
and ordered that upon the selfsame spot
- 6 He should erect a city of firm foundation,
which should win the praises of the inhabitants of that place
- 7 And a wall of fortification, the envy of the wall
of Alexander, to ward off the inroads of the Gog,
- 8 In the month of Zu'l-Q'adah of the year
eight hundred and thirteen of the Hijra era³,
- 9 The city in its full splendour saw
the light of the day at the hands of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Aḥmad ;

1. MS., pp. 23-24.

2. MA., p. 2 حلوائی; MS., p. 96 حلوی

3. Feb. 1410 A. D.

- 10 And bore the name of Ahmadabad and became the refuge and residence of the followers of the Prophet Aḥmad the blessed.

VI (b)

Sultan Maḥmūd Begaḍā after the conquest of Chāmpāner is said to have caused the city of Ahmadabad to be surrounded by a wall and bastions, which probably means that he repaired and extended the ancient wall wherever it was necessary. On its completion, he had a Qurānic verse commemorating the date of that event, inscribed on one of the bastions :¹

مَنْ دَخَلَ كَانَ آمِنًا
 ۸۹۲ هـ

'Whosoever entereth here is safe'²

This gives the date 892 A. H. /1486 A. D. This inscription, however is no longer traceable.

VI (c)

On the city wall just near the gateway of the Gaekwad Haveli, on the banks of the Sabarmati river, we can trace an interesting inscription, dated the 1st of Rabī I, year 1028 A. H./16th Feb. 1619 A. D., i. e., in the days of Jahangir. This is bilingual, Gujarati and Persian. It supplies us the brief information that Shafi Khān Bakhshīu'l-Mulkī had built it on the 1st of Rabī I in the year 1028 A. H./16th February, 1619 A. D. under the supervision of Sayyid Kamāl Jūnairī.

تعمیر کرد شفیعی خان بخششی (الملکی)
 تا ریخ غره ما
 ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۰۲۸
 با ہتمام سید کمال جوئیڑے

Built by Shafi Khān, Bakhshīu'l-Mulkī, on the 1st of the month of Rabī I, in the year 1028 (16th Feb. 1619 A. D.).

Under the supervision of Sayyid Kamāl Jūnairī.

- 1 संवत् १६२५ वर्षे माहा वद ४ शनउ अरो (?) राअे(ए!) स(ष !)
- 2 इ ना करावो खान श्री सफीखाने समरावो सह

Saturday, 4th of the dark-half of Māh, in the year 1625 Sāmvat, the wall of Rāykhad was repaired by Khān Śrī Safī Khān.

1. *Firishta* (Briggs), Vol. IV, p. 70. 2. *Qur'ān*, iii, 97.

It is remarkable that this Shafī Khān has been mentioned in all historical records as Safī Khān (صفي خان) and not Shafī Khān (شفيع خان) as in this inscription. The former (صفي خان) is correct. Moreover, the inscription seems quite casual because it does not bear the usual mention of the Emperor's name as was the practice of those days. This incident is clearly recorded in the Memoirs of the Emperor, who mentions that the expenses incurred were paid from the state treasury. It seems, therefore, that the recorder of this inscription was a minor personage, who did not pay much attention to correct spelling.

Jahangir says in his Memoirs : "Safī Khān was the son of the brother of Ja'far Beg, who received in my father's service the title of Saif Khān and was married to a daughter of Nūr Jahān's brother, who by my favour had received the title of Āsaf Khān. He was appointed Bakhshī of Gujarat". Jahangir further says in the course of his Memoirs of the year 1027 A. H. / 1617 A. D. "when the royal retinue was proceeding towards Ahmadabad, Safī Khān, Bakhshī of Gujarat, repaired at the expense of the Government all that was broken down and was in ruins, and he also cleared a little plot and erected a new building on it."¹

History records that Mirza Safī, entitled Saif Khan, was the son of Amānat Khān and that, owing to old relations with I'timādud-Dawla's family, he was married to a daughter of Āsaf Khān, a sister of Mumtaz Mahāl, the lady of the Taj Mahal of Agra. He is generally mentioned as the Diwan of Gujarat. He made adequate arrangements for maintaining the city of Ahmadabad in good order. He laid out a garden on the site where he had won a battle against Abdulla Khān, just near Batwa and Rasulabad, and named it *Jannat Bāri* or Gardens of Heaven. He died in Bengal in 1049 A. H. / 1639 A. D.²

In 1026 A. H. / 1616 A. D. Jahangir came to Gujarat and Shahjahan as the Prince Royal accompanied him. He encamped at the Kankaria tank. Shah Jahan was presented with the province of Gujarat by the Emperor. Jahangir was approached by Khairu'n-Nissa, the daughter of Abdur-Rahīm, Khān Khānān, who requested the honour of the Emperor's presence at a dinner in the gardens known as *Fath Bāri*, laid out by her father during the tenure of his office as governor of Gujarat. Jahangir accepted the invitation. Besides the excellent dinner, he specially enjoyed the magnificent array of the trees bearing numerous varieties of fruit in artificial form made of paper and wax in that autumn weather. Soon afterwards he left Ahmadabad for Akbarabad, but owing to abnormal heat on the way he got ill at Dohad and was compelled to return to Ahmadabad.

1. Jahangir's Memoirs, English Translation, by Roger, Vol. II, p. 262 and Vol. I, p. 470. 2. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 416-421.

He suffered from a severe attack of fever. After his recovery on the 2nd Ramazān, 1027 A. H./23rd August 1618 A. D. he left Ahmadabad.¹

Shahjahan was at Dohad with his family, where on 15th Ziqā'da 1028 A. H. /24th Oct. 1619 A. D. Aurangzeb was born. Jahangir celebrated the birth of this grandson by holding a great feast at Ujjain.

According to the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* the palaces near the southern gate of Khanpur, situated on the banks of the Sābarmati, are known as the 'Haveli of Shahjahan'. Even to this day some remnants of these are traceable. The credit for the laying out of the Shāhī gardens of Ahmadabad on the banks of the Sābarmati also belongs to Shahjahan.²

In course of time many old monuments of Ahmadabad, which had not been properly looked after, required renovation and repairs. In 1094 A. H./1682 A. D., when Mukhtār Khān was the governor of Gujarat, the floods of the Sabarmati due to heavy rains caused great damage to many old monuments. The city-wall as well as the fort collapsed in many places. Mukhtār Khān reported the matter to the Emperor and drew his attention to the urgency of immediate repairs. Both the city-wall and the fort had been repaired by Makramat Khān, while he was the Diwan some years earlier, and so a royal *farmān* was issued to the effect that the cost of repairs in the past years should be carefully ascertained. It was discovered that the necessary repairs had been done four times already, and had been paid for out of both government funds and public subscriptions. Nothing was, therefore, collected from the public for the repairs on this particular occasion. Once again in 1101 A.H. / 1689 A.D., during the governorship of Shaja'at Khān, necessary repairs were effected within the fort. In short, we find from reliable sources that all necessary repairs were effected in order to preserve the monuments of the Muslim Kings of Gujarat and constant care was given to this matter and on special occasions big sums were lavishly spent by the state for the preservation of these ancient monuments. In 1102 A.H./1690 A. D. mosques were repaired, in 1104 A. H. / 1692 A.D. the city-wall needed repairs which were carefully carried out and at the same time the buildings of the Shāhī gardens and Kankaria were also repaired.³

These last repairs reflect great credit on Aurangzeb, who ordered all the repairs to be carried out immediately. He had in his mind only the idea of preservation and conservation of the monuments of his predecessors. And he also acted similarly in the case of many other historical places he visited.

1. Memoirs of Jahangir, Vol. I, p. 472.

2. MA., pp. 202-205.

3. MA., Vol. I, pp. 290, 323, 333, 347, 348, 352, 355, 373.

VII-X

Ahmad I's Mosques and other Monuments of this period

A *masjid* near the Jamalpur gate is an impressive specimen of simple architecture and its construction is attributed to Masti Khān locally known as Haibat Khān.¹ This mosque is regarded to be one of the earliest mosques in the city. Unfortunately, the original inscription from the central *mehrāb* is missing. But we know that Masti Khān was a son of Sultan Mazaffar and thus an uncle of Ahmad I and he was also governor of Surat and Rander. This *masjid* is obviously an early specimens of Muslim architecture, in which an attempt has been made to blend harmoniously both the arcuate and trabeate systems. This mosque is much cruder in form than the other early mosques built by Ahmad I.

It is generally maintained by local tradition that the Juma *Masjid*, now in the Manek Chowk, is the earliest *masjid* in Ahmadabad, dating from the days of Ahmad I, and many travellers and other writers have described it. But, from their inscriptions, three other mosques of the same Sultan can be assigned an earlier date; and these are also important so far as early Muslim architecture in Gujarat is concerned.

Local tradition seems to take special interest in Juma *Masjid*, because it is situated in the heart of the city and naturally attracts attention; but the other earlier mosques are also equally important. One *masjid* near the shrine of Shāh Wajihu'd Din, known as 'Ālam Din's *masjid*, is of outstanding importance on account of its inscriptional evidence. The fine inscription (VII) on its central *mehrāb* is in verse and it gives us the information that it was built by one Sayyid 'Ālam Abū Bakr Husaini in 815 A.H./1412 A.D.

VII (a)

کعبم آسا علم دولت دین عرب است
 شهر یاری که شهنشاه جهانش لقب است
 کم وفا و کرم و مکنش اندر حسب است
 سید عالم ابو بکر حسینى نسب است
 هیصد و پانزده و غره ماه رجب است

Careful scrutiny shows that the existing portion of this inscription is only one half of the original. The right side of the verses is missing.

1. MS., pp. 21-22; Firishta (Briggs), Vol. IV, p. 12; BA., Pt. I, p. 17-18, Pls. 3, 11-18.

The *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* gives the missing half of these verses.¹ It says that there was a *masjid*, founded during the same period, situated in the Manek Chowk and the verses giving its date, composed by Mufti Yahya, are quoted there in full :—

VII (b)

فوخ این بقعه که چون کعبه بنائمی عجبست کعبه آسا علم و دولت و دین عرب است
 در جهان داری سلطان زمان احمد شاه شهر یاری که شهنشاه جهانش لقب است
 منبع علم و ادب هست یکه بانای آن که وفار کرم و مکنشش اندر حسب است
 زبده آل نبی مفخر اولاد علی سید عالم ابو بکر حسینى لقب است
 لله الحمد مرتب شده تاریخ اساس هشتصد و پانزده و غره ماه رجب است

Happy is this abode, for it is a superb edifice like the K'aba.

Like the K'aba it is the banner of the State and Faith of Arabia'

In the reign of the King of the age, Aḥmad Shāh,

A sovereign whose title is the Emperor of the World.

The founder is the fountain-head of knowledge and learning,

Whose origin is distinguished by fidelity, nobility and authority,

The essence of the descendants of the Prophet and the pride of the progeny of 'Alī.

Sayyid-i-'Ālam (the chief of world) Abu Bakr known as Husainī,

Thank God the date of its foundation was composed—

815 A. H., the first of the month of Rajab (7th Oct. 1412 A. D.)

It clearly shows that it was built during the reign of Aḥmad I by Sayyid 'Ālam Abū Bakr Husainī on the 1st of the month of Rajab 815 A. H. / 7th Oct. 1412 A. D. One Sayyid Qāsīm, son of Sayyid 'Ālam, was appointed by Aḥmad Shāh to collect tribute in Sorāth, and was leader of an expedition against the Deccanis in 1430 A. D.² But this *masjid* of Sayyid 'Ālam is not the famous *masjid* known as the Juma' *Masjid* of Ahmadabad nor is it situated in the Manek Chowk. This Juma' *Masjid* in the Manek Chowk is another building bearing a very fine inscription, dated 827 A. H. It seems that the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* has mixed up these two, or possibly he was misinformed.

1. MS., p. 27 ; BA., Pt. I, pp. 20-21, Pls. 4, 19-23 ; BG., 290.

2. MS. BY., pp. 98, 115.

VIII

Another magnificent *masjid* of this period is situated just opposite the present Gujarat Club¹. It bears an inscription dated 4th Shawwāl 817 A. H. :—

- ١ بنى هذا البناء الرفيع والمسجد الواسع العبد الراجي والبانى الملتجى الى
رحمتك الله المعبود فى المساجد بالركوع
٢ والسجود غير مدعو معه احد ابدا كقولك تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا
مع الله احدا الواثق
٣ بالله المستعان احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر السلطان و كان تاريخ بنائه
من الهجرة الرابع من الشوال سنة سبع عشر و ثمان مائة

This lofty building and this spacious mosque was built by the slave, who trusts and builds trusting to the mercy of Allāh, Who is worshipped in the mosques with bows and prostrations. And He alone is always to be worshipped without any one else with Him, according to the Quranic verse 'h'. Confident in the helping God, Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh the King. The date of its construction was the 4th of Shawwāl, year 817 of the Hijra era (17th Dec. 1414 A. D.)

IX

An inscription of this period is also found fixed in the north wall of the Naī Mohlat *masjid*, which was built by one 'Ālamgir in 826 A.H./1422 A.D. during the reign of Aḥmad I² :—

- ١ يك ذره عنایت تو ای بنده نواز - بهتو ز هزار سالم خیر است و نماز
٢ در ایام دولت و نوبت سلطنت خلیفتم العهد و الزمان الواثق بالله المستعان
ناصر الدنيا والدين
٣ ابوالفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد خلافتهم و ابدا افتتم
عمارت كرد این بقعه شریف و بیت الله لطیف بنده
٤ امیدوار برحمتك آفرید کار حقیر ضعیف عالم کبیر ز نوزدهم محرم الحرام
سنة ست و عشرون و ثمان مائة

One atom of Thy grace, O Benefactor of Thy servants,
Is better than a thousand years of generosity and prayer.

During the days of sovereignty and period of kingship of the Khalifa of the present age and time, confident in the gracious Allāh, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad

1. BA., Pt. I, p. 17, Pls. 3, 12, and *Indian Antiquary*, IV, p. 290. 2. BG., p. 303.

Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the King (may his Khilāfat be perpetuated and his compassion be eternal), this elegant edifice and lovely house of Allāh was built by the slave, who hopes for the mercy of the Creator, the mean and humble A'lamgir, on the 19th of the sacred month of Muḥarram, year 826 (2nd Jan. 1423 A. D.).

The language of this last inscription is Persian, unlike the language of other inscriptions of the same period, which is Arabic. They all present a very high standard of *Naskhī* style of calligraphy. The inscription of Ahmad I found in Nai Mohlat begins with a Persian couplet instead of a holy text as was the general practice for mosque-inscriptions. The inscriptions in the mosque opposite the Gujarat Club and in the Manek Chowk mosque clearly show that both these were built by Aḥmad himself.

X (a)

The well-known *masjid* in the Manek Chowk is no doubt an improvement in Gujarat Muslim architecture over those earlier mosques built in 815 and 817 A. H. The date of the construction of this mosque, 827 A. H./ 1423 A. D., is given in its inscription and is no doubt quite genuine¹ :—

١ بنى هذا البناء الرفيع والمسجد الواسع العبد الراجى والبانى الملتجى الى
رحمتك الله المنان غير مدعو مع احد ابد اقولك تعالى وان المساجد لله
فلاتدعوا مع الله احدا
٢ الواثق بالله المستعان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح احمد شاه بن محمد شاه
بن مظفر السلطان و كان تاريخ بنائه من هجرة النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم
الغره من صفر ختم الله بالخير والظفر سنه سبع و عشرين و ثمانمائتم

This lofty building and the spacious mosque was built by the slave, who hopes and builds trusting to the mercy of Allāh, Who alone is always to be worshipped, without any one else beside Him, according to the Quranic verse 'h'. Confident in the helping God, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Faṭḥ Aḥmad Shāh, son of 'Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh. The date of its construction was the Hijra of the Prophet (may God send His blessings upon him) the 1st of Safar (may it end successfully and victoriously) in the year 827 (4th January 1424 A. D.).

Moreover it was also quite natural that such an imposing Friday Mosque should have been built by him in the very heart of the city.

X (b)

The northern corridor of this mosque bears another long inscription in Persian verse in the best *Nasta'liq* style. This inscription records the

1. BA., Pt. I, p. 30, Pls. 7, 32-37, and *Indian Antiquary*, IV, p. 129.

construction of a water-tank for the mosque in 1020 A. H./1611 A. D. under the supervision of one Mirak Hasan. These verses were composed by Mirza Muhammad Fā'iz who wrote under the *nom de plume* of Fā'iz. He came to India from his native place Natanz during the days of Emperor Jahangir and entered the service of Shahjahan. He was also a very fine calligraphist. He died in Gujarat in 1036 A. H./1626. A. D.¹

کم ذاتش باعث هر مدعا شد	ندیده دهر جز میرک حسن کس
بملک خیر سعیش پیشوا شد	بکار خلقی خلقش در تکاپوست
کم کوثر دیدنش را رونما شد	بسان حوض کوثر بر کوه ساخت
کم سرتاپا هم نور و صفا شد	مگر آینه اسکندر ست این
درش چون کعبه حاجت روا شد	اگر زمزم نشد در لطف و پاکی
صفا بر کم میرک زما شد	پی سال بنایش گفت فائز

- 1 This age has seen no one except Mirak Hasan whose existence has become the cause of every good intent.
- 2 For the service of the people his activity is engrossed ; in the domain of benevolence his efforts are exemplary.
- 3 He built the reservoir like the *Hauz-i-Kauthar* (reservoir of nectar) which stands forth as the image thereof.
- 4 But it is the mirror of Alexander from top to bottom all light and purity.
- 5 If it has not become the Zamzam in elegance and purity, it has become a supply for all that is needed, like the Ka'ba.
- 6 Of the year of its construction Fā'iz said :—
"The purity of Mirak's reservoir was due to its waters."
(1020 A. H./1611 A. D.)

From Jahangir's Memoirs we gather that during this very year Jahangir had ordered the construction of some buildings in Ahmadabad, Allahabad, Lahore and Agra ;² therefore it is just possible that this tank was built at this period for this Juma *Masjid*.

XI

In the Tajpur quarter within the Jamalpur area just beside the road there is an old *rauza* of imposing appearance over whose entrance there is an inscription, which gives the information that this sacred mausoleum was built during the reign of Ahmad I by one Qutb bin Muhammad bin Khwājagī in 830 A.H./1426 A.D. (?). As many parts of the inscription have already been broken and disfigured, it was very difficult to decipher the text.

1. Muhammad Abdul Ghani, *Tazkiratu'sh-Shu'ra*, Aligarh, 1916, p. 98.

2. *Tuzuk-i Jahangir* (Lucknow edition), p. 100.

- ۱ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - ادخلوها بسلام آمين - بعد در امت قاهره و ايام
مملکت دائم خسر و تاجدار خديو نامدار سلطان
- ۲ السلاطين زمان ماحى کفر طغیان ناصر الدنيا والدين احمد شاه بن محمد
شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان بن السلطان بن السلطان خلد الله ملك
- ۳ و ابد دولت و سلطنت بنا کرد این مقبره بنده امیدوار برحمت پروردگار
قطب بن محمد بن خواجگی
- ۴ اتمام این خیر مبرور برائے نيل سرور در ماه محرم سنه سبع..... ؟
حمد ا و مصليا

'a' 'Enter into it in peace, secure' (Qur. xv, 46).

During the period of victorious government and the days of the eternal kingdom of the crown-wearing illustrious monarch, the Sultān of the Sultāns of the age, the expunger of unbelief and of rebellion, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultān, the son of the Sultān, the son of a Sultān (may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, and retain for ever his government and authority), this mausoleum was built by the slave, trusting to the mercy of Providence, Qutb, son of Muḥammad, son of Khwājagī.....Completion of this sacred (and) pious (construction) for the sake of getting bliss was in the month of Muḥarram, year seven—(?), praising and praying to Almighty.

The date is not very clear but anyhow from the style of the calligraphy and the phraseology one could fairly conclude that it belonged to the first half of the reign of Aḥmad I. Local tradition says that the saint lying buried there was the spiritual teacher of Aḥmad himself.

Burgess has referred to this monument as Qutb Shāh Diwān's *masjid* near the *Kāch masjid*¹, and in an old archaeological record of 1886 this particular mausoleum is mentioned as 'the Roza of Qutbu'd-Dīn Vazir, called in old survey Qutb Sayyid (Jamalpur)'.²

On the authority of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* we may add here that one Sayyid Qutbu'd-Dīn, a descendent of Sayyid Abdul Qādir Jīlāni, settled in Gujarat. He lies buried in Jamalpur inside the city and his grandson Sayyid Abdul Khāliq is also buried near him. He held two villages Khanpur and Chohar in Pargana Dholka³. From this account of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* we may conjecture that the mausoleum where this inscription is found was erected in memory of Qutb b. Muḥammad b. Khwājagī, the builder of the

1. BG., pp. 309-10, No. 93.

2. A. W. Crawley, *A Scheme for the Protection and Conservation of Ancient Buildings of Ahmadabad*, Bombay, 1886, p. xi.

3. MA., Vol. II, p. 40.

mausoleum, and his grandson Abdul Khāliq, because there is no other mausoleum in Jamalpur quarter which could answer to this description.

