

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF BENGAL (Muhammedan Period)

[PART I—*Geographical*. PART II—*Historical, based on Inscriptions received from GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, C. S. I., DR. J. WISE, E. V. WESTMACOTT, ESQ., W. L. HEELEY, ESQ., WALTER M. BOURKE, ESQ., & C., and on unpublished coins, with notes by E. V. WESTMACOTT, ESQ., and DR. J. WISE.—By H. BLOCHMANN, M.A. Calcutta Madrasah.*]

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GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF BENGAL

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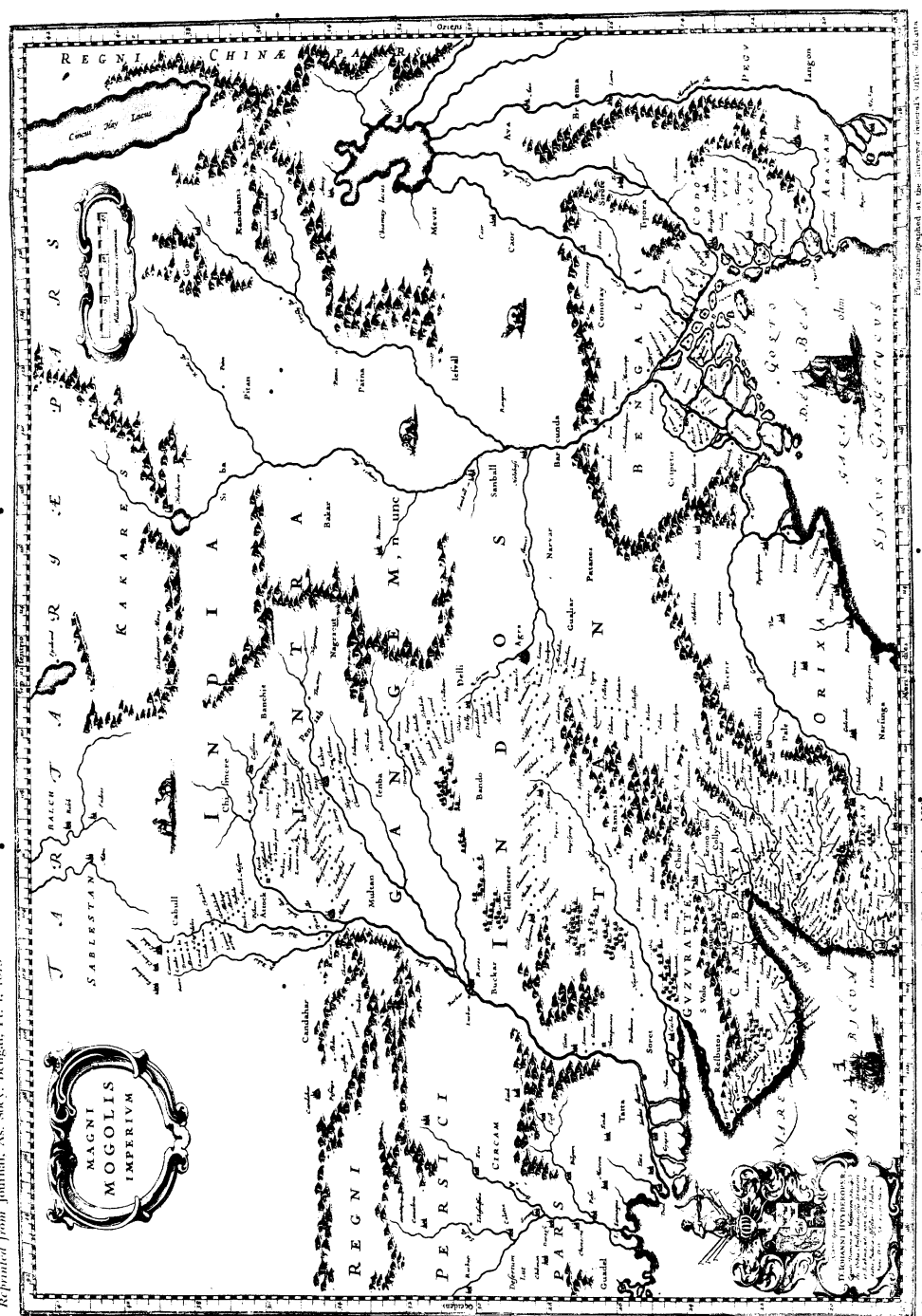
FOREWORD

I have great pleasure in presenting the volume containing reprint of the three essays of H. Blochmann, published in the Journals of the Asiatic Society, in three subsequent years, viz., 1873 (Part 1, No. 3), 1874 (Part 1, No. 3), 1875 (Part 1, No. 3) under the title, "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal".