In the *Architecture of Ahmadabad* by Hope-Fergusson we find mention of another mosque built in 1422 which would also fall within the reign of Ahmad I. They say: "This mosque was built by Malik Alum bin Noor Kubeer, styled Wuzeer-ool-Mulk, in A. D. 1422, and shows additional progress in the new style, and adaptation of the niche and ornament of the Hindoo spire to the base of the Mahomedan minaret Malik Alum was a son-in-law of Ahmad Shah, and a clever and brave man, but inclined to rebel, and more than once pardoned on that account".¹ From works of history we are able to gather some light on the true history of this mosque and of its builder. Amīr Khudāwand Khan, son of Yusuf, styled Malik Aylam, was son-in-law of Sultan Muḥammad II and brother-in-law of Sultan Maḥmud Begadā. He rose to be the chief minister of Gujarat. He founded a suburb to the south of Ahmadabad, known after his name as Aylampur, where he built a superb mosque in stone. The floor of the mosque was paved with marble slabs which were brought from a distance of two hundred *kos* (nearly four hundred miles)². The mausoleum of Shaikh Kamāl, known as Mālvī, is situated at the back of the mosque. But it bears no inscription at all.

XII

Sarkhej Monuments

Sarkhej, a village about six miles south-west of Ahmadabad, owes its fame to Shaikh Ahmad Khattū, who lies buried there. It is generally alleged that Ahmad I in consultation with the saint Shaikh Ahmad Khattū, who was then living in Sarkhej, chose an open and spacious piece of land in the vicinity of Asawal and on the eastern side of the river to be the site of his new capital.

XII (a)

The monuments of Sarkhej have been so nicely described by Burgess that no further description from us is needed. As regards inscriptions at Sarkhej we find no important inscriptions such as we find in the city of Ahmadabad. There is, however, one exception, a quatrain inscribed over the entrance of the mausoleum of the saint:—

د ا مان اميد گنج پرويز شود	بحر کف احمدی چو در ريز شود
گر روی زمين هم سر خيز شود	از بهر سجود درگهش نيست عجب

1. *Op. Cit.*, p. 41.

2. HD., pp. 7, 25, 27; MS., pp. 48, 132; MA., p. 9; Burgess, *Ahmadabad Architecture*, pp. 26-29; MS. BY., (pp. 169 and 236) mentions Khudāwand Khān as the father-in-law of Sultan Muḥammad II in the index of his book, although in the text he calls him the son-in-law correctly (p. 236); see also Commissariat, pp. 216-17.

“ When the ocean of Ahmad's palm scatters pearls,
 Hope's hem becomes the treasure of Parwīz ;
 No wonder, if in order to bend before his shrine,
 The whole surface of the earth becomes Sarkhez (i.e. raises its head.)”¹

Shaikh Ahmad was born at Khattū, in the jurisdiction of Nagaur, in 737 A.H./1336 A.D., in a noble family of that city. His name was Nāsiru'd-Dīn. He was a disciple of Baba Ishāq Maghribī. Shaikh Ishāq lies buried at Khattū, in the Ta'luqa of Jodhpur State near Nagaur. For this reason the Shaikh was known as Shaikh Khattū. He travelled through all Islamic countries, and on his return he came to Gujarat and settled at Sarkhej, where he died in 849 A.H./1445 A.D. at the age of one hundred and eleven years. His mausoleum is said to have been begun by Muhammad Shāh II, the son of Ahmad I, and to have been completed by his son and successor, Qutbu'd-Dīn.

XII (b)

At Sarkhej there are also the tombs of Maḥmūd Begaḍā and his son Muzaffar II; but neither of them bear any remarkable inscription. Sultan Muzaffar's wife Rānī Rāj Bāi is also lying buried near her husband, and her tomb bears an inscription giving the date of her death.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ ————— رَسُوْلِ اللّٰهِ

تاریخ وفات رانی راجبائی سنہ تسع و تسعین و تسعمایتم عرفها المشتهر
 بای سلطانی سنہ ۹۹۹

'a', 'b'. Date of the decease of Rānī Rāj Bāi, usually known as Bāi Sultānī year 999 A. H. (1590 A. D.).

XIII

Mosque of Nizām b. Hilāl

The inscription on the mosque inside the Delhi gate, locally known as Patharwalī *masjid*, or the mosque of Qutbu'd-Dīn, gives us the important information that it was built during the reign of Abū Maḥāmid Muḥammad Shāh, by Nizām bin Hilāl Sultānī, entitled Mukhtassu'l-Mulk, Qur Beg Maimanah, on the 6th of Ramazān 853 A.H./23rd Oct. 1449 A. D.²

1. Burgess, *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Vol. I, pp. 46-50, Pl. 9; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 371; Hajjiu'd-Dabir p. 1 has mentioned that he had copied this from the commentary on Shaikh Ahmad's own "Treatise in the Arabic Language" by one of his disciples Abū Hamīd Ismā'il bin Ibrāhīm. Here he throws sufficient light on the life and teaching of Shaikh Ahmad and he has clearly mentioned that Shaikh Ahmad Khattū was born at Khattū, in the district of Nagaur. One ms. copy of the work is preserved in the library of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh, Ahmadabad. The writer had the opportunity of examining this ms. And for further details of graves at Sarkhej see HD. pp. 582-583.

2. BA., Pt. I, p. 44, Pls. 52-54.

- ١ قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال النبي
صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيئاً فى الجنة اعمرو
عمارت هذا المسجد فى عهد سلطان السلطانين
- ٢ غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالاحامد محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه
ابن مظفر شاه السلطان العبد المفتقر الى الله المستعان اعنى نظام ابن
هلال سلطانى
- ٣ المخاطب بمختص الملك قريبيك ميمنه ابتغاء لمرضات الله و طلباً لجزيل
ثوابه و كان ذلك فى التاريخ من هجرة النبويتم السادس من شهر البارک
رمضان عظمت بركاته سنه ثلاث و خمسين و ثمانمائتم

'c', 'h', 'j', 'n'. The building of this mosque was constructed in the reign of the Sultan of Sultans, Ghiāthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abu'l-Maḥamid Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultān, by the slave yearning for the help of Allāh, Nizām, son of Hilāl Sultānī, entitled Mukhtassu'l-Mulk, Qur Beg Maimana, desirous for the approbation of Allāh and demanding his abundant reward. Its date was of the era of Hijra of the Prophet, the sixth of the blessed month of Ramazān (may its blessings magnify), year eight hundred and fifty three (23rd October 1449 A. D.)

Hajjiu'd-Dabir has mentioned one Nizamu'd-Dīn, Mukhtassu'l Mulk, in Kaira district, who was in the army of Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh in 855 A. H./1451 A. D. against the Khaljis of Mandū. This battle between Gujarat and Mandū was fought at Kaparbanj or Kapadvanj. Nizām Mukhtassu'l-Mulk was the commander of the *maisara* (left wing), and when the fight attained a critical position, he shifted to the *maimana* (right wing), facing al-Khaljī Muzaffar Khān, the Amir of Chanderi, a well-known town of Malva. It was this commander's skill in the fight that won the victory for Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn Aḥmad¹.

From this inscription we gather that his real name was Nizām bin Hilāl. He had the title of Mukhtassu'l-Mulk, and his official designation was *Qur Beg Maimana*², "the commander of the right wing", on account of his brilliant achievement in the battle of Kaparbanj.

1. HD., pp. 9-11; MS. BY., (p. 144), mentions him as Nizām Mukhtassu'l Mulk.

2. *Qur Beg Maimana* was an important military rank recognised at that period all over western India. In the Deccan we find it mentioned in the *Burhān-i-Maathir*, p. 16, where the word is given as قوربيک. But in Isāmī's *Shāh Nāma-i-Hind* p. 526, verses 10320-33, it is exactly as in the inscription قريبيک. He says that during

The central *mehṛāb* of this mosque bears some traces of *pietra dura* decoration only in black and red. Sir John Marshall regards this mosque as "dull and soulless".¹ No doubt, from outside it looks very much like a strongly fortified rampart. There is no reason to consider this to be the mosque of Sultan Qutbu'd-Din, because he came to the throne on the 11th Muharram 855 A.H. / 13th Feb. 1451 A.D.² Many writers have given this wrong information, but the building itself bears no other inscription of a later date.

XIV-XV

Malik Sha'bān's Monuments

Malik Sha'ban's mosque near the Bhadra is locally known as *Sunher Masjid*. It has one inscription inside its central *mehṛāb*. The name and titles of Malik Sh'aban are quite clear from the inscription.³

۱ قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال الذبی
صلی الله علیه و سام من بنی مسجد ا لله بنی الله لم یبتا فی الجنة ا عمر
عمارت مسجد فی عهد سلطان
السلطین قطب الدنیا و الدین ابوالمظفر احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن
احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان العبد المقتدر الی الله
المستعان
۳ اعنی شعبان ابن تحفه ساطانی المخاطب بعماد الملک عارض ممالک
ابتغاء لمرضاة الله و طلباً لجزیل ثوابه و کان ذاک فی التاريخ الثاني من
جمادی الاول سنه ست و خمسين و ثمانمائتم -

'c', 'h', 'j', 'n'. The building of this mosque was constructed in the reign of Sultan of Sultans, Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh son of Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan, by the slave, the beggar

the reign of Alāu'd-Din Hasan Bahamanī, Husain, entitled Garshāsap was appointed Qur Beg Maisara, while Mīr Saqū Shamsu'd-Din was appointed Qur Beg Mamana.

کم شد خنجرش دستگیر جیوش	شد الیاس سرکش ظہیر جیوش
یکے میہنم دگر میسرہ	دو نائب قر بیگ شدہ یکسرہ
علا دین از میہنم کام یافت	ملک پیرم از میسرہ نام یافت

These commands also were introduced into their armies by the Gujarat kings.

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 612.

2. HD., p. 3.

3. BA., Pt. I, p. 54-57, Pls. 66-68.

for the help of Allāh, Sha'ban, son of Tuḥfa Sultānī, entitled I'madu'l-Mulk, 'Āriz-i-Mamālik, desirous of the approbation of Allāh, and demanding his abundant reward. It was completed on the 2nd day of Jumada I, in the year eight hundred and fifty eight (21 June 1452 A. D.).

The date given in the inscription places the construction of this mosque in the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad II. The mosque of Malik Sha'bān has been well described by Burgess. A detailed study will reveal that this mosque is planned more or less after the *mandapa* of a Hindu temple fitted into a mosque. This shows that the Muslim masons of the period were experts in the accurate orientation of their buildings towards the *qibla* (which is not a necessary condition for a Hindu temple), and they also understood how to utilise the buildings of their Hindu predecessors already existing on the spot.

XV (a)

Two contemporary *farmāns* regarding an endowment to Malik Sha'bān and his descendants, made by Shāh Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad, are found in two inscriptions (xv a, b) engraved on marble slabs in beautiful *Nasḫ* character and fixed on both sides outside the entrance of the mausoleum of Malik Sha'bān in a suburb called Rakhyal¹ :—

- ۱ الواثق بتأييد الرحمن قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان چون بحضورت جهان پناه و درگاه اسمانچاه
- ۲ خسروانم ما عرض داشت بنده منخلص و هوا خواه منتخصص ملك شعبان المخاطب من الحضرة الاعلى والملجاء المعلى بملك الشرق عماد الملوك عارض سماك دام علوه بن ملك تحف سلطانى
- ۳ كم بموقف عرض رسانيدند از وفور مراحم بادشاهانم و فرط عواطف خسروانم شش جفتوار زمين از موضع ركهيال اعمال حوالى شهر معظم احمد اباد كم دران ملك الشرق مذكور
- ۴ حفر ابار و غرس اشجار و اجراى انهار و فرحنگاه اخيار ساختم مع ما ذكر بر وفق التماس ملك مذكور ملك اولاد و احفاد اوالى ما توالدوا و تناسلوا كروانيديم سبيل
- ۵ اعمال حوالى شهر معظم احمد اباد انكم زمين مذكور با باغ و چاهها و درختان دنبال اولاد و احفاد ملك مذكور باز گذارند و بوجه من الوجوه و سبب
- ۶ من الاسباب دران مزاحمت نمايند و تغيير و تبديل نكنند تا در و عيد فمن بدله بعد ما سمع فانما اتم على الذين ييدلونه در نيايند و كان ذاك فى الثانى من جمادى الاولى سنه ست و خمسين و ثمانمائه

1. EIM., 1921-22, pp. 2-5.

He who is confident of the help of the Merciful, Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Muzaffar, Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the King. Upon a petition being made to our world-refuge royalty and august kingly court by our faithful servant and special well-wisher, Malik Sha'ban, endowed by high royalty and elevated refuge with the title of Maliku'sh-Sharq, Imādu'l-Mulk and 'Āriz-i-Mamālik' (may his grandeur endure for ever), son of Tuḥfa-i-Sultānī, entitled Tāju'l-Mulk,¹ we, in compliance with the request of the said Maliku'sh-Sharq, through the plentitude of our royal bounty and abundance of imperial favours, endow upon him, his children and descendents to the remotest generation, six ploughs (*juftwār*) of land out of the *Mauza-i-Rakhyāl*, a dependency in the circuit of the great city of Ahmadabad, in which the said Malik has caused wells to be dug, trees to be planted, channels to be made, and places of recreation for the gentry to be built. The aforesaid being included in the endowment, it is incumbent upon the officers in charge of the circuit of Ahmadabad that they leave the progeny and posterity of the said Malik in undisturbed enjoyment of the said land, together with the garden, the wells, and the trees, and that they trouble them not therein on any ground or pretence whatsoever, nor make any change or variation in the grant, so that they fall not under the condemnation of the verse: "And he who changes after he has heard it, the wrong of this shall be on those who change it" (Qur., ii. 177). This has been made on the second of Jumada, I in the year 856 A.H. (21st May, 1452 A.D.)

XV (b)

- ۱ الرواق بنائید الرحمان قطب الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السطان
- ۲ چون بحضرت جهان پناه و درگاه اسماں جاء خسروانہ ما عرض داشت بنده مخلص و هواخواہ منتخب ملک شعبان المخاطب من الحضرت
- ۳ العلیا بملک الشرق عماد الملک عارض الممالک دام علوہ بن ملک تحفہ سلطانی المخاطب من الحضرة العلیا بتاج الملک کہ بموقف
- ۴ عرض رسانیدند از وفور مراحم باد شاهانہ و فرط عواطف خسروانہ شش جفتوار زمین از موضع رکھیال اعمال حوالی شهر معظم احمداباد
- ۵ کہ دران ملک مذکور حفر ابار و غرس اشجار و اجراء انہار مع ما ذکر بروفق التماس ملک مذکور ملک اولاد و احفاد او الی ماتوالد او
- ۶ و تناسلوا گردانیدیم سیل اعمال حوالی شهر معظم انکہ زمین مذکور با باغ و چاہا و درختان دنبال اولاد و احفاد ملک مذکور باز گذارند

1. It is found only in xv b.

< و تغییر و تبدیل نکنند تا در وعید فمن بدل بعد ماسمع فانما اثم على الذين
يدلونم در نیايند فى الثانى من جمادى الاول سنة ست و خمسين و ثمانم ايتم

At present this spot, which was occupied by the gardens of Malik Sha'bān, is bereft of all its past grandeur.

Both these *farmāns* are almost identical with the exception of a few words, therefore, the translation of the second is not given. The inscription on the mosque, however, though of the same date, does not give Malik Sha'bān's title, Maliku'sh-Sharq, found in both inscriptions but refers only to the office he held, namely, that of "the Master of the Muster".

He was the prime minister of Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad and after the latter's death in 862 A.H. he also continued to be the minister of Maḥmūd Begadā. He was imprisoned owing to a false charge brought against him by Hasan Khān, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar, that he wanted to instal his own son, Shihābu'd-Dīn as Sultan. This charge was later on proved to be baseless and he was restored to power. He was a very popular minister, especially among the poor, because of his sympathies towards them. In 865 A.H./1460 A.D. he resigned his minister-ship and went into retirement, but shortly after that he died in 866 A.H./1461 A.D.¹

XVI

Makhdūma-i-Jahān's Monuments

Makhdūma-i-Jahān, the mother of Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad II, built her mosque in the Rajpur suburb, in the month of Rabi II, 858 A.H./April 1452 A.D. It is generally alleged that the mosque was built by one Budhah bin Sayyid Yaqut in memory of his wife.² I do not know how that story arose, because an inscription still exists inside the central *mehrab* clearly stating that the mosque was constructed by Makhduma-i-Jahān.

XVI (a)

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال عليه السلام
من بنى مسجد الله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له بيتا فى الجنة

1. Commissariat has given almost all the activities of Malik Sha'bān, pp. 150-154. See also MS. F., p. 87; Firishta (Briggs), Vol. IV, pp. 14, 43-49; HD., pp. 13-17; EIM., 1921-22, pp. 2-5.

2. Commissariat, p. 159; BG., pp. 71-75; BA., Pt. I, pp. 71-74, Pls. 86-92.

٢ . بنى البنا هذا المسجد الجامع الرفيع متخدوم جهاں أم السلطان الاعظم
 قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر احمد شاه ابن
 ٣ محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان وكان
 تاريخ بنا هذا المسجد من الهجرة من ربيع الاخر سنه ثمان و خمسين و
 ثمانمائتم -

'd', 'h,, 'l', 'n'. The building of this sublime congregational mosque was constructed by Makhdūma-i-Jahān, the mother of the Sultan, the great, Qutbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Muzaffar Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shah, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shah the Sultan. And the date of the construction of this mosque was the month of Rabī II, in the year of Hijra eight hundred and fifty eight (April 1452 A. D.)

The magnificent mausoleum of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, to the east of the mosque, was most probably built by herself in her own lifetime, after the practice of Muslim rulers. She herself was living at the time of the death of her son Sultan Qutbu'd-Din in 862 A.H./1457 A. D. This same mausoleum contains a grave in the eastern corner under the dome. This is a marble sarcophagus bearing the holy texts and the date, the month of Zi'Qa'dah 861 A.H./Sept. 1457 A.D. (XVI b, c, d) The central tomb is that of Makhdūma-i-Jahān which is without any inscription. This monument is domed and walled round with a door in the front.

XVI (b)

شهد الله ان لا اله الا هو والملائكته واولوالعلم قائما بالقسط هو العزيز الحكيم
 ان الدين عند الله الاسلام

Allāh (Himself) is witness that there is no God save He. And the Angels and men of learning (too are witnesses). Maintaining His creation and justice there is no God save He the Almighty, the Wise.

Lo, religion with Allah (is) the Surrender—al-Islām. (Qur., iii,17-18).

XVI (c)

الله لا اله الا هو الحكيم القيوم العظيم -
 'f'.

XVI (d)

قل اللهم مالك الملك توتى الملك من تشاء توزع الملك على كل
 شى قدير - ماه ذو القعدة سنه احدى ستين و ثمانمائتم -

Say: O Allāh! Owner of Sovereignty! Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou willest, and Thou withdrawest sovereignty from whom Thou willest. Thou exaltest whom Thou willest and Thou abasest whom Thou willest. In Thy hand is the good. Lo! Thou art able to do all things (Qur., iii, 26). During the month of Zi'qa'dah, year 861 A. H. (Sept. 1457 A. D.).

XVII

Mosque of Sārang Sultānī

In Waliullāh's mosque, noted above under No. II, in Kalupur quarter, the lower inscription on the central *mehrab* says that a mosque was built on 5th Jumad I, year 865 A.H./17th Feb. 1461 A. D. by Sārang-i-Sultānī Jāmdār-i-Khās. In Ahmadabad there is a quarter named Sarangpur about which the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* says that Malik Sarang had founded a suburb of that name on the eastern side of Ahmadabad. Malik Sārang was one of the special nobles of Sultan Maḥmūd Begadā. He was originally the son of a Rajput, and his name was Sarang. His brother's name was Mula. Both of them were captured by the Sultan, who converted them to Islam. In course of time both the brothers acquired the confidence of the Sultan. It is said that Malik Sārang was very bold in the expression of his opinions and that the Sultan permitted this. He had also founded a mosque.¹

۱ قال الله تبارك و تعالی ان المساجد له فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال الذبی
 علیه السلام من بنی مسجد الله بنی الله لربینا مثلک فی الجنة
 ۲ عمارت هذه المسجد الجامع فی عهد السلطان السلاطین ناصرالدنیا والدين
 ابوالفتح محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن
 مظفر شاه السلطان
 ۳ بذا کرده بنده درگاه الراجی الی رحمة الله سارنگ سلطانى جامدار خاص
 ابتغالمراضات الله و طلباً لجزیل ثوابه فی التاريخ الخامس من جمادى
 الاولى سنه خمس و سنین و ثمانمائتم

'c', 'g', 'j', 'n'. The building of this congregational mosque was constructed during the reign of Sultan of Sultans Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh son of Muḥammad Shāh son of Aḥmad Shāh son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan, by the slave of his court, who takes refuge in the mercy of Allāh, Sārang-i-Sultānī Jāmdār-i-Khās, desirous of the approbation of Allāh, and demanding his abundant reward. On the 5th of the Jumada I, in the year 865 A. H. (17th Feb. 1461 A. D.)

1. HD., p. 17. MS., p. 74.

The inscription is dated 865 A.H. and 1461 A.D. and bears the designation he then held, *Jāmdār-i-Khās*, which is equivalent to the Master of the Wardrobe.¹ There is another inscription, No. XXII, discussed further on, which also reveals to us his great personality and the important part he played in the history of Gujarat.