The pioneering efforts of Blochmann in collecting literary, epigraphic and numismatic data on the Geography and History of Bengal during the early Muhammadan period (1203 to 1538 A.D.) and presenting them with his critical analysis of them in the essays in question, received encomiums throughout the academic world. Though written about a century ago, they are still considered as essential and indispensable source for the research workers in the field of study. The numbers of the Journal containing the essays have long gone out of print, and even the library copies have become brittle and unusable. In consideration of the usefulness of the essays and persistent demand from students and researchers, the Council of the Asiatic Society decided in August 1967 to bring out this reprint edition. I must thank Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd., for their expeditious handling of the matter and to Shri Dipak Sen, M.A., LL.B., Publication Supervisor, for seeing the book through the press.

Dated,
Calcutta,
the 2nd December, 1968

S. K. Mitra
General Secretary



Reduced one-half from Baue's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Vol. II. (Amstelam, 1620)

In the end of last year, General Cunningham, Director of the Archaeological Survey of India, forwarded to the Asiatic Society, for publication in the Journal, a unique collection of rubbings of Muhammadan inscriptions from Bengal and various places up-country, and in the Proceedings of our Society for January last, I gave an account of the importance of these rubbings with reference to the history of Bengal. Dr. J. Wise of Dacca, Mr. Walter Bourke, Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C.S., and Mr. W. L. Heeley, C.S., have also favoured the Society with valuable rubbings and notes on the localities where they were obtained, and I shall delay no longer to carry out the wishes of the donors and publish my readings with a few notes suggested by the subject. I have also examined our coin cabinet, which I found to contain some unpublished Bengal coins of great value.

The importance of mural and medallie evidence for Bengal History arises from the paucity and meagreness of written sources. Whilst for the history of the Dihlī Empire we possess general and special histories, often the work of contemporaneous writers, we have only secondary sources and incidental remarks for the early Muhammadan period of Bengal, *i.e.*, from A. D., 1203 to 1538. Nizámuddín Ahmad, who served Akbar as Bakhshí, the friend and protector of the historian Badáoní, is the first writer that gives in his *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*, which were completed in 1590, a short connected account of the independent kings of Bengal from 1338 to 1538. For the time between 1203 and 1338, we depend on incidental remarks made by Dihlī writers, as Minháj i Siráj, Baraní, and 'Afif. Firishtah, who flourished in the beginning of the 17th century, has a chapter on the same period as Nizám; but though he gives a little more, it seems that he used the same, at present unknown, source as the author of the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí*. But there can be no doubt that this source was a work defective in chronology and meagre in details. Firishtah also cites a historical compilation by one Hájí Muhammad of Qandahár, of which no copy is at present known to exist.

The latest writer on Bengal History is Ghulám Hussain of Zaidpúr, poetically styled 'Salím,' who composed his *Riyázussaláṭin*, or 'the Gardens of Kings,' at the request of Mr. George Udney of Máldah. This work, the title of which contains in the numerical value of the letters the date of its completion (A.H. 1202, or A.D. 1787-88), is rare, but is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal,

which the author brings down to his own time. From a comparison of his work with that by Firishtah, it is evident that for the early portion he has used books which are likewise unknown at present, and it is unfortunate that his preface gives no information on this point.* His additional source, it is true, cannot have been a work of considerable size; yet he gives valuable dates which, as will be seen below, are often confirmed by collateral evidence. Salīm has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District. Stewart, who used the Riyáz as the basis of his History of Bengal, has given a translation of the greater part of the work; but from a leaning to Firishtah he has left out useful passages, which will be found below.

A commentary on Inscriptions necessarily contains references to the history and the geography of the country; but in order not to overload the subject with unconnected remarks, I have, in the following, separated the geographical from the historical portion, and have thus found means to collect, in a convenient way, numerous stray notes which over several years have been accumulating in the course of my historical studies.

*When quoting this unknown source, Salīm uses phrases as '*dar risālah e didaham*,' 'I have seen in some pamphlet,' or '*ba-qaule*,' 'according to another statement,' &c.

The Asiatic Society Library has one MS. of the Riyāzussalātin (No. 526), written in bold *shikastah*, 277 pages, 8vo., 15 lines per page, copied in 1851 at Hājipūr by one Sadrud-dīn Ahmad. Beginning—*Jahān jahān hamd sazāwār i bārgāh i jahān āfarine ast, kih in mazāhir i kaunī-rā ba-yad i qudrat i kāmīlah i khwēsh ba-hilyah i wujud muhalla sākhtah*, &c. The work consists of a Preface in four parts, and four Chapters, of which the last contains two parts. The end contains the following description of the character of the "new rulers"—

"The English among the Christians are adorned with the head-dress of wisdom and skill, and ornamented with the garb of generosity and good manners. In resolution, activity in war, and in festivities, in administering justice and helping the oppressed, they are unrivalled; and their truthfulness is so great, that they would not break a promise, should they even lose their lives. They admit no liar to their society, are pious, faithful, pitiful, and honorable. They have neither learnt the letters of deceit, nor have they read the page of vice; and though their religion is opposed to ours, they do not interfere with the religion, rites, and propagation of the Muhammadan faith.

گفتگوی کفر و دین آخر بیکیجا میشود خراب یک خراب است باشد مختلف تعبیرها

All wrangling about faith and heresy leads to the same place: the dream is one and the same dream, though the interpretations may differ."

PART I.—GEOGRAPHICAL

Before the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans under Bakhtyár Khiljí in A. D. 1203, Bengal is said to have been divided into five districts—(1) R á ḍ ḥ a, the country west of the Húglí and south of the Ganges; (2) B a ḡ ḍ i, the delta of the Ganges; (3) B a ṅ a, the country to the east of, and beyond, the delta; (4) B a r e ṇ ḍ r a, the country to the north of the Padma (Podda) and between the Karatayá and the Mahánandá rivers; and (5) Mithilá, the country west of the Mahánandá. We do not know whether these names refer to revenue districts, or merely indicate (as they now do) popular divisions based upon the course of principal rivers; but as the different orders of Bráhmans and Káyasths take their distinctive names from these divisions, it may be assumed that they existed or were recognized at the time of Ballála Sen, who classified the two castes.

The case with which Bakhtyár Khiljí took possession of Bengal by his surprise of Nadiyá,* the then capital, stands unparalleled in history, unless we compare it with the almost peaceful transfer of the same country, five hundred and fifty-five years later, from the Muhammadans to the East India Company. But it would be wrong to believe that Bakhtyár Khiljí conquered the whole of Bengal: he merely took possession of the south-eastern parts of Mithilá, Barendra, the northern portions of Ráḍha, and the northwestern tracts of Bagḍi. This conquered territory received from its capital the name of L a k' h n a u t í, and its extent is described by the author of the *Ṭabaqát i Náḡirí*, who says that the country of Lak'hnautí lies to both sides of the Ganges and consists of two wings: the eastern one is called Barendra, to which Deokoṭ belongs; and the western has the name of Rál [i. e., Ráḍha], to which Lak'hnúr belongs. Hence the same writer also distinguishes† Lak'hnauti-Deokoṭ from Lak'hnautí-Lak'hnúr. From the town of Lak'hnautí to Deokoṭ on the one side, and from Lak'hnautí to the door of Lak'hnúr, on the other side, an embanked road (*pul*) passes, ten days' march. Distinct from the country of Lak'hnautí is Banga (*diyár i Bang*, Bangadesh, *Ṭabaqát*, p. 267), and in this part of Bengal the descendants of the Lak'hmaniyah kings of Nadiyá still reigned in A. H. 658, or 1260, A. D., when Minháj i Siráj, the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, wrote his history.‡ Deokoṭ,

* Lak'hman Sen, the last king of Bengal, though called king, cannot have been much more than the principal zamíndár of his time. "He was a liberal man," says the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, "and never gave less than a lak'h of cowries, when he made a present—may God lessen his punishment in hell!"