XVIII

Bibī Zamān's Mosque

It has been noted above, when describing the masjid of Naī Mohlat (IX), that its walls bear a good many inscriptions which actually do not belong to it. In the first place the mosque itself is not very old; moreover one inscription on the wall shows that a mosque was built by a lady named Zamān (?), during the reign of Maḥmūd Begada on 5th Rabi I in 866 A.H./9th Dec. 1461 A.D. :—

- ۱ قال الذبی^۲ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا
من بنا مسجد لله و تهنی ؟ برحمة الله
- ۲ بنا الله له بینا مثلہ فی الجنة در عهد السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين
ابوالفتح محمود شاه
- ۳ ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان
خلد الله خلافته و ابداً علی العالم
- ۴ این مسجد بنا کرده مسماة زمان (?) بتاریخ پنجم ماه ربیع الاول سنہ ست
وستین و ثمانیتم غفر الله له و الوالدیر و لجمعیع لمومنین

'j', 'h', 'n'. During the reign of the great, Sultan, *Nāsiru'd-Dunya wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh*, son of *Muhammad Shāh*, son of *Aḥmad Shāh*, son of *Muḥammad Shāh*, son of *Muzaffar Shāh*, the Sultan (may Allah perpetuate his kingdom and *Khilāfat* and may he remain ever over the universe), this mosque was built by the lady named *Zamān(?)* on the fifth of the month of *Rabi I*, in the year eight hundred and sixty six (9th Dec. 1461 A. D.). May Allāh forgive him (the king), his parents and the universe.

1. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Persian text), p. 242 explains the designation as "special bodyguard".

2. In the beginning the inscriber has wrongly put "the prophet said" instead of "Allah said". There are also some grammatical mistakes in the text.

XIX

Mosque of Dastūru'l-Mulk

Another *masjid* inside the Astodya gate just at the bend leading to the Sabarmati, known as the mosque of Dastūr Khān.¹ It bears the following inscription :—

١ قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و
قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة
عمر عمارت هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد سلطان
٢ السلاطين ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن
احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان العبد الراجي برحمته الله
الملك الملك اعني ملك خاصر زاده
٣ المخاطب من حضرة الاعلى و الملجا المعلى بدستور الملك يدوم الله
معاليه ابتغاء لمرضات الله و طالبا لجزيل ثوابه و كان في العاشر من شهر
شعبان سنة سبع وستين و ثمان مائة منسمة النبي عم -

'c', 'h', 'j', 'n'. The building of this congregational mosque was constructed during the reign of the Sultan of Sultans, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan, by the slave, taking refuge in the mercy of Allāh, the Lord of the Kingdom, Malik Khāsa Zāda, entitled by his most exalted majesty, and the sublime support, Dastūru'l-Mulk (may Allah keep his grandeur eternal), desirous of the approbation of Allāh and seeking his abundant reward. It was completed on the 10th of the month of Sha'bān, the year eight hundred and sixty seven of the Prophet's era (peace be upon him). (30th April 1463 A. D.)

This mosque is quite spacious and has corridors running along south and north sides, where the students can sit down to learn religious texts. The plinth of the mosque is much higher than that of any other mosque of Ahmadabad.

XX

Qutb-i-Ālam or Malik Īsan's Masjid

At Vatwa the *masjid* of Qutb-i-Ālam has one inscription which shows that it was built by the efforts of Īsan Sultānī, Khwāja-i-Sarāe (the chief eunuch) entitled Khawāssu'l-Mulk on 15th Safar, 874 A.H./25th August, 1469 A.D. during the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd Beghda.²

1. BG., p. 290; BA., Pt. I, pp. 76-7, Pls. 94-96; *Indian Antiquary*, IV, p. 291, No. 4.

2. BA., Pt. I, pp. 60-63, Pls. 73-76; BG., p. 306.

XX (a)

۱ قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و
 قال انبى صلی الله علیه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بیئا فی الجفتم
 ۲ اعمر عمارت هذه المسجد الجامع فی عهد السلطان الزمان ناصر الدنيا
 والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن
 مظفر شاه السلطان بسعی
 ۳ العبد الراجی الی رحمتہ الله ایسن سلطانی خواجر سراء المخطاب
 من الحضرة الاعلی بخواص الملك دام علوه الخامس عشر من صفر سنه
 اربع و سبعین و ثمانمایت

'c', 'h', 'j', 'n'. This congregational mosque, was constructed during the reign of the Sultan of the period, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Ab'ul-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son, of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan, by the efforts of the slave, taking refuge in the mercy of Allāh, Isan Sultāni, Khwājā-i-Sarāe, entitled by his most exalted majesty, Khawāssu'l-Mulk (may his glory be lofty), on the 15th of Safar, in the year eight hundred seventy four (25th August, 1469 A. D.).

This Isan Sultāni was called Malik Isan and he held also the title of Nizāmu'l-Mulk in 866 A.H.¹ / 1461 A.D. According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* he was entitled Imadu'l-Mulk.² Malik Isan had founded the Isanpur quarter between Vatwa and Rasulabad. It has been recorded that no suburb was as beautiful as this; but at present all its past grandeur has departed. It was full of trees laden with fruits of many varieties. It was also famed for its flowers, especially the *mogra*. The saint Shāh Ālam used to call this suburb *karimū't-tarfain* i. e. "gracious on both sides", because to the north of it lies Rasulabad and to the south Vatwa. The tomb of Malik Isan is situated outside the suburb fortifications.³

Another inscription on a pillar of Qutb-i-Ālam's mausoleum is in perfect *nasta'liq* style.⁴

XX (b)

الله اکبر
 قطب عالم کم هست شاه افلاک
 از روضه فزوده جاه افلاک
 زین پیش کلاه آسمان بی سر بود
 شد گنبد او سو کلاه افلاک
 خانم زاد این درگاه

جلال بن محمد بن جلال شاهى گفتم سنه ۱۰۲۹ هـ

1. HD., p. 17. 2. MS., p. 133. 3. *Ibid*, p. 133. 4. BG., p. 307.

Qutb Ālam, who is sovereign of the spheres,
 Through this mausoleum has augmented the glory of the spheres
 Ere this the vault of the sky had no crown :
 His dome has become the crown of the spheres.

Composed by the domestic of this sanctuary, Jalal son of Muḥammad
 son of Jalāl Shāhī, year 1029 (1619 A. D.)

The date shows that this was composed during the reign of Jahangir. The same inscription on a larger scale is found upon a slab of ordinary stone but the style of writing there is also at its best.

When Jahangir was in Gujarat during the thirteenth year of his reign he paid a visit to the Qutb Ālam and met Sayyid Muḥammad, the grandson of Shāh Ālam, i. e. the father of Sayyid Jalāl mentioned in the above inscription. Jahangir persistently asked him to demand anything he wanted, but he refused. Jahangir once again pressed him swearing by the Qur'ān that he would grant him anything he wanted; thereupon Sayyid requested that the Emperor would be good enough to grant him a copy of the Qur'ān on which he had sworn. The emperor thereupon gave him a ms. of the Holy Qur'ān which had been copied by the famous calligrapher Yaqut Must'asamī. This had formed one of the unique gems of Jahangir's royal library. The Emperor also took a promise from the Sayyid that he would translate the Holy Qur'ān into Hindustani in the *Rekhtā* script and ordered him to submit the translation through his son Sayyid Jalāl¹ who is mentioned in the inscription.

This Sayyid Jalāl son of Sayyid Muḥammad, appeared twice at Jahangir's court, but the Emperor did not question him about the promised translation. He had held positions at the court of Shahjahan also.² He died at Lahore on 20th Rabi II, 1059 A. H. / 3rd May 1649 A. D. where he was temporarily buried; his body was later on brought to Ahmadabad and buried in the second dome at the sanctuary of Shāh 'Ālam.

XXI

Mosque of Bahā Nekkakht

In the Hajipur quarter outside the city wall there is a very fine *masjid* which is locally called the *masjid* of Achut Kukī.³ It is not known exactly why it is so called. Its central *mehrab* contains a very fine inscription, which is, however, badly cracked:—

ا قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال

1. Shairani H. M., "Urdu in Jahangir's Period", *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August, 1931, p. 16.

2. MA., p. 28. 3. BA., Pt. I, pp. 64-6, Pls. 76-81; BG., p. 294.

النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا في الجنة (عمر عمارت
المسجد الجامع في عهد

٢ سلطان السلاطين ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه
ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد ملكه العبد الراجي
برحمته الله (الملك الملك بهانيك بخت سلطاني

٣ المخاطب من حضرت الاعلى بملك الشرق عماد الملك عارض ممالك
يديم الله معايير ابتغاء لمرضات الله و طلبا لجزيل ثوابه و كان ذلك في
التاريخ الخامس من جمادى الاولى و سنة اربع و سبعين و ثمان مائة -

'c', 'h', 'k', 'n'. The building of the congregational mosque was constructed during the reign of Sultan of Sultans Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Faṭḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh (may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom), by the slave, taking refuge in the mercy of Allāh, the Lord of the Kingdom, Bahā Nēkbakht Sultānī, entitled by his most exalted majesty, the Maliku'sh-Sharq, I'madu'l-Mulk, 'Ārizu'l-Mamālik (may Allāh keep his grandeur eternal) desirous of the approbation of Allāh and demanding his abundant reward. It was completed on the 5th day of Jumada I, the year eight hundred and seventy four (5th Nov. 1469 A. D.)

Historians have identified Bahā Nēkbakht Sultānī with Hājī Malik Bahāu'd-Dīn, who also had the titles of Imādu'l-Mulk and Ikhtiaru'l-Mulk, and was a vazir of Maḥmūd Begadā in 871 A. H./1466 A. D. But many have missed the point of the inscription.¹ In reality Bahā Nēkbakht, I'madu'l-Mulk, was the father of Ikhtiaru'l-Mulk, one of those nobles who were with Sultan Muzaffar II, on the occasion of his attack on Idar in 919 A. H./1513 A. D.² This *masjid's* decorative motifs present an extraordinary amalgamation of both Hindu and Saracenic styles. It is just possible that a lady of the royal harem, who lies buried in the courtyard near by might have been locally known by the name of Achut Kukī, but that name is not discoverable in any of the known histories.

XXII

Mosque of Qiwāmu'l-Mulk

We have already mentioned Malik Sārang above when discussing inscription No. XVII. We have another inscription about him, which at present is found fixed in the central *mehrab* of another mosque near the Delhi gate, while the original building no longer exists.

1. Commissariat, op. cit., p. 219 Burgess, pt. I. p. 64.

2. HD., p. 100; MS., p. 87, which also records that the mosque was built by Malik Bahāu'd-Dīn, brother of Malik Sarang, entitled Ikhtiaru'l-Mulk, (p. 11).

- ١ قال الله تبارك وتعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبي
عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيوتا
- ٢ فى الجنتم عمارت هذه المسجد الجامع فى عهد السلطان الزمان ناصر الدنيا
والدين ابو الفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه
- ٣ الملك اعنى سارنگ سلطانى المخاطب
من الحضرة الاعلى بملك الشرق قوام الملك ادم علوه ابتغاء لمرضات الله
و طلباً لجزيل ثوابه فى التاريخ السادس من ذيقعدة و فى سنه ثمانين
و ثمان مائة-

'c', 'h', 'k', 'n'. This congregational mosque was built during the reign of the Sultan of the age, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Faṭḥ, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Maḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan (may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom) by the slave taking refuge in the mercy of Allāh, the Lord of the kingdom, Sārang Sultānī, entitled by his most exalted majesty, Maliku'sh-Sharq, Qiwaṃu'l-Mulk (may his glory be lofty), desirous of the approbation of Allāh and demanding his abundant reward, on the sixth day of Zi-Qa'dah, in the year eight hundred and eighty (2nd March 1476 A. D.)

Hajjiu'd-Dabir has clearly mentioned that Malik Sarang was made Mukhlisu'l Mulk in 866, and later, in 875 A. H./1471 A. D., was honoured with the additional title of Qiwaṃu'l-Mulk and Godrah was a part of his *jāgir*¹. He was also sent at Dabhul by land with a powerful army against Bahadur Gilāni in 896 A. H./1490 A. D. Bahadur Gilani was routed and put to death. He also achieved several other successes. He also accompanied Sultan Muzaffar II to Idar in 919 A. H./1513 A. D. where he attacked Rāi Bhīm.

On one occasion Sārang Sultānī was left in charge of Ahmadabad, while the Sultan himself had gone to Muḥammadabad. He had already proved his bravery in Mandu, Ahmadnagar and other places. Sultan Muzaffar, who succeeded Maḥmūd Begadā, however, entertained a low opinion of him, because he thought that Sārang Sultānī was lacking in the sincere devotion which a servant should feel for his master. Still, because he had been a companion of his father, Sultan Maḥmūd, who had placed entire confidence in him, he could not be entirely removed. Sultan Muzaffar continued him in the office of *ābdār* (water-bearer or wardrobe-keeper). Out of his exceeding goodness of heart Sultan Muzaffar did not remove him from this important post even though he was ever suspicious of him.

1. HD., pp. 17, 22, 100.

At last, Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Sārang himself requested the king that as had become old, he was unable to perform his duties as *ābdār*. He requested that his nephew be appointed to this post. The Sultan agreed to this proposal because the latter had already served under him when he was a prince. Historians have said that Sultan Muzaffar II was very amiable and gentle and that those who could only be kept down with severe measures did not respect his authority. The roads had become dangerous upto the very gates of the city of Ahmadabad. The administrative power was entirely in the hands of Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Sārang and Malik Gopi, a Hindu noble, addicted to pleasure only. They used to do whatever they pleased and they were the persons who had supported Sultan Muzaffar (then Prince Khalil Khān) in raising him to the throne against his own son Bahādur. When this Bahādur came to the throne in 932 A. H./1526 A. D. he arrived at Mangrol from where he went on to Diu. He entrusted Diu to the charge of Qiwāmu'l-Mulk and having thus got rid of him honourably the Sultan returned to Ahmadabad. Sultan Bahādur proceeded to Cambay in 934 A.H./1527 A.D., after paying visits to various other places. Here, as he was walking one day on the seashore, a ship came from Diu; the people of the vessel reported that a *Firangi* (European) ship had arrived at Diu and that Qiwāmu'l-Mulk had imprisoned all the Firangis and confiscated their property.¹

From this brief notice we realise that Qiwāmu'l-Mulk, Malik Sārang Sultānī, holds a very prominent place in the history of Gujarat and according to the two inscriptions (xvi and xxii) we find that he had built two mosques in Ahmadabad. The latter inscription surely belongs to the mosque now situated in Sarangpur, which is even to this day called the mosque of Malik Sarang.² This Sarangpur mosque of Malik Sarang is a superb specimen of Gujarat Muslim architecture. Its original inscription is missing from the central *mehrab* and this inscription (xxii) might have been wrongly placed in the mosque just inside the Delhi gate. This is quite possible, because, according to *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*³, this mosque of Malik Sārang suffered extensive damage in the struggle between Sadāshiv Rāmchandra and Momīn Khān. The subterranean chambers of the mosque contains the grave of Sidī Bashīr, who was the superintendent of this Malik Sārang's mosque.

XXII (b)

An inscribed marble slab is found in the central *mehrab* of the Karor Pol *masjid* inside the Kalupar gate. The inscription is almost the same as No. III and bears the same holy verses *b, a, i, f*. It records some

1. MS.F., pp. 59, 108, 111, 122, 158-59.

2. BA., Pt. II, pp. 28-31, Pls. 8, 31-36.

3. MA. (Baroda edition), Part II, pp. 482-83

one's death which occurred on the 5th day of the month of Jumada I in 880 A. H. / 9th Sept. 1475 A. D. The name of the person cannot be deciphered. On one side of the mosque there are some graves also.¹

XXIII

Mosque of Bibi Daulat

Another inscription near No. XXII, on the same wall, runs thus:—

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال النبي صلى
الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا مثل منى
الجنة عمارة هذا المسجد فى عهد السلطان الاعظم الراضى بالله الممان
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح
محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن مظفر شاه
السلطان - ماء محرم سنة ثلاث و ثمانين و ثمانمائة
..... المخدرة العفيف المسماة ببى دولت بنت شيخ ملك بن فخر منكوح
خان اعظم عادلخانى توبة نصوحا ؟

'd', 'h', 'j', 'n'. This mosque was built during the reign of the great Sultan, depending upon Allāh, the Beneficent, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Faṭḥ, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Maḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan, in the month of Muḥarram of the year eight hundred and eighty three (April 1478 A. D.), by the virtuous and chaste lady named Bibi Daulat, daughter of Shaikh Malik, son of Fakhr, and the wife of Khān-i-Ā'zam 'Ādil Khānī. Turn unto Allāh in sincere repentance (Qur., lxvi 7.)

About Shaikh Malik bin Fakhrū'd-Dīn we find that he was one of the Gujarat nobles in 778 A.H./1376 A.D. As to Khān-i-Ā'zam 'Ādil Khānī we have no definite information. Either he might have been a relation of 'Ādil Khān Farūqī, king of Khandesh, or he might have been the same as Ālam Khān, who is mentioned in Hājjiu'd-Dabir² as a grandson of Maḥmūd Begadā and for whom the latter tried to gain the throne of Khandesh on the death of 'Ādil Khān II.³

1. The text as well as the translation of this inscription are omitted.
2. HD., p. 898.
3. MS. F., pp. 76-77.

XXIV

Rauzā of Shāh Ālam

The entrance of the mausoleum of Shāh Ālam contains a very fine and important inscription in Persian verse on a marble slab.¹ Shāh Ālam son of 'Abdulla Qutb Ālam or Sayyid Burhānu'd-Din, the founder of the Bukhārī Sayyids of Gujarat, died on 20th Jumada II, 880 A.H. / 22nd Oct. 1475 A.D. It may be gathered from the chronogram in the last verse composed by the poet Yahya—"like unto the garden of Paradise"—that it was built in 888 A.H. / 1483 A.D.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

کشت چون جنت رسولاباد جائے دلکشان
 اے کم داری آرزوی جنت الفردوس میں
 زانکہ روض من ریاض الجنة اورا گفتہ اند
 ہر طرف دروی ز کونا گون گلہا نورۃ
 تازہ می گردد حوالی رامشام از طیب او
 رستہ اشجار کزوے ظل ممدود است درو
 و آن کم بیند گنبد صافش برد اندر خیال
 حوض پاک و صاف آبش مصطفیٰ سر جنب اوست

می سزد چون کوثرش خواند لسان مردمان
 با نیش عبد لطیف ابن برهان هست او
 آن کہ صیت بذل او اطراف عالم برگرفت
 و آنکہ او با شد مرید صادق این آستان
 تابود در عالم از پیران عنایات و فیوض
 باد از لطف الہی ذات پاکش کامران
 ہر کسی تاریخ اتمام بنائیش پرسدت
 کوز همچو جنت الفردوس ای یحیی بیان

‘ a ’

Rasulabād is the abode of lovely ones like Paradise ;

Say: "come and see therein the signs of the gardens of Paradise".

O ye, who are anxious to see the garden of Paradise, behold

The bright mausoleum of Shāh-i-Ālam, the moon of the world.

Since it is called 'one of the gardens of Paradise',

It is pure and refreshing like the abode of peace.

On all sides are heaps of various kinds of roses,

Every moment fragrant breezes blow from its direction.

1. BA., Pt. II, pp. 15-23, Pls. 7, 24-28.

The surroundings become perfumed on account of its fragrance
The holy breeze every time blows over this heap (of blossoms)
of life,

The grove of trees which has an extensive shadow therein,
Whoever comes under it immediately cries out, 'Blessed are we'.

Whoever beholds its pure dome imagines

That either it is made of pierced pearls or of lights.

Its pure cistern *Mustafa Sar*, with its limpid water is by its side,

It is proper that the people call it 'one like *Kauthar*'.

Its founder is 'Abdul Latif, the son of Burhān,

His title being *Majlis-i-Sāmī*, the great Khān, Tāj Khān.

The fame of his bounty has spread in the different parts of
the world,

He is the true disciple of this threshold,

As long as the blessings of saints would last,

May his pure person be prosperous by means of Divine kindness.

If one were to ask you about the date of the completion of this
edifice.

O Yahya, say, it is "like unto garden of Paradise". (888 A.H./1483 A.D.)

The inscription clearly shows that the site where the mausoleum stands was called *Rasulabad*. It must have been a beautiful place, full of trees and flowering plants, with its tank for ablutions named *Mustafa Sar*.¹ The *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*² furnishes us with the information that it was Tāj Khān Narpālī who built the Rauza of Shāh Alam. Narpālī is an Indian title used for those in the royal service, its meaning is more or less the same as *Majlis-i-Sāmī* as given in the inscription.³ This Tāj Khān should not be confused with Tāj Khan bin Sālār who has been noted above⁴. The peculiar architecture of Shāh Alam's mausoleum makes a slight departure from the general trend of Gujarat architecture and tends towards a pure Saracenic style. The *minars* of the mosque and the dome of the mausoleum are very characteristic.

1. Two inscriptions of Mujāhid Khān of Nagaur from the Jaipur State at Naraina mention the construction of a tank which was also styled *Mustafasar* (EIM., 1923-24, pp. 15-16).

2. MS., p. 134.

3. Round the marble railing of the grave of Shāh Ālam there is one long Persian inscription in praise of the saint, but it does not contain any information of historical importance, vide BG., p. 305.

4. See above under No. I, foot note 2; see also HD., p. 122; MS., p. 134.

XXV

Muhāfiz Khān's Masjid

The *masjid* of Muhāfiz Khān on the main road leading to the Delhi Gate, not very far from the sanctuary of Pir Muḥammad Shāh, was built during the reign of Maḥmūd Begadā.