† *Ṭabaqát*, pp. 162, 242.

‡ *Ṭabaqát Náḡirí*, p. 151. Thus an expedition against Banga by the governor of Lak'hnauti is mentioned in 657. *Ṭabaqát Náḡirí*, p. 267.

which still gives name to a large parganah, was correctly identified by Buchanan with the old fort near Damdamá, on the left bank of the Púrnábhāba, south of Dínájpúr. Close to it lies Gangarámpúr with its ruins, and the oldest Muhammadan inscription known in Bengal.* Lak'hnúr,† the town or 'thanah' of the other "wing," has not yet been identified. The name occurs in no Muhammadan history after the time of the Ṭabaqát i Náçirí, and the only hint given is, that it lay west of the Húglí, on the road, at about the same distance from Lak'hnautí city as Deokot lay from the capital—which would be the northern portion of District Bírghúm.

Mínháç's remark that Banga was, in 1260, still in the hands of Lak'hman Sen's descendants, is confirmed by the fact that Sunnárgáon is not mentioned in the Ṭabaqát; nor does it occur on the coins of the first century of Muhammadan rule. It is first mentioned in the *Tárikh i Baraní* as the residence, during Balban's reign, of an independent Rái; but under Tughluq Sháh (A. D. 1323), Sunnárgáon and Sátgáon, which likewise appears for the first time, are the seats of Muhammadan governors, the term 'Bangálah' being now applied to the united provinces of Lak'hnautí, Sátgáon, and Sunnárgáon.‡

The *Tárikh i Baraní*, the *Tárikh i Fírúزشáhí* by 'Afif, and the *Travels of Ibn Baṭúṭah* yield but little additional information. Fírúzábad, or Paṇḍuah (north of Máldahá, or Máldah) which General Cunningham significantly calls 'Hazrat Paṇḍuah,' or 'Paṇḍuah, the Residence,' appears as

* Of Kai Káús Sháh, A. D. 1297. Journal, A. S. B., 1872, Pt. I., p. 102.

† Major Raverty, of whose translation of the Ṭabaqát two fasciculi have just appeared, informs me that all his best MSS. have لکھنور, Lak'hnúr. The Bibliotheca Indica edition has لکھنور, and often also لکور; and it was, no doubt, the last spelling that led Stewart to substitute Nágor (in western Bírghúm), which certainly lies in the direction indicated. Outside of the Maráṭha wall of Nágor, we have a Lak'hlpúr and a Lak'hínaráyanpúr.

‡ Baraní, p. 452. He spells Satgáon, not Sátgáon. It is almost useless to remark on the geography of Bengal as given in the Ṭabaqát before the appearance of Major Raverty's translation, who has collated nearly all existing MSS. of the work. The Bibliotheca Indica edition is untrustworthy. Taking it, however, as it is, we find the following places mentioned—Núdiyāh, in this spelling, for Nadiyá; Lak'hnautí; Banga; Rál (Ráḍha); Barendra; Lak'hnúr; Deokot; Nárkoti (?) ناركوتي, pp. 156 to 158; كنگوری, كنگوری (?), p. 158; مكيدہ (?), and منطوس (perhaps سننوس), p. 158; Bangáon, p. 153; Fort Bishnkot, founded by Husámuddín 'Iwaz near Lak'hnautí, pp. 180, 243. Besides these, a few places are mentioned on the frontiers of Bengal, as Kámrúd (always with this spelling) for Kámrúp; ديار سكات, Jagannáth (Púrí) ?; and a few places in Ásám or Tibbat; ارمردن, p. 263; and Jájñagar, regarding which vide below.