XXV (a)

۱ قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و
 فی الحدیث من بنا مسجدا لله بنا الله له قصر فی الجنة
 ۲ هذا العمارة فی عهد السلطان السلاطین شمس الملوك و الخوانین ناصر الدینا
 والدین ابوالفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه
 بن مظفر شاه
 ۳ السلطان لجمال الدین بن شیخ بن معین الدین القریشی المخاطب من
 ذالک السلطان محافظان فی الرابع عشر من رجب رجب قدره سنه
 تسعین و ثمانماتم

'c', 'h', 'n', 'm'. This building was built in the reign of Sultan of Sultans, the sun of the kings and nobles, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Ab'ul-Fatḥ, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan, for Jamālu'd-Dīn, son of Shaikh, son of Moinu'd-Dīn al-Quraishi, entitled Muhāfiz Khān by this king, on the fourteenth of Rajab (may its dignity increase), the year eight hundred and ninety (27th July 1485 A. D.)

There are two other inscriptions. Both are of a small size, one mentioning the construction of a gate by one Qutb Khān, and the other of a tank in 1049 A.H. / 1639 A.D. Both these small inscriptions are fixed just on its main entrance.

XXV (b)

بمسجد چو دروازه را گشت بانى
 عجب مرد نيكو قطب خان زونامى
 خدا يا گناهش هم عفو كردان
 نك دارش از آفت آسمانى

As wonderfully good and renowned, Qutb Khān has become the builder of the gate of the mosque. O God! pardon all his sins and preserve him from all calamity from above.

XXV (c)

تاریخ تا نکه خیر جاری
 چوں بمسجد از محافظ خان نیک
 شد عجائب برکنم شکر سرشت
 سال تاریخش چو پرسیدم ز غیب
 گفت هاتف چشم آب بهشت
 سنہ ۱۰۴۹ھ

Chronogram of the auspiciously inaugurated *Tānka* (reservoir).

When in the mosque of good-natured Muhāfiz Khān

The wonderful reservoir of sugary nature was complete ;

I asked then for the chronogram of the year from the invisible,

The celestial herald replied : *Chashma-i-āb-i-Bihisht* (the spring of Paradise.) (1049 A. H./1639 A. D.)

Hāijjiu'd-Dabir has given an account of the life of Muhāfiz Khān and of his elevation to high dignities. In 875 A.H./1470 A.D. while Maḥmūd was engaged in the conquest of Junagadh, he received the news that Jai Singh, son of Gangādās Rāval, the ruler of Chāmpāner had pillaged the outskirts of Ahmadabad and had made the high roads unsafe. So Jamālud-Dīn, son of Malik Shaikh, was deputed, with the title of Muhāfiz Khān, to look after the city. He kept order in the city satisfactorily. On the death of Khudāwand Khān he was raised to the office of a minister. He also participated in the fight against Rānā Patāi son of Rānā Udaisingh, the Lord of Chāmpāner. Muhāfiz Khān succeeded in taking him prisoner. Maḥmūd's two chief conquests of Junagadh and of Chāmpāner (on account of which according to some, he is called Maḥmūd 'Begadā'—the conqueror of two fortresses) were equally shared by Muhāfiz Khān.¹

The date on the mosque inscription makes it clear that it was built after the conquest of Chāmpāner as an offering of thanks to God for having discharged his duty to his own satisfaction, although this is not exactly the purport of the words of the inscription.

He was the grandfather of Husām Khān the historian, who had composed the important *Tārikh-i-Bahādur Shāhi* or *Tabaqāt-i-Husām Khāni*. This important source has been fully utilised by Hāijjiu'd-Dabir and others but unfortunately it is no longer available.²

1. HD., pp. 14, 21-27. Thus Maḥmūd I's full name is : Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Saifu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Begadā.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 5, 22.

The minarets of this *masjid* are at the extreme ends of the building, as we find in Rānī Sabrāī's mosque. The carving in this mosque is of a unique type such as is not very common in Ahmadabad.¹

XXVI

Mosque of Misbāh Sultānī

The mosque in the Gaekwad's Haveli (or the Arsenal) near the river is known as Shāh Fazil's *masjid*. This mosque has recently been vacated and is no longer in the occupation of the Police Officer of Ahmadabad. It has a very high plinth, under which there is a sort of crypt containing a tomb after the tradition of Central Asian mosques. On its northern and southern ends there are balcony windows.²

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

- ٢ قال الله سبحانه و تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا
قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
٣ من بنى مسجد الله تعالى بنى الله تعالى له بيتا فى الجنة بنى هذا
المسجد فى عصر سلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا
٤ و الدين ابو الفتح محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد شاه
ابن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و ساطنته اقل عبيده مصباح السلطاني
٣ فى شهر ذوالحججه سنه ٨٩٢

'a', 'e', 'h', 'j', 'n'. This mosque was built during the reign of the great Sultan, Nāširu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Faṭḥ, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan (may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, and prolong his authority) by the humblest of his slaves, Misbāh as-Sultānī, in the month of Zu'l-Hijjah, year eight hundred and ninety two (November 1487 A. D.)

XXVII

Sarāe of Dastūr Khān

We have already cited above one inscription (xxii) of Dastūru'l-Mulk whose real name was Malik Khāsa Zāda. There is another inscription

1. BA., Pt. I, pp. 78-81, Pls. 98-103; BG., p. 289.

2. BA., Pt. I, p. 77, Pl. 94; BG., p. 294.

3. From the reproduction of this inscription, it will be noticed that there is some mixing up of undecipherable words just at the end of the third line. This might be taken as a repetition of the words noted at the bottom in a separate line representing date and year.

in Persian verse, preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, stating that one Dastūr Khān, entitled or popularly known as Āsaf II, built a caravansarai in 895 A. H./1489 A. D. From these two inscriptions, (xxii and xxvii) we should conclude that they concern different persons because both their names and titles are different. History mentions that there was one Dastūr Khān who was appointed governor of Surat in 920 A. H./1514 A. D.¹

۱ آصف ثانی وزیر بحر و برد ستورخان مکرمی کز جود او اباد شد روی زمین
 ۲ آسمان ارتفاع و آفتاب نور بخش آنک صبح صادق او را میدرخشد از جبین
 ۳ گر کسی خواهد کم بیند کعبه مقصود را گویا و استان دولت او را بین
 ۴ از برای آنک تا یابد عوض قصر بهشت این سرا را کرد وقف بیت رب العالمین
 ۵ کلک قدسی چون حساب سال تاریخش نمود
 در ورقتها خمس و تسعین بود با هشتصد ترین

- 1 Dastūr Khān, Āsaf-i-Thānī, minister over land and sea, through whose munificence the surface of the earth is populated ;
- 2 The heaven of sublimity and the light-diffusing sun, that which makes the break of day shine from the forehead ;
- 3 If any one desires to see the object of his desires, then tell him to come and see the threshold of his government.
- 4 That he may get the palace of paradise in reward, he dedicated this *sarāi* to be the house of the Lord of the Universe.
- 5 When the divine pen worked out its date, it was in the year ninety five along with eight hundred. (895 A. H./1489 A. D.)

XXVIII

Bāi Harīr's Monuments

In the suburb of Asarwa at Ahmadabad there are two step-wells. The older of these two is known as the step-well of Mātā Bhawānī and seems to have existed even before the establishment of the Muslim dynasty in Gujarat. The other is just close to it and is known as the well of Bāi Harīr Sultānī, as can be quite clearly gathered from its inscription.

Locally people call it the step-well (*vāv*) of Dādā Hari. Quite close to this step-well are the tomb and the *masjid* of the lady, Bāi Harīr Sultānī. The inscription of the central *mehrab* of this mosque is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,² and it also gives the same date in

1. HD., p. 397, and EIM., 1929-30, p. 5-6.

2. Commissariat, pp. 239-41 ; EIM., 1925-26, p. 10.

exactly the same words. The language of both these inscriptions is Arabic. But on the step-well there is another inscription in Sanskrit giving the same information as the Arabic one.

XXVIII (a) (On the mosque)

- ١ قال الله سبحانه و تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا
 قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله
 ٢ له بيتا فى الجنة بنى المسجد فى عصر سلطان اعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين
 ابوالفتح محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن
 ٣ محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه بانى هذا المسجد بائى
 حرير سلطانى ماه جماد الاول سنة ست و تسعمايتم - ٢٤

'e', 'h', 'j', 'n'. The mosque was built during the reign of the great Sultan, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan (may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom). The builder of this mosque is Bāi Harīr Sultānī. In the month of Jumada I, year nine hundred and six (November 1500 A.D.) - 26

XXVIII (b) (On the *vāv*)

- ١ بنيت هذه العمارة الظريف و البقعة الشريفتم
 ٢ و الرواق الرفيع و الجدر الاربعتم المصورة و غرس
 ٣ الاشجار المثمرة بالفواكهتم مع البير و البرك
 ٤ لينفع الانام و الانعام فى عهد سلطان سلاطين
 ٥ الزمان الواثق بتايد الرحمان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابوالفتح
 ٦ محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه
 < السلطان خلد الله ملكه بائى حرير سلطانى التى
 ٨ جعلها الحضرة العاليم حافظتم الباب الدار
 ٩ المحروستهم فى الثانى ماه جماد اول سنة ست و تسعمايتم ٢٤

This fine building and excellent edifice and lofty colonnade and the four fresco walls were built, and the fruitbearing trees were planted, together with the well and the reservoir, so that men and animals may benefit, during the reign of the Sultan of Sultans of the age, who is confident of the help of the Merciful, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Fatḥ, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Mūḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan (may

1. Both these inscriptions XVIII a-b have ٢٤ (26) at the end, but we are not able to indicate its significance.

Allāh perpetuate his kingdom), by Bāi Harīr Sultānī, who was made the lady guardian of the gate of the royal residence by the exalted lord, on 2nd of the month of Jumada II, in the year nine hundred and six (25th November 1500 A. D.)— 26.

XXVIII (c)

Sanskrit inscription : ¹

- १ नमः सृष्टिकर्त्रे । नमोऽपांपतये तुभ्यं सर्वजीवनरू-
- २ पिणे । वरुणाय नमस्तुभ्यं नमः सुकृतसाक्षिणे ॥ १ ॥
- ३ जयति जग(त्त्र)यजननी कुंडिलिनी नामतः परा श-
- ४ क्तिः । सुरन(र)वंदितचरणा वापीरूपात्मना सततं । ॥ २ ॥
- ५ नमामि विश्वकर्माणं सकलाभीष्टदायकं । कृपातो-
- ६ यस्य सर्वे स्युः (कर्म) कर्तुं क्षमा नराः ॥ ३ ॥ स्वस्ति श्री
- ७ गूर्जरधरिभ्यां श्रीमदहिम्मदावादनगरे पातुसा-
- ८ ह श्री श्री श्री महमूदविजयराज्ये राज्ञोतःपुरद्वारि स-
- ९ वाधिकारिणी बाई श्री हरीरनाम्नी श्रीनगरादीशान-
- १० दिगाश्रितहरीरपुरमध्ये चतुर्दिगायातानेकतृषा-
- ११ कुलमनुष्यपशुपक्षिवृक्षादिचतुरशीतिलक्षजी-
- १२ वोपभोगाय परमेश्वरप्रीत्यर्थं संवत् १५५६ वर्षे शा-
- १३ के १४२१ प्रवर्तमाने पौषशुद्धि १३ सोमे वापी कार-
- १४ यामास । यस्यामगाधामृतपानीयराशिमवलो-
- १५ क्य क्षीरोदधिनिवासमकरोदिव । सा स्वेदजाड-
- १६ जोद्धि(ज्ज)जरायुजपोषणार्थमाचंद्रार्कं स्थिरा भू-
- १७ यात् ॥ तत्र व्ययीकृतद्रव्यसंख्या ३१९००० सर्व
- १८ महमूद महीपालमंत्रिमुख्या प्रतापिनी धर्मार्थिनी हरीरा-
- १९ ख्या वापीमियमचीकरत् ॥ १ ॥ चतुष्पथे चरञ्चारुचतुर्दिग्ज-
- २० नसंकुले आचंद्रार्कमियं वापी मधुरा पीयतां जनैः ॥ २ ॥
- २१ दुर्गाणि पुण्यानारामान् शतशश्च जलाशयान् पदे
- २२ पदे च सत्राणि धनिनः संति शोभनाः ॥ ३ ॥ महाधनव्य-
- २३ यं कृत्वा विश्वोपकृतिहेतवे । बाई श्रीहरीरनाम्नी वा-
- २४ पीमियमचीकरत् ॥ ४ ॥ वापीनिर्माणेऽधिकारी परमेश्वराज्ञा-
- २५ पालक मालिक श्री बिहामद । तथा गजधरवैश्यसूत्र० वीरात-
- २६ थाज्ञाकर सू० देवा श्रीगिरणामहंसाया आतयामहंवीरा.....(Illegible)

1. Burgess has given a transcription of this in BG., (p. 300). This has been compared with an estampage of the inscription made by the writer. Suggested emendations are enclosed within brackets.

Translation :

Salutation to the Maker of the World !

Salutation to thee, Lord of the Waters, the incarnation of all life ! Salutation to thee, O Varuṇa, the witness of good deeds. (1) The Supreme Force, Kuṇḍilinī by name, the Mother of the three worlds, at whose feet bow gods and men, is ever victorious in the form of a well. (2) I salute the Architect of the Universe, who grants all blessings, through whose favour all men are enabled to perform action.

Hail ! in the sacred land of Gurjjara, in the fair city of Ahimmadāvād (Ahmadabad), in the victorious reign of the thrice-gracious Pādshāh Mahmūd, the chief lady-guardian of the gate of the king's harem, the gracious Lady named Harīr, caused to be constructed within Harīrapura, in the north-east quarter of this fair city, a well for pleasing the 'Great God and for the relief of the eighty-four *tākḥ* (varieties) of living beings like men, beasts, birds, and trees, who come oppressed by thirst from all the four quarters. (This well was constructed) in Samvat 1556, during the Śaka year 1421, on Monday the 13th day of the bright half of Pauṣa.

The Ocean of milk itself, as it were, made its abode here, seeing the unmeasured depth of ambrosial water (in this well). As long as the Sun and the Moon endure, so long may this well continue steadily to nourish all beings, whether born from sweat or from eggs, whether from the soil or from the womb.

The treasure spent upon this (well) was in the total 3,19,000....

The illustrious Lady named Harir, the chief lady-minister of Mahmūd, the Lord of Earth, caused this well to be constructed for acquiring merit (1). Crowds of men from (all) the four quarters (are) moving pleasantly along the four highways: may (the waters of) this sweet well be drunk as long as the Sun and Moon endure (2). Wealthy people become illustrious (by erecting) places of refuge, holy groves and water-tanks by the hundred, and shelters for the poor at every place (3). Having spent much treasure, for the benefit of the world, this gracious Lady, Harira by name, caused this well to be constructed (4) ¹.

The chief in the construction of this well (was) Malik Bihāmad, who obeys the ordinances of the Great God; and Gajadhar Vaiśya (was) the mason (?) and

(The last line is illigible and hard to translate).

It seems that Bāi Harīr Sultānī was the superintendent of the royal harem and she had built this step-well, garden, mosque and her own tomb.

1. The translation given by Burgess is not very accurate, so a fresh (and rather free) rendering has been given here.

There is another step-well in the village Adāraj, not very far from Ahmada-
bad, which was built at the same period, Samwat 1555 (906A.H./1499 A.D.).
It has one inscription in Sanskrit which shows that it was built by Queen
Rudadevī, wife of Virasimha, the chief of Kalol, during the reign of Maḥmūd
Begaḍā in honour of her deceased husband.¹ The Sanskrit inscriptions also
mention the cost of constructing these step-wells. During the period of
Aurangzeb, with a view to the convenience of the villagers and the travellers,
some repairs and changes were effected to the step-well at Adāraj.²

These *vāvs* are a special feature of Gujarat architecture ; and those in
and near Ahmadabad are among the finest surviving specimens. Gujarat
must be proud of possessing such marvellous specimens of architecture
such as are not found anywhere else.³

XXIX

Bibi's Masjid

A *masjid* just opposite the shrine of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh is known
as the *masjid* of Bibi. It fortunately bears an important inscription in its
central *mehrāb*.

۱ قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا
۲ هذا المسجد المبارک شاه اعظم (اعظم) محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن
احمد شاه بن
۳ محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه (اسطان خاد الله ملکم و دولتم
۴ حق الملک مسجد بی بی خونجابی (۷) ماه رجب قدره و سنه عشر و تسعمايتم

'd', 'h'. This auspicious mosque (was built) in the period of the great
king Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of
Muḥammad Shah, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan (may Allāh perpetuate
his kingdom and prosperity). The right of the ownership of the mosque
is of Bibi Khōnjābi (?). It was in the month of Rajab (may its dignity
increase, and year nine hundred and ten (Dec. 1504 A. D.)

The decorative details of stone carving in this *masjid* are extremely
delicate. The style of the writing of its inscription in the central *mehrāb*
is also very peculiar. This Bibi Khōnjābi was very likely an inmate of the
palace of Sultan Maḥmūd.

XXX

Rānī Sabrā'ī's Mosque

Inside the Astodya gate is one of the most elegant *masjids* ever built
in India during the Muslim period. The two tapering cylindrical minarets

1. BG., pp. 299-300, 310-11 ; 2. MA., Vol. I p. 290.

3. BA., Pt. II, pp. 4-14, Pls, 3, 14-16, 18.

on its facade are unlike any among the earlier monuments.¹ They are so perfect that it seems as if they had just been turned out on the lathe. In the precincts of the *masjid* is also the mausoleum of Rānī Sabrāī. The inscription in the central *mehrab* tells us that it was built in the year 920 A.H./1514 A. D. during the reign of Muzaffar II, by Rānī Sabrāī, the mother of the Abū Bakr Khān, the son of Sultan Maḥmūd.

١ قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال
الذبی صلی الله علیه وسلم من انى مسجد الله تعالی بنى الله له قسرا فی الجنة
٢ بنى المسجد فی عصر السلطان الاعظم المویذ بنائید الرحمن شمس الدنیا والذین
ابوالنصر مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه
٣ بن مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه بانیتهم المسجد المذکور و والده ابی بكر
خان بن سلطان محمود المسماة رانی سبرائی اربع شهر سنه شمسیه سنه
العشرین و تسعما ینتم

'c', 'h', 'j', 'n'. The mosque was built during the reign of the great Sultan, who is assisted by the help of the Merciful, Shamsu'd-Dunya wa'd-Dīn Abū'n-Nasr Muzaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan (may Allah perpetuate his kingdom). The builder of the mosque is the mother of Abū Bakr Khān, son of Sultan Maḥmūd, named Rānī Sabrā'ī. During the fourth month of the solar year, year nine hundred and twenty (1514 A. D.).

All have given the name of Rānī Sipri to this lady. But this is wrong because in the inscription it is clearly given as رانی سبرائی Rānī Sabrā'ī. This reading has also been confirmed by Principal Muḥammad Shafi of the Oriental College, Lahore. When we compare this with the historical works, we find there too in the manuscript of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* the correct form Sabrā'ī.²

XXXI

Masjids of Bahādur Shāh's Reign

The *masjid* of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh bears several inscriptions which seem to have been fixed there in a haphazard manner, simply with a view to save them from being lost. One of them, referring to a *masjid*,

1. BA., Pt. I, pp. 847, Pls. 10, 106-7; *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, 1873, p. 292.

2. The English trans. of ms., by Fazlu'l-lāh and the Persian printed texts give the name as *Sarānī* (سرائی) which could easily have been mistaken for Sabrā'ī. One ms. of the MS. in the Pīr Muḥammad Shāh Library has the name Sabrā'ī (سبرائی) written very clearly, Blochmann, however, reads it *Athnī* (اثنی) in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IV, 1875, p. 292. No. 5.

belongs to the period of Bahādur Shāh, (932-944 A. H./1526-1537 A. D.) son of Muzaffar II. On its left side something seems missing, because the holy verses inscribed on it are not complete. The last line gives us the name and lineage of the builder of the mosque.

- ۱ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله
 فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا (۱۹ : ۱۹) و انه لما قام عبد الله (۲ : ۱۹)
 ۲ یکو نوا من المهتدين - و قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى
 مسجد الله بنى الله له بيوتا (فى) الجنتم
 ۳ بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن
 محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان
 ۴ على غوث الثقلين قدس سره الله العزيز بن محمود بن شرف بن كمال بن
 نجيب الله من اولاد ابوالعلا احمد بن عبد الله بن سليمان

'a', 'c' 'h', 'i', 'n', 'j' (This mosque was built during the reign of) Bahādur Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultān, (by) Ali Ghauthu'th Thaḡalain (may the Magnificent Allāh hallow his grave), son of Maḥmud, son of Sharaf, son of Kamāl, son of Najibu'l-lāh, (who belongs to) the family of Abu'l-'Ulā Aḥmad, son of 'Abdullāh, son of Sulaimn

XXXII

Rauza of Ahmad I

Near the eastern entrance to the Jamī' Masjid in the Manek Chauk, there is the magnificent *rauza* of Sultan Aḥmad I (d. 846 A.H./1442 A.D.) This lofty and exquisite building is really one of the finest specimens of Gujarat Muslim architecture. Around this mausoleum are several other graves of olden days. On the entrance door of the *rauza* there is an inscription on a marble slab, in fine Persian verse, composed by the poet Yahya, which shows that it is not the original inscription of the days when the *rauza* was built.

روضه عالی احمد شاه سلطان کز علو
 جفت گشته کنبد او با سرتاق سما
 عهدہ داران گرچه بودندش بسی و برده اند
 سعیا اندر مرمت کردن او دائما
 لیک هرگز هیچ کس اورا بدین رونق نساخت
 همچو ذات اکمل آن صاحب عز و علا

محسن اہل زمانہ فرحت الملک آنکھ او
 ہست دیندار و خدا ترس و سخی با وفا
 در زمان تاریخ سال عہدہ اش از عون حق
 گفت یحی فرحت ملک آمد از وی سالہا
 سنہ اربع و اربعین و تسعمایتم
 یادگار احمد چہچو

- 1 This is the lofty mausoleum of Sultān Aḥmad Shāh. On account of its loftiness its dome has become a match for the top of the vault of heaven.
- 2 Though he had many officers and they ever endeavoured to repair it,
- 3 Yet no one has ever done so splendidly in the manner as this man endowed with great perfection, honour and exaltation,
- 4 The benefactor of the people of the age, Farḥatu'l-Mulk', who is pious, God-fearing, liberal and faithful.
- 5 The chronogram of the year of his tenure of office has been expressed by Yahyā with the assistance of God: 'Farḥat-i-Mulk, from which the year (of its completion) is derived'.

The year nine hundred and forty four (1537 A. D.)

(The architect is) Yādgar Aḥmad Chhajjū¹.

It seems that the original *rauza* was erected either in the lifetime of Sultān Aḥmad himself or just after his demise. From this inscription we gather that it was completely renovated by Farḥatu'l-Mulk the benefactor of those days. The chronogram, *Farhat-i-Mulk, āmad az wae sālḥā* gives date, 944 A.H. 1537 A.D. The last words of the inscription Yādgar Aḥmad Chhajjū also affirms that the mausoleum was renovated by Aḥmad Chhajjū. The interior of the dome has some coloured mural decoration in pure arabesque similar to that found in the interior of Ahmad Khattu's mausoleum at Sarkhej.²

XXXIII

Farhatu'l-Mulk's Masjid

In a street near the Bhadra there is the mosque known as Shāh (Miān) Muḥammad Khūb Chishti's *masjid* (d. 1023 A.H./1614 A.D.). He himself lies buried in the graveyard near by. He was a famous Urdu poet of Gujarat who substantially advanced the development of Urdu in Gujarat. The mosque bears an inscription in its central *mehrab*:

1. *Indian Antiquary*, 1875, p. 292, No. 6.

2. *DA.*, Pt. I, pp. 37-38, Pls. 37-40.

یا الله یا الله

قطعه در تاریخ بناء مسجد جامع

ملک الشرق ملک نو خان چیمان المخطاب بفرحتم الملک

مسجدے با صفا و پر انوار	آنکے نورش با آسمان برود
بیت معمور و سقف مر فوعش	گر بخواند لسان غیب سزد
هست در عز همچو بیت عتیق	خالی از عابدان بدان نبود
چاه او عین زمزم چو منا	جنب او سوق بارواج بود
شد بنایش بعد آنکه شہش	تا بکوسی ہشتمین برسد
شاه محمود ابن شاه لطیف	کم سلاطین را پناہ دہد
بانیش نو خان ابن چیمان کو	فرحتم الملک شد ز لطف صمد
بندہ تاریخ این بناء قبول	از سر صدق خواستم ز خرد
گفت فی الحال رو بگو یحیی	قد بنا خاصا لوجه احد
نہ صد و چہل و پنج مجموع بود	گر در آری حروف وی بعدد

O Allah ! O Allah !

The distich relating to the construction of the Jami' Masjid of Maliku'sh-Sharq, Malik Nau Khan, Chiman, entitled Farhatu'l-Mulk.

- 1 This mosque of purity, full of Divine Light, whose rays go up to heaven,
- 2 If a voice from heaven calls it "the heavenly temple and the elevated vault", it is but appropriate.
- 3 In its position of honour it is just like the Ancient House (the Temple of Mecca); for this reason it will not be empty of worshippers.
- 4 Its well is the spring of Zamzam like Mina, and by its side there is a crowded mart.
- 5 The building was erected during the reign of one whose kingdom reaches the eighth throne,
- 6 Mahmud Shāh, son of Shāh Latif, who affords an asylum to other kings.
- 7 Its builder is Nau Khan, son of Chiman, who through the grace of the Almighty has become Farhatu'l-Mulk.
- 8 I sincerely asked the Wisdom for the chronogram of this approved building ;
- 9 It immediately replied : "Say, Yahya : ' He built it purely for the sake of the One ' ."
- 10 If you count the value of the letters, it gives altogether nine hundred and forty five (1538 A. D.)¹

1. *Indian Antiquary*, 1875, pp. 292-93, No. 7; BA., Pt. I, pp. 82-83, Pls. 68, 105.

The architect seems to be the same person who had repaired Aḥmad's mausoleum during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh III in 944 A.H./1538 A.D. Yalḥya, the poet who had composed the verses of the inscription of Aḥmad's mausoleum, also composed these verses which represent a fine specimen of decorative writing.

According to Hajji'ud-Dabir this mosque was known as that of *Farḥātul-Mulk* and there were other monuments adjoining this mosque.¹ History is silent regarding Maliku'sh-Sharq, Nau Khan, son of Chīman, entitled *Farḥātu'l-Mulk*. At an earlier date, under Maḥmūd Begadā, there was one Tughān Sultānī, of Turkish origin, who was honoured with the title of *Farḥātu'l-Mulk* in 866 A. H./1461 A.D. He was left in charge of the Bet fort, after its conquest in 877 A.H./1472 A.D., because he was the person who had conquered it. He was also the first person to enter the citadel of Chāmpāner with a detachment of Turkish soldiers.²

We read about another *Farḥātu'l-Mulk* who was sent as a *Dabir*, or Secretary of State, to Burhanpur in 912 A.H.³/1506 A.D. It is just possible that Tughān *Farḥātu'l-Mulk* and the one who was deputed to Burhanpur were one and the same person. We know that in Turkish *tūghān* means a 'falcon' and *nau* means 'a hero'. In the absence of any definite information we can only say that the names *Tughān* (طوغان) and *Nau Khān* (نوخان) may have got mixed up.

As to Chīman, the father of Nau Khān, one has also to be careful, because there were several officers in Gujarat bearing this name. Thus, in 918 A.H./1512 A.D. many nobles accompanied Sultan Muzaffar II on an expedition against Malwa, and one Malik Chīman, entitled *Muhāfizu'l-Mulk*, was also among them.⁴ There was another Malik Chīman (or Chaman) during the reign of Sultan Muzaffar III, who had accompanied him against Mūsī Khān in 968 A.H./1560 A.D.⁵

XXXIV

Shams Khān's Masjid

Just inside the Shahpur gate near the city wall there is a mosque at present covered with a corrugated iron sheet roof. It stands on the site of an old mosque, which has disappeared almost completely with the exception of its back wall which has a *mehrāb* bearing an inscription.

۱ قال الله تبارك و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا
 ۲ الواثق بالله المنان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح محمود شاه ابن لطيف شاه
 ۳ ابن مظفر شاه ابن محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه ابن احمد شاه ابن محمد
 شاه ابن مظفر شاه السلطان

1. HD., p. 436 2. *Ibid*, pp. 17, 24-25, 29; and MS., p. 101. 3. AD., pp. 54, 100.

4. MS. BY., p. 251. 5. HD., p. 480.

بہر طاعت ساخت مسجد شمس خان بہر خدا
 بود نہ صد و چل و شش تاریخ سال این بنا
 کتہم عبدالحی بن علی

۴

'd', 'h'. (During the period of) the dependent of Allāh the Beneficent, Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Fatḥ, Maḥmūd Shāh son of Latif Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, the Sultan, Shams Khān built this mosque in name of God and for the purpose of worship. The year of its construction was nine hundred and forty six (1539 A. D.). Written by 'Abdul Hay son of 'Alī.

Locally people call it the mosque of Nand Sarā, but Burgess has called it the mosque of Ināyat Shāh.¹ We do not generally find in the inscriptions of Gujarat the names of the calligraphists, who have carved these records in such a masterly fashion. Fortunately in the inscription of this mosque the name of the calligraphist is recorded as Abdul Hay son of 'Alī.

The builder of this mosque, Shams Khān, the son of Fard Khān, was in Mecca in 943 A.H./1536 A.D. with Asaf Khān, the minister of Bahādur Shāh. The latter was specially sent there at the time of Humayun's invasion of Gujarat with the Sultan's harem and treasure. Shams Khān severely criticised Asaf Khān for spending money lavishly while in Mecca. When still in Mecca they received the news of Sultan Bahadur Shāh's death. In 967 A.H./1559 A.D.² Shams Khān was killed when fighting in the army of Ulūgh Khān and his body was carried in a *palki* to Godhrah for burial.

XXXV

Khawassu'l-Mulk's Masjid

In Dhalgarwada, near the Hope Market, not very far from Shāh Khūb's *masjid*, is a small brick mosque with wooden pillars. The central *mehrab* is carved and over it is an inscription.

۱ قال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا هذه المسجد
 ۲ بعهد الزمان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه بن
 اخو بهادر شاه
 ۳ بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن
 مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله
 ۴ تعالى ملكه و سلطانم سدد هذا البناء المسجد المتبركم

1. BG., p. 297.

2. HD., p. 353, 454; MS.F., p. 237.

٥ اقل عباد الله ملو سلطانى المخطاب بخواص الملك فى سنه خمس و
خمسین و تسعمایتر

'c', 'h'. During the reign of Nāsiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abū'l-Fath Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Latif Shāh, son of the brother of Bahādur Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh the Sultan (may Allāh, the Exalted, perpetuate his kingdom and authority), the building of this blessed mosque was strengthened by the meanest of God's slaves, Mallu Sultāni, entitled Khawāssu'l-Mulk, in the year nine hundred and fifty five (1548 A. D.)¹

It is locally called the Bādshāhi mosque or Khajūrī *masjid* and some people call it the mosque of Khamsa Salāt, (five services) or Hamza Salat² for which no reason is known.

One Mallū Khān had entered Muzaffar II's service, He was given the fief of Sarangpur. Later he became the ruler of Malwa at Mandu in 943 A.H./1536 A.D. under the name of Qādir Khān. But he was ousted in 949 A.H./1542 A.D. by Shaja'at Khan, who was deputed by Sher Khān Sūrī; so he had to return to Gujarat, where he continued his service with Maḥmūd III. As Mallū Khān had been a Sultan of Malwa, therefore, perhaps the mosque is called the Bādshāhi mosque. From his title 'Khawāss-ul-Mulk', which he held in 955 A.H., we gather that he was one of the advisors of Maḥmūd III.³

XXXVI

Malik Jalāl's Masjid

In the Raykhad quarter there is a *rauza* and a *masjid* of Shah 'Alīji Gāmdhāni (d. 973 A.H./1565 A.D.), the well-known early Urdu poet of Gujarat. Both the *masjid* and the *rauza* are of stone.⁴ But the *masjid* has a peculiar type of *minārs* which are quite simple and devoid of any decoration, quite unlike the decorated ones of Sidī Bashīr's *masjid* near the Railway station. The *rauza* has a worn out inscription on its entrance, but it consists of holy quotations and nothing else. The *masjid*, however has three small inscriptions on its three internal *mehārbs*.

XXXVI (a)

وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا
'h'.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, 1875, p. 293, No. 8.
2. BG., pp. 76, 80, Nos., 70, 116.
3. MS. BY., pp. 358, 371; HD., pp. 321-22.
4. BA., Pt. II, p. 42; BG., p. 298.

XXXVI (b)

المعتصم بالله الرحمن غياث الدنيا والدین ابوالمحامد احمد شاه
 ابن عم محمود شاه بن لطيف شاه اخ بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه
 ابن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه (اسلطان خلد الله ملكه
 فناد ينيں پچھا نکر باندھے شاہجی بال۔ بانی مسجد کے تئیں پیچین ملک جلال
 تاریخ اس مسیت کی ہوئی سوویوں مشہور۔ مسجد جامع کے بیچ بٹھا دیا ہی نور

۹۶۰ (۹۶۱)

He who resorts for protection to Allah, the Merciful, Ghiathu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Abu'l Mahamid Ahmad Shah, son of the uncle of Mahmud Shah, son of Latif Shah, brother of Bahadur Shah, son of Muzaffar Shah, son of Mahmud Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, son of Muzaffar Shah, the Sultan (may Allah perpetuate his kingdom).

Realising the deterioration of the religion, the disciple of the (saint) Shahji built (this mosque). The builder of this mosque is Malik Jalal.

The chronogram of this mosque is known thus:—

'The divine light has settled in the Jami' masjid' (960-961 A.H./ 1553 A. D.)

XXXVI (c)

۱	محمد رسول الله صلی الله علیہ وسلم بن
۲	عبد الله بن عبدالمطلب بن هاشم بن
۳	عبد مناف بن قصی بن كلاب بن مرّة.....
۴	ابوبکر الصديق ابن ابی.....
۵	قتاد بن عامر بن عمرو
۶	مسجد جامع
<شوال
۸	سنم احد وستین و تسعما یتم
	۹۶۱
۹ بن جلال.....
۱۰	بن محمود..... بن فضل الله بن.....
۱۱	بن عز الدین بن شاه.....
۱۲	منصور بن فضل الله بن سعد الدین

- بن ابو محمد بن ابو بكر ۱۳
 ۱۴ علی بن محمد بن عثمان بن جعفر بن یعقوب
 بن احمد ابی نصر بن..... ۱۵
 بن عبدالله بن ۱۶
- 1-3 Muḥammad, the Messenger of Allāh (the blessings and peace of Allāh be upon him), son of 'Abdullāh, son of Abdul Muttalib, son of Hasham, son of Abd Manāf, son of Qusaī, son of Kilāb, son of Murrah.....
- 4-5 Abū Bakru's-Siddiq, son of Ab...Qahāfa, son of 'Āmir, son of 'Amrū
 6 Masjid Jami'
- 7 Shawwāl
- 8 The year nine hundred and sixty one, 961 (1553 A. D.).
- 9 son of Jalāl
- 10 Son of Maḥmūd,...son of Fazlu'l Allāh, son of
- 11 Son of I'zzu'd-Din, son of Shāh
- 12 Mansūr, son of Fazlu'l-Allāh, son of Sa'du'd-Din.....
- 13 Son of Abū Muhammad, son of Abū Bakr
- 14 'Alī son of Muḥammad, son of Uthmān, son of Ja'afar, son of Ya'qūb
- 15 Son of Ahmad, Abi Nasr, son of.....
- 16 Son of Abdullah, son of.....

This central epigraph (a) gives a quotation from the Qur'ān usual in mosques. The right hand inscription (c) has two parts, the first giving the genealogy of the Prophet, that of his companion Abu Bakr, and the date 961 A.H./1553 A. D. when the mosque was built. The second giving the genealogy of Malik Jalāl, the founder of the mosque. The left hand inscription (b) shows that it was built during the reign of 'Abū'l-Maḥāmid, Aḥmad Shāh III, cousin of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Latif Shāh, brother of Bahādur Shāh, son of Muzaffar Shāh.¹ The last two lines of this inscription (b) consist of two couplets in *Gūjarī*, the Urdu language of those days, which is very similar to the Urdu of today. The first couplet clearly mentions that it was founded by Malik Jalāl, who was the disciple of the Shāh ('Alījī Gāmdhanī). The next couplet gives us the chronogram of the completion of the mosque in a very unusual manner.

I should state here that this inscription has been read differently by other competent scholars.² I give my version here together with a reproduction of the inscriptions themselves and leave the reader to judge for himself.

1. See No. 14 in the genealogy given in the introduction of this monograph.

2. EIM., 1935-1936, pp. 50-51.; *Urdu* (Quarterly), Delhi, April 1938.

XXXVII

Inscriptions on Wooden Panels

A separate monograph could easily be compiled describing the special type of wood-carving and carpentry in Gujarat during the Hindu as well as the Muslim periods. Everywhere in Gujarat we see fine specimens of this branch of art in great variety and of much richness such as is not found anywhere else in India. I think this is due to the production of excellent teak, sal and other varieties of wood in this part of India, as well as to the skill and capacity of the artists themselves. Both these factors are responsible for the creation of these masterpieces of art in both stone and wood. When I visited the shrine of Pir Muḥammad Shāh, I came across many inscriptions, as I have already noted above, and two of them are carved in wood in the most exquisite manner. They have been put up in framed panels. One of them is dated 969 A.H./1561 A.D. and the other is of an earlier date. They are, however, only quotations from the Qur'an and the Hadīth.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم **تَجَلَّوْا بِالصَّوَةِ قَبْلَ الْفَوْتِ وَتَعَجَّلُوا بِالتَّوْبَةِ قَبْلَ الْمَوْتِ** - غره رمضان فى سنه ٩٦٩

'ج'. 'Expedite the prayer before it passes away; and expedite the repentance before you die'. 1st Ramazan, 969 A. H. (5th May 1562 A. D.).

XXXVIII

Mosque of Shaikh Hasan Chishti

Inside the Shahpur gate one grand mosque in stone following the tradition of other mosques of Ahmadabad, was built in 973 A.H./1565 A.D. by Shaikh Hasan. This is indicated in a Persian quatrain inscribed inside the mosque over the back wall.

XXXVIII (a)

قطب زمانم شیخ حسن ساخت مسجدى
 کانجا کفند اهل عبادت دعای شیخ
 چون شیخ این رفیع مکان را بنا نمود
 تاریخ سال او ز قضا شد بناء شیخ
 حرره دوست محمد شکر
 سنه ٩٧٣

Shaikh Hasan, of his time the guiding star,

A mosque did build, where men pray for his soul ;

When the Shaikh built this lofty edifice

Fate uttered its chronogram : ' Construction of the Shaikh '.

The calligraphist was Dōst Muḥammad Shukar. Year 973A. H./ 1565 A.D.

XXXVIII (b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الاخر و اقام الصلاة و آتى
الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين -
'a', 'g'.

The calligraphy by Dōst Muḥammad Shukar is in very fine Nasta'liq style. This is the second example where the name of the calligraphist is also mentioned. The other inscription is on the central *mehrab* and consists of a text from the Qur'an.

The *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* has given a lengthy account of the Chishtī saints of Ahmadabad and there he mentions that Shaikh Hasan b. Muḥammad Chishtī had built that mosque. Abū Sālih Hasan Muḥammad Gujaratī came from the family of Maulāna Kamalu'd-Dīn. He was a great scholar of his time and served the cause of education. Shaikh Hasan had composed a commentary on the Qur'an, annotated the *Tafsir-i-Baizāvi* and had prepared an annotated edition of *Nuzhatu'l-Arwāh*. He died in 982 A.H./ 1574 A.D. His mosque has been often changed and renovated in the course of time, specially after the Mughals came to power. Its construction is said to have taken eight or nine years and its cost has been estimated at one million rupees.¹

This is the last inscription of the period of the Gujarat Muslim kings and the only one in the Nasta'liq style of calligraphy. Soon after this Muzaffar III had surrendered to Akbar and Ahmadabad was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 980 A.H./ 1572 A.D.

XXXIX

The Tomb of the Poet Nāzirī ?

An inscription is found in a dome at Tajpur, near which are also found numerous graves. This particular dome is locally called the tomb of Shāh Fāzal. A *masjid* situated in the arsenal has an inscription which says that it was built during the reign of Maḥmūd Begadā (xxvi); yet locally this is called the *masjid* of Shāh Fāzal. Professor Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Dār of the Gujarat College, Ahmadabad, believes that the tomb of the poet Nāzirī, who is said to have been buried in the Tajpur quarter in 1023 A.H./1614 A.D., might be discovered hereabouts. From all the evidences examined on the spot I conclude that Nāzirī had been buried within the precincts of

1. MA., Vol. II, pp. 48; BA., Pt. II, p. 44-5, Pls. 44-8; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 63. This inscription is reproduced here by the courtesy of Mr. Q. M. Munir.

this very dome. There is an inscription, which, however, bears only the Kalimā, Shahādāt and some Persian couplets, which are generally found on the tombs of saints and eminent people.¹

بحق اَشْهَادَانِ لَا اِلٰهَ اِلَّا اللّٰهُ - يَا مُفْتَحِمْ - اَزْدِرَاہِلِ صَفَارُوِيْ مَكْرُوْدَانِ اے دل
کشادہ باد بدولت ہمیشہ این درگاہ۔ الابواب۔ ہر کم دورست ازین در بخد از دیک است

O Key of the gates.

Verily I declare that 'there is no god but Allah'. May this court flourish for ever with full splendour. Turn not thy face away, O heart, from the door of those pure in faith. For whosoever enters this door gets nearer to God.

XL

Tomb Slabs

In continuation of inscription xxxi noted above there are three more epigraphs. These actually belong to some other graveyard and have been fixed here later and thus saved from being lost. They are all on marble slabs.

- ۱ بسم الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد
- ۲ رسول الله يبشروهم ربهم برحمتهم منه ورضوان
- ۳ و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالد بن فيها ابدان
- ۴ الله عنده اجر عظيم - هذا قبر الشيخ الاجل
- ۵ رفيع القدر والمجد ميان برهان بن ملاک
- ۶ بن ميان فيروز بن ميان قاسم المعروف فيروز
- < قد انتقل الى رحمتهم الله تع في نصف النهار
- ۸ الثالث عشر من شهر الله شهر رمضان سنه ۱۰۲۳ ثلث عشرين و الف

'a', 'b', 'i'. This is the grave of the Shaikh of glorious and high estimation and grandeur, Miān Burhān, son of Malik, son of Miān Firōz, son of Miān Qāsim, known as Firōz. He passed away towards the mercy of Allāh, the Exalted, at midday on the thirteenth of the month of Ramazān, the months of Allāh, year one thousand and twenty three (19th Oct. 1416 A.D.)