The *Tárikh i Firishtah* furnishes the isolated fact of the foundation of Rangpúr by Bakhtyár Khiljí on the frontier of Bengal (Lucknow Edition, p. 293).

the new capital, and in connexion with it Fort Ekdálah, said to be 'near Paṇḍuah.' The actual site of this fort is still a matter of doubt; even the author of the Riyázussaláṭín, who lived in the neighbourhood of Máldah and Paṇḍuah, says nothing about it.*

About 850 A.H. (A.D. 1446), during the reign of Náçiruddín Mahmúd Sháh, the capital was transferred to Gaur. Thus Lak'hnautí is henceforth again called in history. The transfer, though it may have been connected with the restoration of an old dynasty, was unfortunate. Gaur lies in the middle between the Ganges and the Mahánandá, thus occupying, as is the case in all Deltaic lands, the lowest site; and east of it lies the Kallak Sajá marsh, called in the Áín, *Chuttiá-pattiá*, into which the drainage of the town opened. Every increase in the waters of the Ganges caused the marsh, which is connected with it, to rise, and "if the [earthen] embankment broke, the town was under water,"† and the drainage was driven back into the town. Hence the removal of the capital, a short time afterwards, to Tánḍah,‡ and the ultimate desertion of the town as a fever centre for Rájmahall.

The meagre information supplied by the Ṭabaqát i Nizámí and Firish-tah throws no further light on the geography of Bengal, but leaves the impression that during the reigns of the independent kings (A.H. 739 to 944, or A.D. 1338 to 1538) the extent of Muhammadan Bengal was the same as what we find it in A. D. 1582, the year in which Todar Mall prepared his rent-roll of Bengal, a copy of which Abul Fazl has given in the Áín.

The coins and inscriptions of the above period yield a few particulars.

* Mr. Thomas compares with Ekdálah the name of 'Jugdula,' a village east of Hazrat Paṇḍuah, towards the Purnábhaba. The Indian Atlas Sheet No. 119 also mentions a village Jagdal due north of Máldahá, near the Mahánandá, in Lat. 25° 17' 30", and a 'Jugdul' and a 'Jugdál' will be found south-east of Gaur, Long. 88° 28', Lat. 24° 42'. Even in other parts the name is common; for Jagdal is the Bengálí 'Jogoddul,' 'a leaf of the world,' the world being the lotus, and each town a petal of it. Another Ekdálah will be found on the same sheet, south-east of Bogra (Bagurá), Long. 89° 40' 30", Lat. 24° 35' 45", and a third is in Rájsháhí, a little south-west of Nátor. The name seems to be the Bangálí একদলা, 'having one wing;' and Dodalá 'having two wings,' occurs likewise as a name of villages.

† Áín i Akbarí.

‡ Rennell marks 'Tarah' near the Paglá River (a branch of the Ganges and perhaps the old bed of the river), south-west of the fort of Gaur, "Tanda standeth from the river Ganges a league, because in times past the river flowing over the bankes in time of raine did drowne the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way the river Ganges was wont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farre from the water." Ralph Fitch.

The losses of Akbar's Bengal army in Gaur will be found in my Áín translation, p. 376.

We have the seven Bengal mint towns given by Thomas,* to which I can now add three more, *viz.* Fathábád, Khalífatábád, and Husainábád, which will be discussed below. The inscriptions reveal the important fact, that Bengal was divided into revenue divisions called Mahalls, over which, as in the Dihlí empire, Shiqdárs† were placed, and into larger circles under 'Sarlashkars,' or military commanders, who have often also the title of Vazír (Díwán). Of places mentioned on inscriptions I may cite—Iqlím Mu'azzamábád (Eastern Maimansingh); Thánah Láúr (north-western Silhat,—both occur also united under the same Sarlashkar); Sarhat, in western Bírghúm, now in the Santal Parganahs; Láopallah, east of the Island in the Húglí opposite Tribení Ghát, evidently in olden times an important place as lying at the point where the Jabuná leaves the Húglí and commences her tortuous course, first easterly, then southerly, into the Sundarban;‡ and also several places which have not yet been identified, as Simlábád, Hádígarh, and Sájálá-Mankhbád.§

From the middle of the 16th century we have the works and maps of Portuguese historians, notably the classical 'Da Asia' by Joao de Barros (died 1570); and the graphic descriptions of Caesar Frederick (1570) and Ralph Fitch (1583 to 1591). Nor must I forget the Persian traveller Amín Rázi, an uncle of Núr Jahán, who composed his 'Haft Iqlím' in A. H. 1002 (A. D. 1594); but it is doubtful whether he visited Bengal, or merely wrote down what he heard at Ágrah. I shall occasionally refer to the works of these travellers below. ||

But by far the most interesting contribution to the geography of

* Lak'hnaúti, Fírúzábád (Panđuah), Sátgáon, Shahr i Nau (i?), Ghyáspúr, Sunnár-gáon, and Mu'azzamábád. Chronicles, p. 151.