XLI

- ۱ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
- ۲ يبشروهم ربهم برحمتهم منه ورضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالد بن

1. I am grateful to Prof. Khān Bahādur Shaikh Abdul Qādir Sarfarāz for the help he rendered in deciphering this inscription. The same couplet is also found at other places, such as at Antur Fort, Aurangabad District, but here the first lines comes after the second (EIM., 1919-20, p. 12, Pl. 8.).

۳ فيها ابدان الله عنده اجر عظيم هذا قبر الشيخ الاجل رفيع القدر والمجد
الشمس المذور والقمر الانور و الذور الازهر المحسن البار لجمع العالم
۴ میان تاجخان ابن يوسف ابن آدم و كان نقلتم فی الخامس عشر من
شهر محرم سنه ۱۰۳۹ هـ

'a', 'b', 'i'. This is the grave of the Shaikh of glorious and high estimation and grandeur, the shining sun, the bright moon, the white light for the whole world, the obliher of the pious, Miān Tāj Khān, son of Yūsuf, son of Ādam. He passed away on the fifteenth of the month of Muharram, year one thousand and thirty nine (7th Sept. 1629 A. D.).

XLII

۱ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
۲ يبشروهم ربيهم برحمتهم منهم و رضوان و جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالدین فيها ابدان
۳ هذا قبر الحرة الفاضله بوفاطم بنت ميا تاجخان بن يوسف
۴ قد انتقلت الي جوار الله في الثالث عشر من شهر رجب سنه ۱۰۴۴ هـ

'a', 'b', 'i'. This is the grave of one overflowing with liberality Bū Fātima, daughter of Mia Taj Khān, son of Yūsuf who passed away towards the neighbourhood of Allah on the thirteenth of the month of Rajab, year one thousand and forty four (12th Jan. 1634 A. D.).

XLIII

Sarāi of Ā'zam Khān

In 1045 A.H./1635 A.D. Ā'zam Khān was appointed the governor of Gujarat. His full name was Ā'zam Khān Mīr Muḥammad Baqīr, alias Irādat Khān, but he is known by his popular name Ā'zam Khān. On his arrival in Gujarat as governor, he introduced many reforms which proved beneficial to the people, for he put down evil doers with a firm hand. He erected a caravansarai at Ahmadabad, which was completed in 1047 A. H./1637 A.D. It was situated just near the gateway of the Naqqār Khāna of Qal'a Arak (Bhadra). It bears the following inscription in Persian verse :

۱	بدور بادشاه داد گستر	پناه خلق عالم ظل یزدان
۲	شم صاحبقران تیمور ثانی	شهاب الدین محمد شاه شاهان
۳	شهنشاه جهان خاقان اکبر	همايون جاه سلطان ابن سلطان
۴	یکی صاحب پرست از بندگانش	که هست از جان و دل منقاد فرمان
۵	بهار عدل اعظم خان غازی	که تیغش گشت جسم ملک را جان
۶	سرای کرد در کجرات بنیاد	که مناش را ندیده چشم دوران
<	زبی عالی بناکز روی رفعت	گذشتم پایه قدرش ز کیوان

۸ بخوبی و لطافت چوں بهشت است بدر بانی او شایسته رضوان
 ۹ سر او قیصریه یافت اتمام بامر خان عادل نقد مردان
 ۱۰ ز هفت سال تاریخش چو جستم ندا آمد مکان خیر و احسان
 سنم ۱۰۴۷

- 1 During the reign of the just king, the refuge of the people of the world, Divinity's own shadow,
- 2 Shāh-i-Sahib Qirān, the second Timūr, Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, the King of Kings,
- 3 Shāhjahān, the great Khāqān Humāyūn Jāh, Sultan, son of the Sultan,
- 4 One devoted to him, one of his subjects, ever so obedient to his beck and call,
- 5 The spring of justice, the Ghāzī, Ā'zam Khān, whose sword is the life and soul to the body of the realm,
- 6 Laid the foundation of a *sarāe* in Gujarat, the like of which the eye of the age has never seen :
- 7 How unsurpassed is its magnificence ! In point of loftiness it has surpassed Saturn itself.
- 8 In beauty and elegance it is paradise itself, where Rizwan (the Guard of Paradise) would love to be sentinel.
- 9 Next to it the Qaysariya reached its completion, at the behests of the Khān, the just, who is the jewel of men.
- 10 When I sought its chronogram from the invisible, a voice came : 'The house of virtue and beneficence' (1047 A. H./1637 A. D.).

The penultimate verse of this inscription contains the word قیصریه (*qaysariya*), which literally meant "Imperial dignity". Later on the name was given to the market in Isfahan, and so it now means a market generally. If we carefully consider the implication of this particular word, we shall see that it embodies the Persian tradition, working in Ā'zam Khān's brain. Being Persian by origin he tried to create a Persian atmosphere in India, as is obvious first from Persian design of the facade of the caravansarai, and secondly and specially from the fact that even to this day this part of the city of Ahmadabad (now known as Bhadra) is utilised like the traditional *qaysariya* or market place. Quite near this monument of Ā'zam Khān, adjoining the steps of Alaf's mosque, a market bazar is held every Friday¹.

1. This building of Ā'zam Khān served as jail from 1820-27, and it is still used as the city court. BG., p. 302 ; BA., Pt. II, pp. 58-60, Pls. 57-8. The first three couplets are missing in Burgess, but they were kindly supplied by Mr. A. B. Rajput.

Ā'zam Khān had founded two *parganās*, one named Khalilabad, after the name of his son, and the other named Ā'zamabad after his own name.¹ At Ranpur on the frontier of the Kathiawar, a fort, a mosque, a well and some baths were built by him, as testified respectively, by four inscriptions dated 1048, 1050, 1051 and 1052 A.H. The inscription in Persian verse found on the Shāhpur fort contains the chronogram in the last verse : Ā'zam-i-Bilād (greatest of the cities) (1048 A. H. / 1639 A. D.) and this clearly refers to the builder.² Mandelslo's account of his stay at Ahmadabad in the course of his travels (1638-39 A. D.) refers to his meeting with Ā'zam Khān. But he gives his name as "Arab Chan" which is obviously a mistake. On the 18th October Mandelslo proceeded, along with the English Chief, on a visit to the Governor. After about an hour's conversation the visitors rose to take leave of the Governor, but the latter requested them to stay and dine with him. The dinner was served exactly after the Persian style, such as Mandelslo had already enjoyed at the court of the Shah of Persia at Isfahan³

In short, wherever Ā'zam Khan served as governor, he built many superb monuments. He died at Jaunpur in 1059 A.H. / 1649 A.D. at the age of seventy-six.

It will not be out of place while describing the Ahmadabad monuments to point out that just adjoining the present building of Sarāi of Ā'zam Khān there is a Hindu temple which is daily visited by hundreds of devotees and next to it is the gateway (the Bhadra), which is an imposing monument of the Gujarat Muslim Kings. It spans the public highway. On the inner walls of the passage there are two inscriptions in Persian verse, in *Nasta'liq* style and facing each other. Both unfortunately have been so badly mutilated that not a single word can be deciphered, except one date 1030 A. H. / 1618 A. D. on the southern wall, which means that they belong to Jahangir's period. These inscriptions resemble in design Nos. X b and XLIII.

XLIV

Tombs of Fatima and Laylaji

In the neighbourhood of inscription ix there is a single long strip of stone, which makes mention of two graves accompanied by a holy text.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 هذا قبر فاطمه زوجة محمد مير هذا قبر ليلى جى زوجة نجم خان
 ؟..... سنه ١٠٥٢ (؟)

1. MA., pp. 221-223 Vol. II, p. 126; *Mathira'l-Umara*, Vol. I. pp. 174-182.

2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavanagari*, pp. 44-58.

3. Mandelslo, *Travels in Western India* (ed. by M. S. Commissariat), Bombay, 1931, pp. 31-40.

- 1 'b' This is the grave of Fātima, the wife of Muḥammad Mīr.
- 2 'b' This is the grave of Laylajī' the wife of Najam Khān.
..... 1052 A. H. (1642 A. D.)

The former is incomplete and bears no date. The latter bears some date which is not very clear. It might be read as 1052 A.H./1642 A.D.

XLV

Mosques of Shāista Khān's Period

Nawāb Shāista Khān was appointed as governor of Gujarat in 1063 A.H./1652 A.D.¹ During his tenure of office extensive repairs were carried out on the old monuments of Ahmadabad. An inscription found on a loose stone lying in Vatwa is recorded by Burgess.² It shows that a superb mosque, with a tank of water for ablutions, was constructed in 1063 A. H./1652 A. D. in the period of Shāista Khān's rule.

XLV (a)

بعهد دولت شائستہ خانی کم زو گشتہ بنای دین موسس
 بتوفیق الہی ناظر ادراک نمودہ مسجدی با حوض انفس
 پی سال بنائیش گفت ہادی بگو مسجد شدہ بیت المقدس
 سنہ ۱۰۶۳ ھ

- 1 During the governorship of Shāista Khān, who laid the foundation of this edifice of religion,
- 2 By the Divine Grace, the Defender of the intellect, the mosque appeared with its exquisite reservoir.
- 3 Concerning the year of its construction Hādī, has said: "Say, 'The mosque has become the Holy House' (1063 A. H./1651 A. D.)

XLV (b)

We also fortunately find another similar inscription in the central *mehrab* of the Jiwan Pol *masjid* which, though quite large, is devoid of any architectural beauty. The inscription concerns the building of a mosque during the same year.

بدور فرخ شائستہ خان کو بنای معدلت را گشت بانی
 برائے طاعت حق ناظر ادراک نمودہ مسجد خیرالمبانی
 چو از سال بنا پرسید ہادی ندا شد پاک بیت اللہ ثانی
 ۱۰۶۳

1. MA., pp. 238-243.

2. BG., p. 307.

- 1 During the tenure of office of Shāista Khān who became the founder of the place of justice.
- 2 For obedience to God, the Defender of the intellect, this best constructed mosque appeared.
- 3 When Hādi asked the year of the construction, a voice issued forth: 'the second house of God is pure'. 1063 A. H./1651 A. D.

The verses of these inscriptions have been composed by the poet Hādi.¹
The exact location of the former mosque cannot be ascertained now.

XLVI

Abdul Wahhāb's Masjid

Between Khanpur gate and Mirzapur a mosque, locally called Abdul Wahhāb's *masjid*, bears several inscriptions. One is on its central *mehrab* and the other above the right hand side of it. This latter consists merely of holy texts appropriate to mosques. But the north and back walls of this mosque also have fixed into them some Persian verses on marble slabs. They are scattered anyhow indicating that they have been fixed haphazard in the walls. They have been rearranged here in proper order. Actually verses 1-6 are on the bays of the north wall and the rest are scattered anyhow.

XLVI (a)

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
انما ليعمير مساجد الله مهتدين
'a', 'g'.

XLVI (b)

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ - من بنى مسجدا لله تعالى من مال حلال
و يعبد الله فيه بنى الله تعالى له بيتاً فى الجنة من درة و يا قوت

'a'. He who builds a mosque for Allāh, the Exalted, from his rightly earned wealth and worships therein, Allāh, the Exalted, will build for him a house in paradise of pearls and rubies.

XLVI (c)

<p>۱ که نیست غیر او مراکانات را معبود ۲ بانس و جن و ملک گشته قبل مقصود ۳ که رکن دین متین اندو عاقبت محمود</p>	<p>۱ بعون فضل خداوند کار ساز و ودود ۲ بیمن فیض محمد نبی که در کوفین ۳ درود باد بر اهل بیت و اصحابش</p>
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1. *Vide infra* under No. XLVI (c).

۴	بدور ثانی صاحب قران شاه جهان	کہ پیش در کہ او شاه روم و چین بسجود
۵	بلند طالع و خورشید قدر ملکستان	کہ آستان جلالش با آسمان فرمود
۶	بعهد فرخ سلطان مراد بخش جهان	کہ از قد و مش ابواب خیر و فرح کشود
<	بروض فرح افزای شاه غیاث الدین	ملک سیرت سید جلیل فیض ورود
۸	مرید و معتقد حضرت محیی الدین	بصدق خواجہ شہباز آنکہ دہر شنود
۹	برخصت و برضا شہ امامجدین	از آنچہ باشد را طریق حق نمود
۱۰	نمودہ مسجدی از سر برونق جنت	برائے اطاعت ارباب
۱۱	پی بنائش ہادی چو جنت	ندار سید بگو مسجدی ز فیض نمود

سنہ ۱۰۶۵

- 1 Through the help and grace of God, the Adjuster of affairs, the Muni-
ficient, there is none worthy of devotion and worship excepting He ;
- 2 Through the blessings of Muḥammad, the Prophet, who has become the
cynosure of all in both the worlds, whether men, or genii, or angels ;
- 3 Blessings of God be on his progeny and his companions, who are
the pillars of the faith and whose end is worthy of praise.
- 4 During the period of the second Sāhib-i-Qiran, Shāh Jahān, before
whose throne the kings of Rūm and China bow and prostrate
themselves ;
- 5 High is his destiny, his position more exalted than the sun, the con-
queror of lands the seat of whose splendour rules the mighty skies ;
- 6 During the auspicious governorship of Sultān Murād Bakhsh, whose
very approach opened the gates of beneficence and happiness,
- 7 The pleasure-enhancing mausoleum of Shāh Ghiāthu'd-Din of
angelic nature, (son of) Sayyid Jalīl, whose grace is universal ;
- 8 The disciple and devotee of Saint Moḥiu'd-Dīn, and through the
fidelity of Khwāja Shāhbāz, the one universally praised,
- 9 With the permission and good pleasure the Lord of dignitaries he
pointed out the path of truth,¹
- 10 The mosque vies with paradise in point of elegance for the worship
of the devotee.
- 11 When Hādī sought the chronogram, the voice came and said, "the
mosque of graces" (1065 A. H./1654 A. D.)

The Persian verses clearly mention that during the reign of Shāh Jahān this mosque was erected at the mausoleum of Shāh Ghiāthu'd-Dīn and Sayyid Jalīl, when Prince Murād Bakhsh was the governor of Gujarat. Murād remained in Ahmadabad till the struggle for the throne of Delhi

1. The fragments being damaged and Scattered the meaning is not very clear.

arose among the sons of Shāh Jahān and later on he declared himself the Sultan of Gujarat and struck coins in his own name, but Aurangzeb won the throne of Delhi, and Murād was forced to capitulate and was confined in the fort of Gwalior. The date given by the chronogram falls well within the governorship of Murād.

The *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*¹ tells us that Sayyid Ghiāthu'd-Dīn, son of Abdul Jalīl, son of Abdul Wahhāb, surnamed Shahjī, lies buried in Khanpur near the mausoleum of Miān Qutbu'd-Dīn Shāhī. Sayyid Ghiāthu'd-Dīn was one of the descendants of Sayyid Abdul Qādir Jilānī of Baghdād. This is also confirmed by the mention of Khwāja Shāhbāz in the eighth verse of the inscription, that he was his disciple. Khwāja Shāhbāz's real name was Malik Sharafu'd-Dīn, son of Malik Abdul Quddus. He was one of the well-known saints of Burhanpur. Malik Abdul Quddus used to live in Ahmadabad, but getting dissatisfied with the king of Ahmadabad, he left for Burhanpur, where he settled down and ultimately died. After him his son Shāhbāz Shah came to Ahmadabad at the age of fourteen to receive his religious training from Shaikh 'Alī, surnamed 'Khatīb,' successor of Qutb-i-'Alam Bukhārī, and later became a well-known saint of Burhanpur where he died on 10th Rabī II, 934 A.H./3rd Jan. 1528 A.D.² The present mosque is locally attributed to Abdul Wahhab, who lies buried in the mausoleum near by. He died on 11th Rabī I, 935 A.H./24th Nov. 1528 and was also buried at Ahmadabad.³

This inscription in Persian verse, composed by Mirza Hādī of Shāhristān⁴, is important because it mentions Prince Murād as Sultan Murād Bakhsh. We have had so far no other inscriptional evidence giving this title to the Prince.

XLVII

Kotwāl Khān's Tomb

In the compound of Ahmad's *rauza* in the Manek Chauka grave stone bears Persian verses giving the chronogram of the death of one Kotwāl Khān who died at Ahmadabad on 7th Ramazan, 1066 A.H./31st May 1656 A.D. From these verses we gather that he was well-known for his generosity towards the poor and mercy towards the helpless.⁵

در الف و شصت و شش بنهار کوتوالخان آمد برون و رفت خرامان سوی جنان
هفتم ز ماه شعبان بود است کان عزیز در زیر خاک کرد رخ مثل مهر نهان

1. MA., Vol. II, p. 40; BA., Pt. II, p. 68. The writer is extremely grateful to Mr. Q. M. Munir, Superintendent, of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona, for permitting him to study the estampage of this inscription in his office.

2. *Barkātu'l-Auliya*, pp. 53, 63, 65.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 63-65.

4. Abdul Ghani, *Tazkiratu'sh-Shu'ra*, p. 144. 5. BG., p. 295.

جز دانم نکوئی اندر زمین نکشت ان حاتم زمانه بتوفیق مستعان
فیض عمیم او بهم خلق چون رسید گویند ذکر خیرش تا شرانس و جان
ای خالق کریم برین تربت شریف باران لطف و رحمت از فضل خود بران

In one thousand sixty six (1066 A. H.) secretly Kōtwāl Khān
Came out and departed pompously towards paradise ;
It was the seventh of the month of Sha'ban when that beloved one
Concealed underground his moon-like countenance ;
He sowed but good seed on the earth,
This Hātim of the age, by the grace of the helping God,
As his universal bounty extended to all mankind,
Even the wicked among men and genii praise his generosity.¹
O gracious Creator, upon this noble tomb
Pour thy showers of mercy and reward.

XLVIII

Jami' Masjid of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh²

Three inscriptions, besides those noted under No. III are found on the *mehrab*s of the congregational mosque of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh. They appear to be the original inscriptions of the same mosque, and they might have been fixed exactly where they at present exist. The first bears the *Kalimā*, the names of four companions of the Prophet, and the date 1077 A.H./1666 A. D.

XLVIII (a)

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله بحق ابوبکر و عمر و عثمان علی
الهی خیر جاءء باد سنه ۱۰۷۷ هـ

'b'. Out of regard for Abu Bakr, 'Omar, 'Othmān and 'Alī, O Allah prosperously inaugurate this. Year 1077 A. H. (1666 A. D.)

XLVIII (b)

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
چراغ و مسجد و مکتب و منبر ابوبکر و عمر عثمان و حیدر
حضرت میر محی الدین سنه ۱۱۳۵

'b'. Lamp and Mosque and *Mehrab* and Pulpit,
Abu Bakr and 'Omar and 'Othmān and Haider
Hazrat Mīr Mohiu'd-Dīn. Year 1135 A. H. (1722 A. D.)

1. If we read تا حشر انس و جان the meaning will "until the day of resurrection men and genii will praise his generosity."

2. BG., p. 304.

XLVIII (c)

The third is in Persian verse concerning the mosque.

نماند بعصیان کسی در کرو کم دارد چنین سیدی پیش رو

نپندارم کم سعدی را بیازاری و بگذاری کم او جز سایه لطفش ندارد در جہاں جائے

No one remained plunged in sin who had such a Sayyid for his guide.

I do not think you will injure and abandon Sa'di, for he has no other place but the shadow of His favour.

XLIX

Mosque of Sayyid Muḥammad

Ā'zam Khān, as we have seen above (XLIII), had a son named Khalīl. It seems, therefore, very probable that the word *khalīl* in the verses of the inscription (from XLVIII) might be an allusion to this son of Ā'zam Khān.

خو شا مسجدی ساخت سید محمد کم مردے توان کرد یاد خلیلی
سزد کر کعبہ کنی تو امانی کم تاریخ او گشتم بیت خلیلی
کاتبم عبدالرحمن ۱۰۹۲

Sayyid Muḥammad built an elegant mosque,

In which man may worship the glorious God ;

It is proper for thee regard it as the twin of the Ka'ba ;

Its chronogram is *Bait-i-Khalīl* (the house of Khalīl)¹

The writer is Abdu'r-Raḥmān, year 1092 A. H. (1681 A. D.)

L

Mosque of Mūsa Suhāg

Two inscriptions are found on the mosque locally called the Mūsa Suhāg *masjid*. It is situated on the right side of the road to the camp. Mūsa Suhāg was a well-known saint belonging to the Chishtiā order, who wore bracelets on his arms and lived with street-dancers in order to conceal his Sufism. He was much respected even by Shāh-i-'Ālam as a great saint of his days. When he died on 10th Rajab, 853 A.H. / 29th Aug. 1449 A.D. he was buried with the bracelets upon his arms, for the tradition of the Prophet says that on the day of resurrection men will rise as they had lived in this world.² In Ahmadabad there are four graves in the Bāgh-i-Shāhī, but no one knows which one is that of Mūsa Suhāg. He is regarded as a great saint who worked miracles. One of the best remembered of these is that once there was no rain in Ahmadabad for a long period, and the people of Ahmadabad gathered round him and begged him to pray to Almighty God for rain. And, as he prayed, rain began to come down heavily and averted the impending famine.³

1. BG., p. 304, 2. MA., Vol. II, p. 48. 3. *Barkātu'l-Auliya*, pp. 44-45.

L (a)

چون بتوفیق ایزدی جعفر ساخت مسجد بزیب و زینت و ساز
گفت احمد بواء تاریخش کرد آراستم مکان نماز
سنم ۱۱۰۰

When by the Divine grace Ja'far
Built a mosque with elegant arrangements,
Ahmad said for its chronogram,
'He adorned the place of prayer'. (1100 A. H./1688 A. D.)

L (b)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - (نما يعمر مساجد ... المهتدين
قال ابني ... من بنى مسجدا ... فى الجنة - كتب جلال سنم ۱۱۰۲
'a', 'g', 'k', 'n'. Written by Jalal in the year 1102 A. H. (1690 A. D.)

Ja'afar and Jalāl, the two names mentioned in these two inscriptions, were noteworthy men. Both of them belong to the family of Shāh 'Ālam of Ahmadabad. The full name of the former was Sayyid Ja'far Majīd 'Ālam. He was the son of Sayyid Jalāl Majīd 'Ālam and he died on the 18th Muḥarram 1119 A.H./21st April 1707 A.D. The full name of the latter was Sayyid Jalālu'd-Din Hamīd 'Ālam. He was the son of Sayyid Muḥammad Maḥbūb 'Ālam. He wrote two treatises, the *Mirātu'r-Rōya*, dealing with the interpretations of dreams, and the *Miftahu'l-Hājāt* (Dispenser of Needs). He died on the 20th of Zu'l Hijja, 1114 A.H./7th May, 1703 A.D.¹

LI

The Qāzi Masjid

Three short inscriptions, consisting of holy texts, are found in a mosque called the Qāzi *Masjid*, adjoining the Madrasa of Hidāyat Bakhsh, in the Astodya quarter. The mosque itself is also of much importance.

LI (a)

لمسجد أسس على التقوى من اول يوم
تاريخ اساس سنم ۱۱۰۲

A place of worship which was founded upon duty (to Allāh) from the first day (Qur., ix, 108)

The date of foundation is year 1102 A. H. (1690 A. D.)

LI (b)

لمسجد قبل صلوة من صلى فيه
تاريخ الصلوة فيه سنم ۱۱۱۰

1. MA., Vol. II, p. 29.

A mosque is to yield to prayer of one who prayed in it.

The date of praying in it is the year 1110 A. H. (1698 A. D.)

LI (c)

اللهم صل على محمد نبيك الامي واله واصحابه وبارك وسلم
تاريخ تمامه سنه ١١١٢

O Allah! pour upon Muḥammad, your Prophet, the unlettered, and upon his family and his companions, blessings and peace.

The date of its completion is the year 1112 A. H. (1700 A. D.)

It is very interesting to note here that the three inscriptions in the central *mehrab* give the dates of its foundation 1102 A.H. / 1690 A.D., of the first prayers offered therein, i.e. of the inauguration of the *masjid*, 1110 A.H./ 1698 A.D., and of the completion of the building in 1112 A.H./1700 A.D. All these three inscriptions are in the best *Naskhī* style of calligraphy. This is the only monument of its type which bears the inscriptions giving the dates for the different stages of construction.¹

LII-LIV

Monuments of Nawab Shajā'at Khān

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Kār Talab Khān, entitled Shajā'at Khān, was appointed the Subedar of Gujarat in 1098 A.H./1686 A.D. In the course of the long tenure of his governorship at Ahmadabad he established complete law and order and founded many useful institutions which continue to exist even to our day. The people of Ahmadabad have continued to maintain them very efficiently and very successfully. In 1104 A.H./1692 A.D. he had acquired two hundred cart-loads of marble from Paṭṭan for the erection of a mosque, a college and his own mausoleum, which he had planned to erect in Ahmadabad.² The mosque is, perhaps, the best specimen of later Gujarat Muslim architecture, being influenced by the Mughal style, and was built in 1107 A.H. / 1695 A.D. It has one inscription (LII a) in the central *mehrab* giving the *Kalimā*, with the date, and two Names of God, viz., 'the Opener' and 'the Key', on either side. Just above the *Kalimā* there is another *Bismillāh* inscribed (LII b) with the date 1127 A.H./1715 A.D. Both these inscriptions are the best specimens of the *Naskhī* style.³ Adjoining the mosque are situated the college, founded by him in 1109 A.H./1697 A.D., and the cistern in the courtyard of the mosque. The dates of both are indicated in the chronogram contained in the verses about them on a marble slab at the entrance of the mosque.

1. BA., Pt. II, pp. 62-63, Pls. 64-65.

2. BA., Pt. II, pp. 61-62, Pls. 62-64; MA., Vol. I, pp. 328, 341,

3. For reproduction see frontispiece.

LIII (a)

خان عالی مکان شجاعت خان کم خدائیش معین و یاور باد
ساخت بهر صواب مدرسم طالبان علوم را جا داد
سال تاریخش از خرد جستم گفت آن جای علم و فیض آباد
سنم ۱۱۰۹

The Khān of exalted position, Shajā'at Khān,
May God be his helper and protector,
For the sake of good he built a College,
He provided a centre for the seekers of knowledge,
I sought its chronogram from reason,
It replied, 'It is the seat of learning and the abode of bounty'.
1109 A. H. (1697 A. D.).

LIII (b)

این برکم کم نواب شجاع عتخان ساخت خیر جاری نمود آن خان بهوش
با تشنه لبان گفت چنین تاریخش کز یاد حسین آب شیرینی نوش
سنم ۱۱۰۹

This cistern which Nawāb Shajā'at Khān got prepared,
That wise Khān made it a lasting good.
It itself thus gave its chronogram to the thirsty ones :
'In recollection of Husain drink the sweet water' 1109 A.H. (1697 A.D.)

LIV

Adjoining this mosque, a little to the north, there is a very imposing mausoleum having a Mughal bulbous dome. It is the *rauza* of Nawāb Shajā'at Khān who died in 1113 A.H./1701 A.D. His death is recorded in two inscriptions, one at the entrance of the mausoleum and the other on the sarcophagus itself. They bear Persian verses and holy texts respectively.

LIV (a)

۱	خان جنت مکان شجاع عتخان	نقل کرد از جهان به باغ جهان
۲	شفق از ماتمش نشستم بخون	فلک از سینم بر کشیده فغان
۳	این چنین ماتمه ندیده گهی	پدر ملک و مادر دوران
۴	جمله از عام و خاص میگوید	حیف رفت از جهان شجاع عتخان
۵	هیچ ناظم نکرده در عالم	اینچنین عدل و اینچنین احسان
۶	هست عالم بعدل دورانش	بوده فائق ز شاه نوشیروان
<	سال نوشتش خرد بگفت بدهر	گشت تاریخ خان عالیشان

سنم ۱۱۱۳

The Khān having paradise as his abode,
 Moved from this world to the garden of paradise ;
 The twilight became drowned in blood on account of mourning,
 The sphere raised lamentations from its heart.
 The father of the kingdom and the mother of time
 Had never witnessed such a great mourning ;
 All the high and the low say,
 "Alas ! Shajā'at Khān departed from the world,
 No governor has dispensed justice and displayed kindness in
 this manner ;
 His rule surpassed that of king Naushīrwān in justice".
 Reason gave thus the year of his death :
 'The exalted Khān', which became the chronogram for the great
 soul. (1113 A. H./1701 A. D.).

LIV (b)

۱ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 ۲ قل يا عبادي الذين اسرفوا على انفسهم لا تقنطوا من رحمتي الله ان الله
 يغفر الذنوب جميعا انه هو الغفور الرحيم
 ۳ تاريخ وفات الرابع عشر من يوم الخميس في شهر صفر سنة ۱۱۱۳
 الف و مائتته و ثلث عشر من الهجرة النبوية

'a', 'b'. Say : "My slaves who have been prodigal to their own hurt, despair not of the mercy of Allah, who forgiveth all sins. Lo, He is the Forgiving, the Merciful (Qur'ān, xxxix, 53).

The date of his decease is Thursday the fourteenth of the month of Safar, in the year one thousand one hundred and thirteen of the *Hijrat* of the Prophet (14th July 1701 A. D.)

The form and the style of the inscription of the sarcophagus shows that it is an imitation of similar earlier inscriptions found in Gujarat.

About Nawab Shajā'at Khān himself we find a letter in the *Ruqa'at-i-'Alamgīr* that when the news of his death reached the court, the names of several candidates were suggested to succeed him, such as Khair Andesh Khān and 'Atiqu'l-lāh Khan, but Prince Muhammad A'zam was appointed. The fact, however, remained that no one could adequately replace his loss.¹

LV

Bābā Lōlū's Shrine

There is an inscription on a loose stone in the shrine of Bābā Lōlū, near Abū Turāb's tomb, outside the city, toward the south. Abū Muḥammad, sur-

1. Billimoria, J. H., *Letters of Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 118-19.

named Bābā Lölū, was one of those twelve Bābās, whose prayers had sanctified the foundation of Ahmadabad. Some writers have called him Lölū owing to his business as a pearl dealer¹. Burgess has furnished a brief description of Bābā Lölū's mosque.²

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله محمد على فاطمه حسين حسن
 خود گفت تاريخ آن بنت زهرا منخير کم بس بود با خير شد
 سنم ۱۱۱۷
 والده محمد جعفر ولد سيد محمد على بن سيد محمود سادات
 باره ساکن کيهتوره

'a', 'b'. Muḥammad, Alī, Fātima, Husain, Hasan;

This daughter of Zuhra has herself pronounced the chronogram 'The choice, which was sufficient, was well attained'.
 Year 1117 A. H. (1706 A. D.)

The mother of Muḥammad Ja'afar, son of Muḥammad Alī, son of Sayyid Maḥmūd Sādāt Bārah, (resident of) Kihtura.

LVI

Najmu'd-Dawla, Founder of the House of Cambay.

Near the mausoleum of Rustam 'Alī Khān at Ahmadabad one of the tombstones records the following inscription, which informs us that the person lying buried underneath was the great grandfather of the present ruler of Khambayat (Cambay) :—

مرزا محمد جعفر نجم ثانی المخاطب بمومنخان بهادر نجم الدوله
 دلاور جنگ يوم الثلاثاء الثامن من شهر محرم الحرام سنم ۱۱۵۶ سنم خمسين
 مايتم و الف —

Mirzā Muḥammad Najm Thānī, entitled Mōmin Khān, Najmu'd-Dawla, Dilāwar Jang, (died) Tuesday, 8th of the month of Muharram, the revered, year 1156 A. H. (15th March 1743 A. D.).³

The author of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi* has fully discussed the important and manifold part played by this great personage in later Gujarat

1. MA., Vol. II, p. 61. 2. BG., p. 78, No. 99, 309; BA., Pt. II, pp. 45-47 Pl, 54-56.

3. I am much indebted to Prof. Commissariat for directing my attention to this important epigraphic record which is the only one of its kind. My thanks are also due to Mr. J. B. Qādri, Pleader at Ahmadabad, who took the trouble to supply the text by joining the broken pieces together. The epigraph is likely to perish soon, for the pieces are already in a crumbling state.

history. He began his career as the *Mutasaddi*, i. e., officer in charge of Khambāyat, and fought many battles against the Marathas. Later on, he became the Subedar of Gujarat and introduced useful reforms. When the father of the author of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi* returned from his pilgrimage to the Hijāz, he stayed at Khambāyat with him as his guest.¹

LVII

Tomb of Sayyid Qutbu'd-Din

Just near the mosque of inscription No. XLV b there is another adjoining the grave of Nau Gaz Pīr which contains one inscription in *Naskhī* characters in the central *mehrāb*. It is not easy to decipher it. It is full of holy texts and refers to one Sayyid Qutbu'd-Dīn's tomb, who died on 27th Jumā II, 1158 A. H. (?) / 27th July 1745 A.D.

LVIII

Shrine of Sayyid 'Aidrūs

In Ahmadabad the shrine of 'Aidrūs, in the Jhaweriwada near Panjar-pol, is a fine piece of architecture having an imposing dome. There are some graves in its courtyard and by chance two of them bear marble slabs with inscriptions which are dated 1194 and 1199 A.H. / 1779 and 1784 A. D. The first has some name in symbolical words and the second shows that one Abdulla, son of Sulaiman, was buried therein.²

LIX

Tomb of Ruknu'l-Haq

This is a short inscription recording the death of Ruknu'l-Haq in 1200 A.H. / 1785 A.D.³

چون رکن الحق از دار دنیا برفت بیک اعظم در ظل طوبی برفت
خبر داد هاتف ز سال وصال از اینجا بفردوس اعلا برفت
سنہ ۱۲۰۰

When Ruknu'l-Haq went away from the mansion of the world,
In one moment he reached under the shadow of the *Tubā*
(the celestial tree).

The invisible herald gave the news of the year of decease :

'He went from here to the highest paradise'.

(1200 A. H. / 1785 A. D.)

1. MA., (Baroda ed.), Pt. II, pp. 129, 145, 163-64, 209, 220, 231-36, 242, 273, 276-77. 2. The transcript and translation have been omitted.

3. BG., p. 309, No. 50.

Conclusion

Various aspects of Gujarat Muslim history have been discussed above with the help of inscriptions from various Muslim monuments of Ahmadabad. These show the numerous changes of fortune that have played their part in the history of this place. They show too the many actors of different shades and cults who have enriched the culture of Muslim Gujarat. These monuments have, after meeting with so many changes and mishaps, come down to us as records of the past. To observe them and to describe them as faithfully as possible with the aid of the data available has been the task of this effort. Yet one should not claim finality in historical studies, because the discovery of new material in the future may throw some further light on many an important event noted above.

We should not forget that Ahmadabad holds a unique position in our country, for here the mediaeval culture of the people of Gujarat remains largely unaffected, although modern ideas have already begun to filter in. When we ramble through the zigzag old streets of Ahmadabad we may pass some splendid ancient Muslim monument on one side, and the old dwellings exhibiting the best that was of mediaeval domestic architecture on the other. We notice all around the real Gujarat and hear the purest form of Gujarati. The women chiefly, who are the real representatives of the culture of a nation, whether Hindu or Muslim, are clad in their typical Gujarati dress, such as they used to wear even in the olden days. It will not be an exaggeration if we add that even though Hindu and Muslim cultures are distinct from each other, still here in Gujarat a special blend has been evolved in the mode of the daily life of the people of Gujarat, just as the harmonious blending of the Jaina trabeate and the Muslim arched system is found in later architecture of Gujarat.

A good many descendants of the old families of Gujarat, which held high positions either in administrative or in religious walks of life still exist. Their forefathers had contributed substantially towards the architectural beauties of Gujarat and of Ahmadabad. In spite of their splendid old family traditions, it seems a pity that but few of them are aware of their past history and their glorious heritage.

Ahmadabad, in our present age of machinery, has become the Manchester of India, and can aptly be called a city of factories. It has today become a town of smoke, as once it used to be the town of dust; for the Emperor Jahangir had indeed named it 'the Town of Dust.' (*Gardābād*). The inseparable romance and spiritual atmosphere which brood over the monuments of Ahmadabad shall ever remain unaltered even though they are shorn of their past splendour today. Mere words are powerless to ex-

press with fidelity the charm and the sentiments of reverence one feels amidst these glorious monuments. These feelings are of grateful remembrance and serve to perpetuate the memory of their builders. After visiting these superb monuments we always return bringing away with us some of the spiritual fragrance which has gathered round them. This fragrance clings to our minds and keeps the memory of the past ever green. And we spontaneously utter a prayer for their builders, in the words of the Prophet Muḥammad, which are inscribed on so many of them :

“ Who builds a place of worship for Allāh, Allāh shall build a similar house for him in paradise.”

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I Kāchnī Masjid



15" x 7"

II Mosque of Mir Hājji



17" x 13"

III Grave Slab



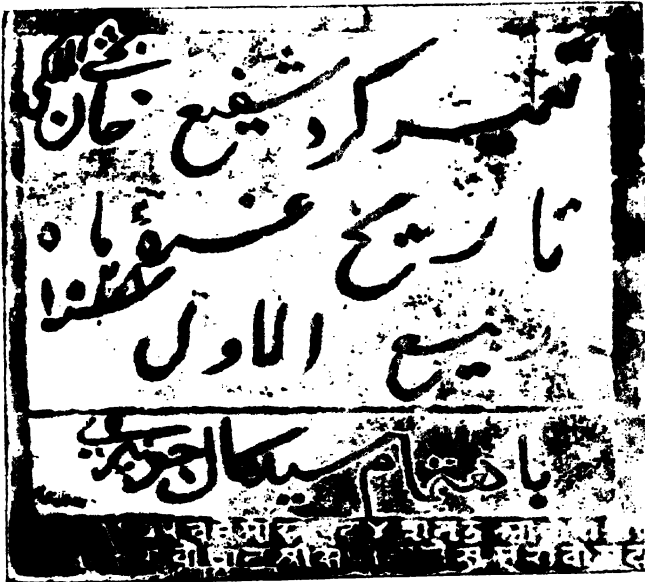
22" x 9"

V City-wall of Veraval



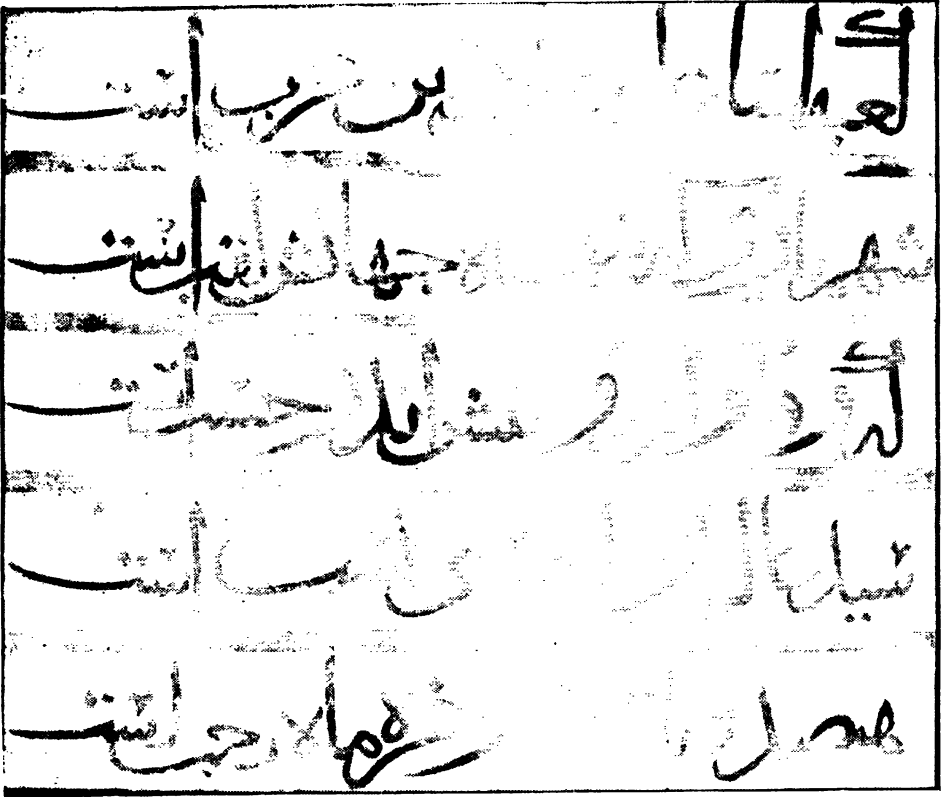
23" x 13"

VI c City-wall of Ahmadabad



10" x 10"

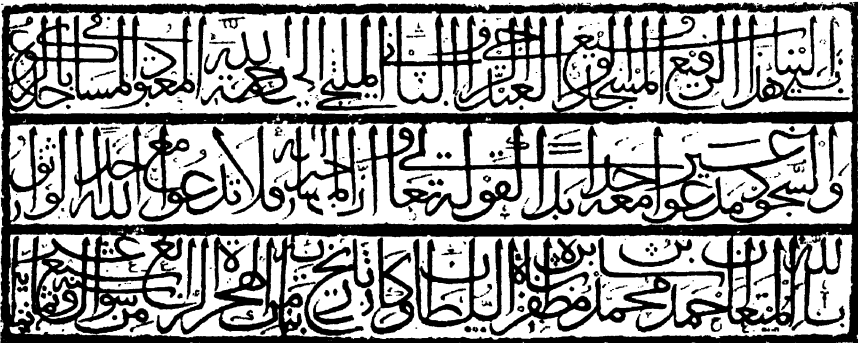
VII a Mosque of Sayyid-i-'Ālam



21" - 19"

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VIII Mosque built by Ahmād I



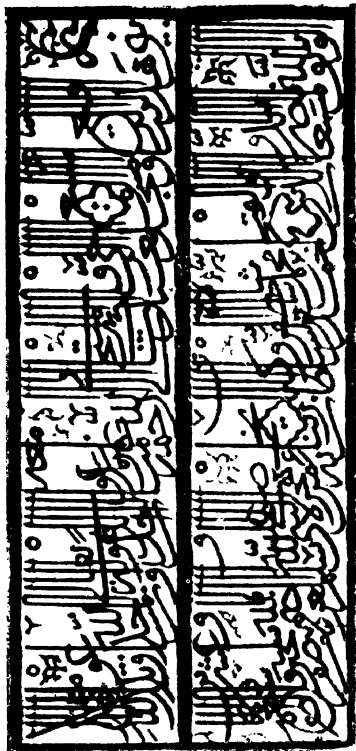
37" - 151"