† How extensively the Hindús were employed as revenue officers may be seen from the fact that the Arabic-Persian *Shiqdár* and *Majmu'ahdár* have become Bangálí family names, generally spelt 'Sikdar' and 'Mozoomdar.'

‡ The island opposite Tribení has a conspicuous place on De Barros' Map of Bengal and on that by Blaeu (*vide* Pl. IV.). The maps also agree with Abul Fazl's statement in the *Áin*, that at Tribení there are three branches, one the Saraswati, on which Sátgáon lies; the other, the Ganga, now called the Húglí; and the third, the Jon or Jabuná (Jamuná). De Barros and Blaeu's Maps shew the three branches of almost equal thickness, the Saraswati passing Satigam (Sátgáon), and Chouma (Chaumuhá in Húglí District, north), and the ✓ Jabuná flowing westwards to Buram (Bořhan, in the 24-Parganahs).

§ Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1870, Pt. I., p. 284.

|| I have not mentioned Nicolò de Conti's Travels (1419 to 1444, A. D.), because he only mentions one town in Bengal, *Cernove* on the Ganges, which Col. Yule has identified with the 'Shahr i Nau,' or 'New Town' on Sikandar Sháh's coin of 1379 (Thomas, *In. Coinage of Bengal*, Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1867, p. 65); but the position of this town is still a matter of doubt.

Bengal, in spite of the unsatisfactory state of the MSS., is Todar Mall's rent-roll. Though of 1582, it may be assumed that Todar Mall merely gave in it what he found to exist with regard to both divisions and revenue; for Bengal was only subjugated during Jahāngir's reign, and properly assessed by Prince Shujá' a short time before 1658. In the *Áin* we find that Bengal proper was divided into 19 Sirkárs, and 682 Mahalls. Eight of the 19 Sirkárs, and 204 of the 682 Mahalls, have Muhammadan names. The rent-roll included both the *khálīqah* ('genuine,' *vulgo* khalsa) or crownlands, and the *aqtá* or *jágír* lands, i. e. lands assigned to officers in lieu of pay or maintenance of troops. The distribution of the Sirkárs depended, as in the old Hindú division, on the courses of the Ganges, Bhagirathí, and Megna, or, as the *Áin* expresses it, on the courses of the Padmáwatí, Ganga, and Brahmaputra, as will be seen from the following list of the Sirkárs.

A. Sirkárs North and East of the Ganges

1. Sirkár Lak'hnaúti, or Jannatábád, extending from Taliágarhí (K'halgáon, Colgong) along the northern banks of the Ganges, and including a few mahalls now belonging to district Bhágalpúr and Púrniah, and nearly the whole of Máldah district. Besides Gaur, this Sirkár contained the ancient town of Rángamáti.* 66 mahalls; khalsa revenue, Rs. 471,174.†

2. Sirkár Púrniah, or Púranniah, the greater and chiefly westerly portion of the present district of Púrniah, as far as the Mahánandá.‡ 9 mahalls; revenue Rs. 160,219.

3. Sirkár Tájpur, extending over Eastern Púrniah east of the Mahánandá, and Western Dínájpúr. 29 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 162,096.

4. Sirkár Panjárah, so called from the Hawelí mahall Panjrah, north-east of the town of Dínájpúr, on the Atrai River, comprising the greater part of Dínájpúr district. 21 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 145,081.

5. Sirkár G'horághát, so called from the town of G'horághát or Chauk'handi on the right bank of the Karatayá, comprising portions of Dínájpúr, Rangpúr, and Bagurá (Bograh) districts, as far as the Brahmaputra. Being a frontier district towards Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo, it contained numerous jágír lands of Afghán chiefs and their descendants. The Sirkár produced a great deal of raw silk. 88 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 202,077.§

* Máldah is once mentioned in the *Tuzuk i Jahāngirí* (p. 178).—"When I [Jahāngir] was prince, I had made a promise to Mír Ziyáuddín of Qazwín, a Saifi Sayyid, who has since received the title of Muṭafá Khán, to give him and his children Parganah Máldah, a well known Parganah in Bengal. This promise was now performed (A. D. 1617).