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IX Mosque of 'Ālamgīr



Xa Mosque built by Aḥmād I



387 141

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39 187

X b Tank of the Mosque built by Aḥmād I

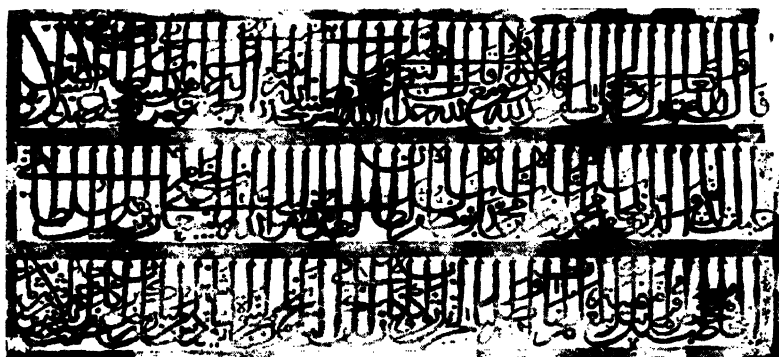


XI Mausoleum built by Qutb b. Khwājagi



33" × 91"

XIII Mosque of Nizām b. Hilāl



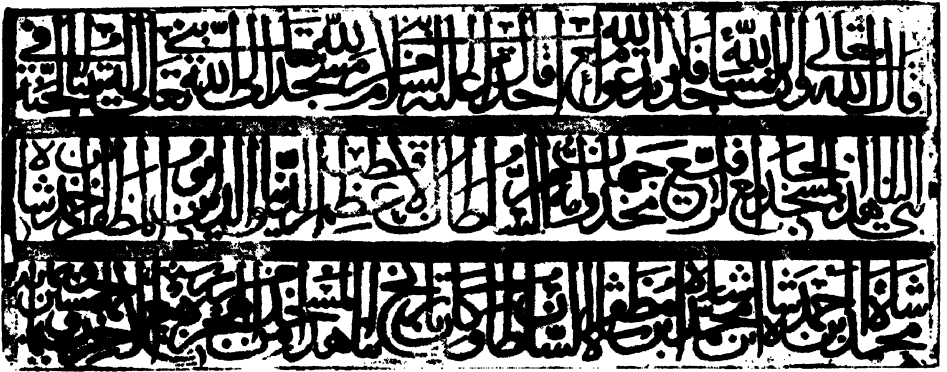
241" × 101"

XIV Mosque of Malik Sha'ban



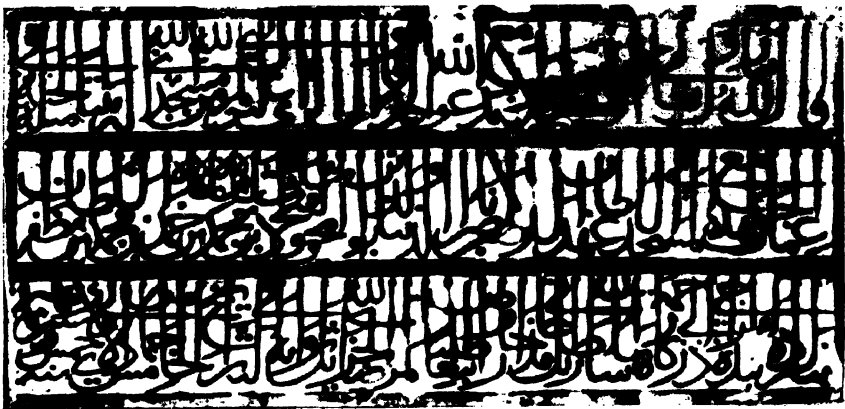
213" × 11"

XVI Makhdūma-i-Jahān's Mosque



22 1/2" x 9"

XVII Mosque of Sārang-i-Sultānī



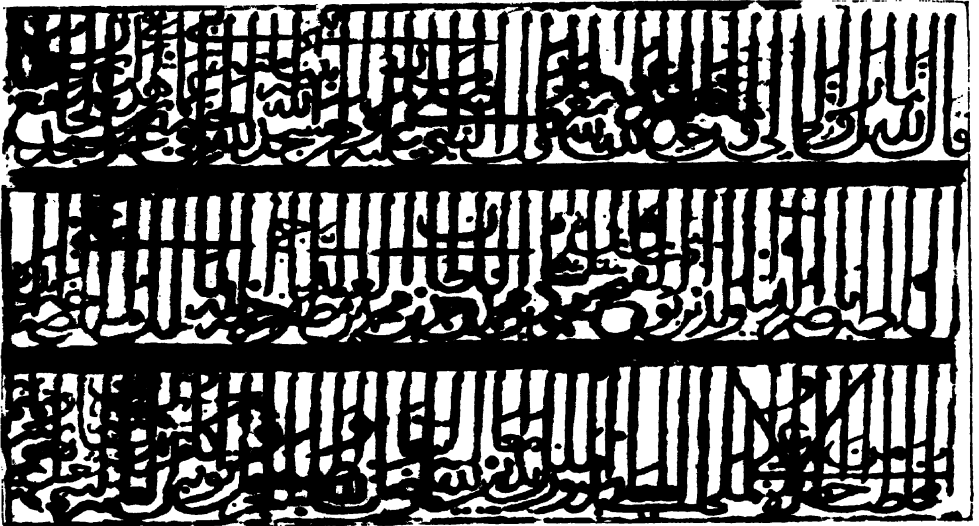
22 1/2" x 9"

XVIII Mosque of Bībī Zamān



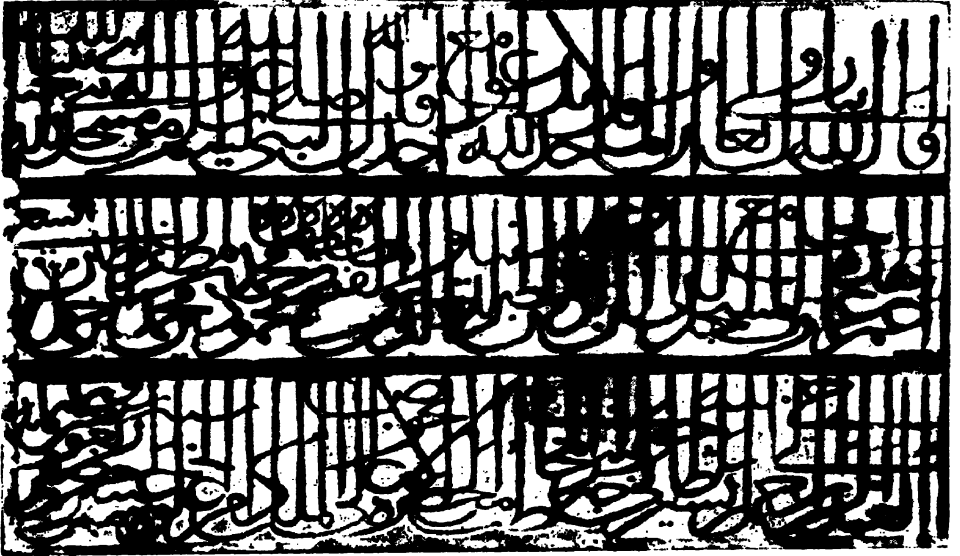
16½" × 14½"

XIX Mosque of Dasturu'l-Mulk



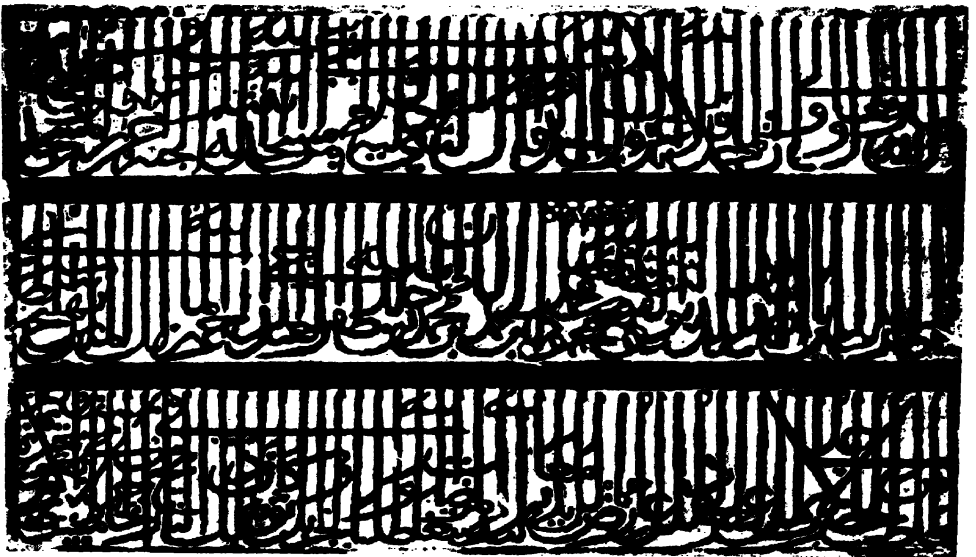
18½" × 11½"

XX a Mosque of Malik Īsan



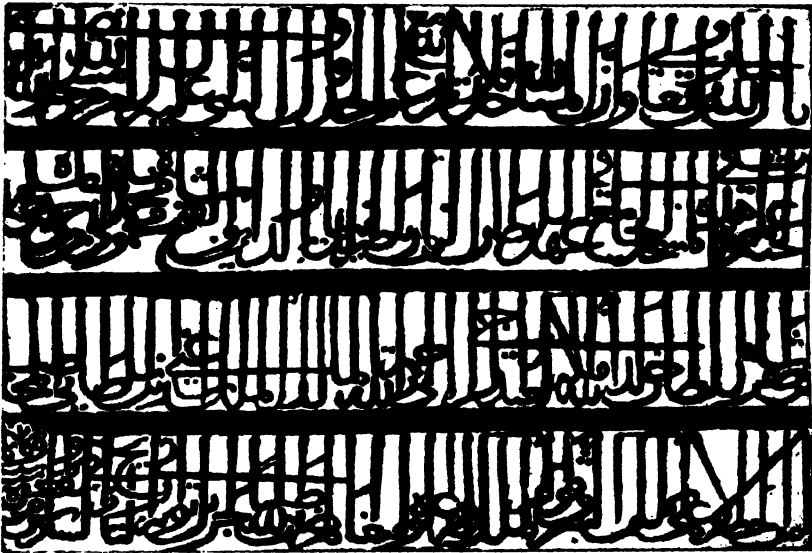
17 1/2" x 12"

XXI Mosque of Bahā Nektakht



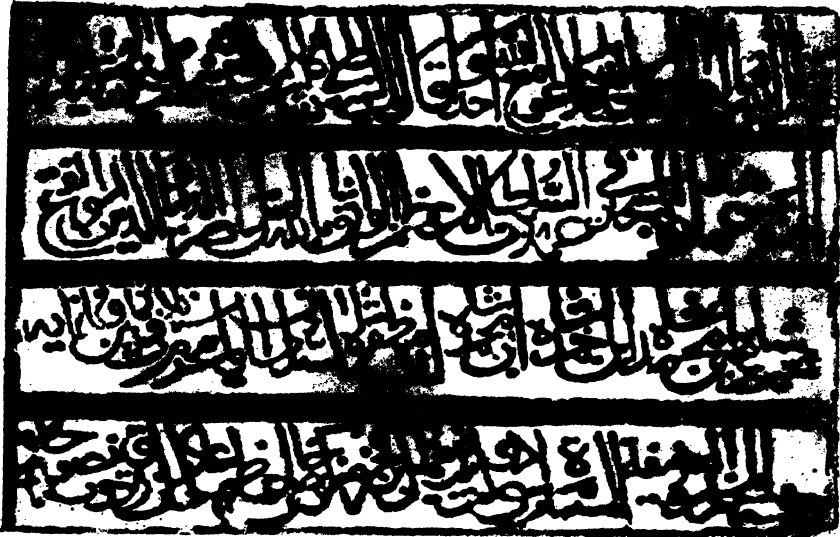
22 1/2" x 15"

XXII Qiwāmu'l-Mulk's Mosque



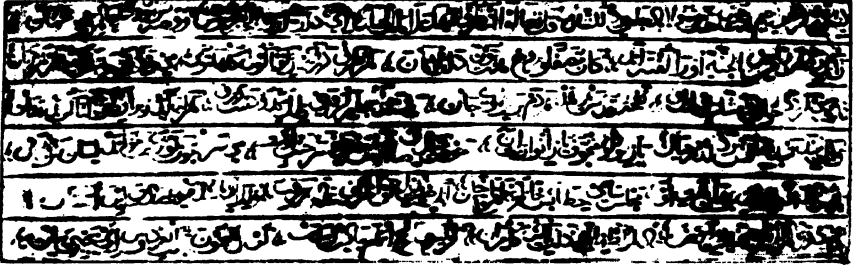
20½" × 15"

XXIII Mosque of Bibi Daulat



12½" × 9"

XXIV Shāh 'Ālam's Rauzā

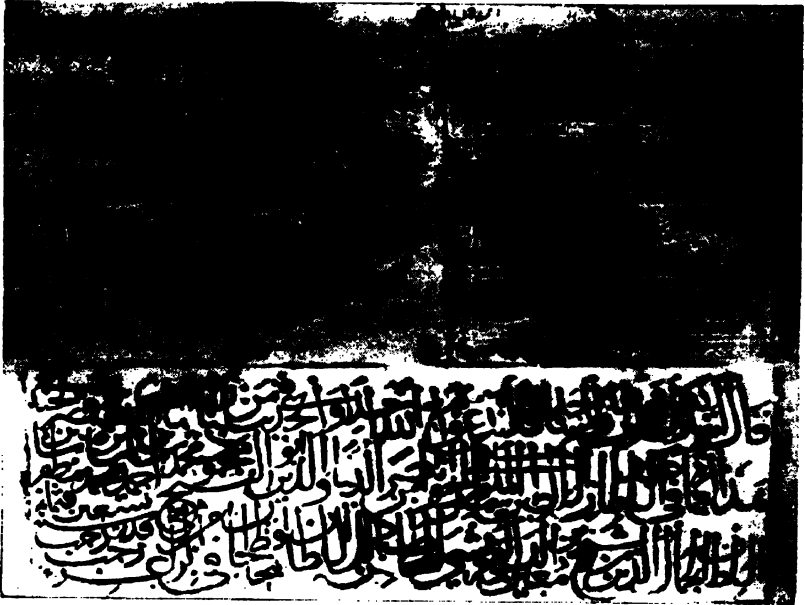


26'' × 9''

XXV a-c Mosque of Muhāfiz Khān

10'' × 10'' ;

10'' × 10'' ;



20½'' × 8''

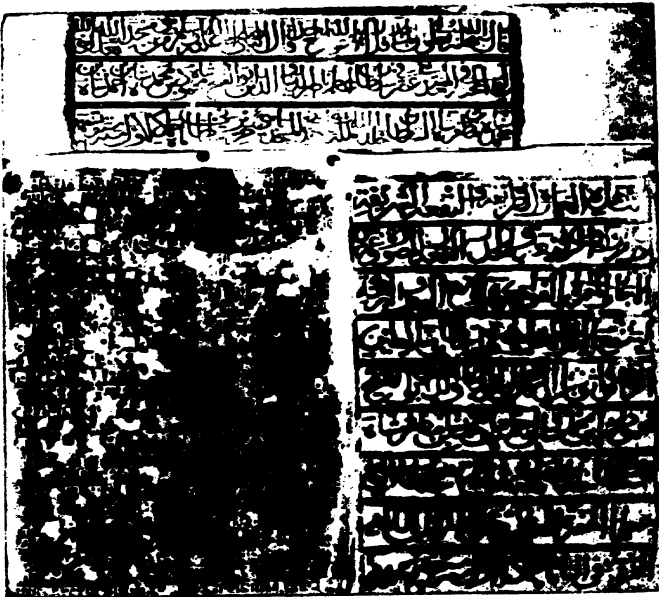
XXVI Mosque of Misbāh Sultānī



22" x 8"

XXVIII a b c Bāi Harir's Monuments

19" x 7"



22½ x 14" ;

22" x 13"

XXIX Khonjā Bi's Mosque

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِمَدْرَسَةِ الْإِسْلَامِ فِي الْبَلَدِ الْكَبِيرِ
 مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ
 حَوْلَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْكَبِيرِ فِي الْبَلَدِ الْكَبِيرِ

13 1/2" x 6 1/2"

XXX Rānī Sabrāi's Mosque

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 فِي الْمَدْرَسَةِ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ فِي الْبَلَدِ الْكَبِيرِ
 مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ
 حَوْلَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْكَبِيرِ فِي الْبَلَدِ الْكَبِيرِ

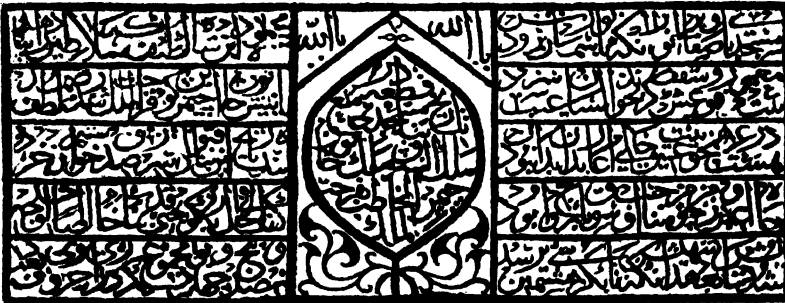
19" x 7 1/2"

XXXI Mosque of Bahadur Shah's Reign



14" x 9"

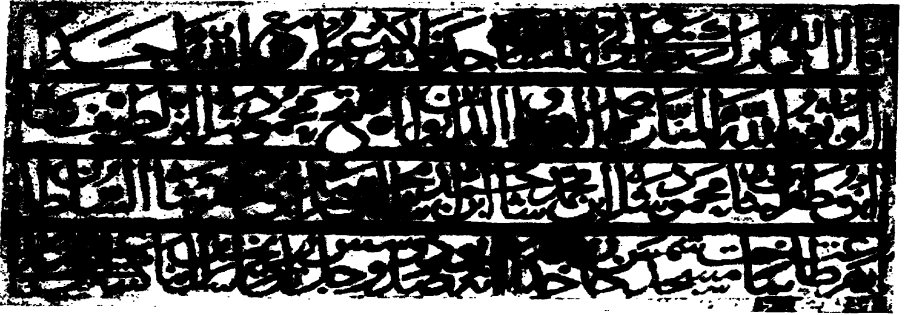
XXXIII Mosque of Farhatu'l-Mulk



15 1/2" x 7 1/2"

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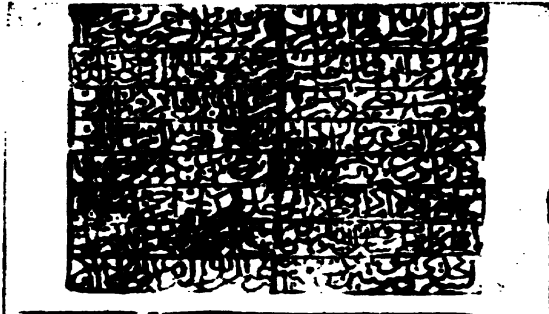
XXXIV Mosque of Shams Khan



20½" × 9"

XXXVI a, b, c Malik Jalal's Mosque

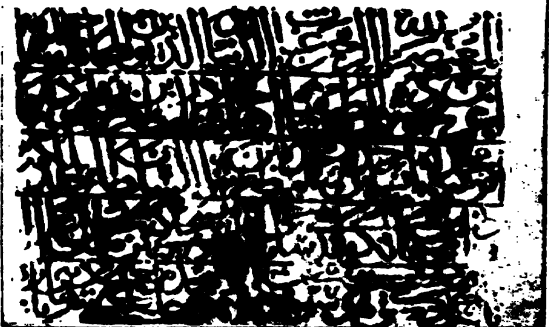
7 × 6½ ;



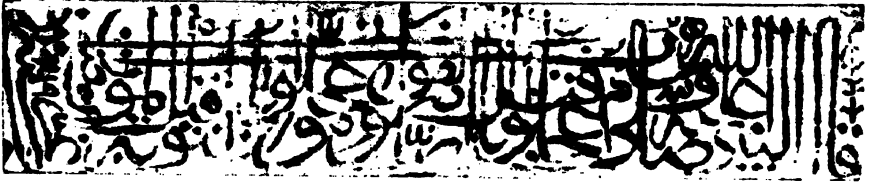
7" × 9½ ;



8" × 9½"

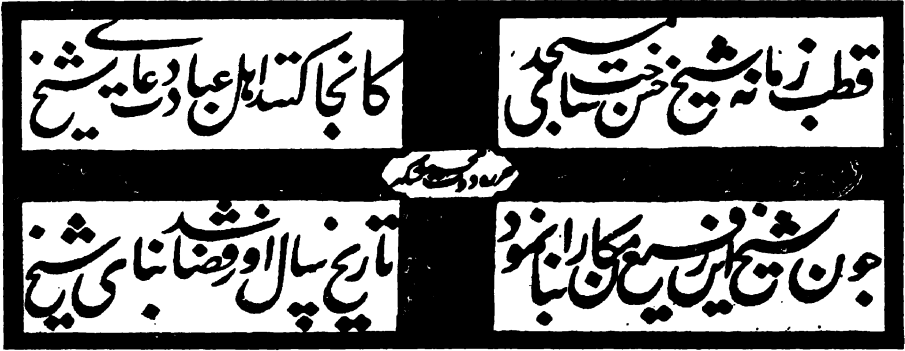


XXXVII Carved Wooden Panel



34" × 7 1/2"

XXXVIII Mosque of Shaikh Hasan



26" × 10"

XXXIX Poet Naziri's Tomb ?



29" × 5"

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