† Akbarsháhí Rupees (1 Rupee=40 dáms). Grant substitutes 'Sicca Rupees,' at 2s. 3d.

‡ It seems as if the Mahánandá, in its upper course, is often called Mahánadí. Van den Broucke calls it on his map 'Martnade.'

§ Some MSS. have 209,577 Rs.

6. *Sirkár Bárbakábád*, so called from *Bárbak Sháh*, king of Bengal (*vide* below), and extending from *Sirkár Lak'hnautí* along the *Podda* to *Bagurá*. It comprises portions of *Máldah* and *Dínájpúr*, and a large part of *Rájsháhí*, and *Bagurá*. Its cloths were well known, especially the stuffs called *kháçah* (the "koses" of old writers) as the *kháçah* of *Shahbázipúr*, the *çahan* (صحن, the 'sançes,' or 'sahnes' of Dutch writers), and the *múminí*. 38 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 436,288.

7. *Sirkár Bázáhá*, extending from the preceding across the *Brahmaputra* into *Silhaṭ*, comprising portions of *Rájsháhí*, *Bagurá*, *Pabná*, *Maiman Singh*, and reaching in the south a little beyond the town of *Dháká* (*Dacca*).^{*} The name '*Bázjáhá*' is the plural of the Persian word *bázú*, 'an arm, a wing;' and all mahalls in this *Sirkár* have the word *bázú* after their name, which on our survey maps appears under the *Bangálí* form '*Bajoo*.'[†] 32 mahalls; revenue, the largest of all *Sirkárs*, Rs. 987,921. To this *Sirkár* belonged *Dháká*, and *Sherpúr Murcha*, or *Mihmánsháhí*, south of *Bagurá* on the *Karataya*, which is several times mentioned in the *Akbarnámah* as a military station.

8. *Sirkár Silhaṭ*, adjacent to the preceding, chiefly east of the *Surmá River*. As will be seen below, the country was only conquered by the *Muhammadans* in the end of the 14th century, and was exposed to continual invasions from *Tiparah* and *Ásám*. According to *Marco Polo*, the *Áín*, and the *Tuzuk*, *Silhaṭ* supplied India with eunuchs. *Jahángír* issued an edict forbidding the people of *Silhaṭ* to castrate boys. Like *Kámrúp*, *Silhaṭ*, is

^{*} Stewart says that *Dháká* is a modern town, "because the name does not occur in the *Áín*." But it does; *vide* my text edition, p. 407, where the Mahall to which it belongs, is called *Dhakká Bázú*. In Gladwin's spelling '*Dukha Bazoo*' it is, however, scarcely recognizable. *Dháká* occurs in the *Akbarnámah* as an Imperial *thánah* in 1584; and Sir A. Phayre (*vide* above, p. 53) mentions it in 1400.

[†] Thus the country west of *Pabna* is called '*Bajooras*' and east of it '*Bajoochup*'—corruptions of *Bázú i rást*, 'the right wing,' and *Bázú i chap* 'the left wing.' Other corruptions are—*Esub*, or *Eshub*, or *Esop*, or *Isaf*, for '*Yúsuf*,' thus '*Esubshye*,' for '*Yúsuf-sháhí*,' *Nasipore*, for *Nasibpúr*, (from *Naçib Sháh*); *Nujeepore*, for *Najípúr*; *Haleeshur* (opposite *Tribeni*) for *Hálíshahr*,=*Hawelí i Shahr* [*Sátgáon*]; *Mahomedshye* for *Mahmúdsháhí*, (*Jessore*); *Bajitpore*, for *Báyazídpúr* (in *Dínájpúr*); *Juffurshye*, for *Zafarsháhí*, (not *Ja'far-sháhí*); *Kali Modunpúr* (which sounds like a *Hindú* name), *Kalim-uddinpúr*; *Puladassy*, north of *Bagurá*, for *Fúládsháhí*; *Masidpore* and *Majidpore*, for *Masjidpúr* (*vide* Beames, *Comp. Grammar*, p. 209).

In the spelling of Bengal names care should be taken with the frequent ending *daha*, 'eddy,' as *Máldahá*, spelt in Persian *Máldah*; but the final *h* is radical, and the name should not be spelt *Máldá*, as *Málwah*, *Rájah*, &c.,=*Málwá*, *Rájá*, &c.

Aurangzib forbade by edict spellings like *Málwah*, *Rájah*, &c.; he wanted people to spell *Málwá*, *Rájá*.

also often mentioned as the land of wizards and witches, and the fame of its *jádú*, or witchcraft, is still remembered at the present day. 8 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 167,032.

9. *Sirkár Sunnár gáon*, to both sides of the Megna and the Brahmaputra, containing portions of western Tiparah, Bhaluá, and Noák'hálí, subject to repeated attacks by the Rájahs of Tiparah and Arakan. 52 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 258,283. The *Haft Iqlim* gives Rs. 330,000.

10. *Sirkár Chátgáon* (Chittagong), never properly annexed before the reign of Aurangzib. 7 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 285,607.

B. Sirkárs in the Delta of the Ganges

11. *Sirkár Sátgáon*. A small portion only, the land between the Húglí and the Saraswatí, lay west of the Húglí, whilst the bulk of the Sirkár comprised the modern district of the 24-Parganahs to the Kabadak, western Nadiyá, south-western Murshidábád, and extended in the south to Hatiágárh below Diamond Harbour. To this Sirkár belonged Mahall Kalkattá (Calcutta) which, together with two other mauza's, paid, in 1582, a land revenue of Rs. 23,905. 53 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 418,118.

12. *Sirkár Mahmúdábád*, so called after one of the three Mahmúd Sháhs of Bengal, and comprising northern Nadiyá, northern Jessore, and western Faridpúr. 88 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 290,256.

13. *Sirkár Khalífatábád*, or southern Jessore and western Báqirganj. The Sirkár is called after Khalífatábád, which was the name of the small Hawelí-parganah near Bágherhát (*vide* below). The largest mahall of this Sirkár was Jesar (Jessore), or Rasulpúr; and among others, we find here the Mahalls Múndagáchha and Malikpúr, which the Khán i A'zam, when governor of Bengal under Akbar (Áin translation, p. 326), is said to have given to Bhabeshwar Rái, the ancestor of the present Rájahs of Jesar. The name of Jesar, therefore, occurs as early in 1582; hence Van den Broucke's map (1660) also gives it conspicuously as 'Jessore.'* 35 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 135,053.

14. *Sirkár Fathábád*, so called after Fath Sháh, king of Bengal, comprising a small portion of Jessore, the whole of Faridpúr, southern Báqirganj, portions of Dháká district, and the Islands of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr, Sondíp, and Sidhú, at the mouth of the Megna. The town of Faridpúr lies in the Hawelí Parganah of Fathábád. 3 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 199,239.

* *Vide*, however, Westland, Jessore Report, p. 29.

15. *Sirkár Baklá*,* or *Ismá'íl-púr*, north-east of the preceding, comprising portions of *Báqirganj* and *Dháká* districts. It is the *Bacala* of old maps. 4 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 178,756.

C. Sirkárs South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirathi (Húglí)

16. *Sirkár Audambar*, or *Táñḍah*, comprising the greater portion of *Murshidábád* district, with portions of *Bírbhúm*. The name *Audambar* occurs also in other parts of India, *e. g.* in *Kachh*.† *Táñḍah* did not long enjoy the position of capital: *Sher Sháh* already had made plans to remove it to *Ág Mahall* on the opposite bank. But this was only carried out by *Rájah Mán Singh*, who changed the name of *Ág Mahall* to *Ráj Mahall*, and subsequently to *Akbarnagar*. The same *Sirkár* became again in later times under *Prince Shujá'* the seat of government, and later still under *Nawáb Ja'far Murshíd Qulí Khán*, who changed the name of the old town of *Makhçúcábád*,‡ the *Muxabad* or *Muxadabad* of old maps, to *Murshidábád*. 52 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 601,985. The *Haft Iqlím* gives its revenue at Rs. 597,570.

17. *Sirkár Sharífábád*, south of the preceding, comprising the remaining portions of *Bírbhúm*, and a large portion of *Bardwán* district, together with the town of *Bardwán* itself.§ Mahalls *Bárbak Singh* and *Fath Singh*, so called after the Bengal kings *Bárbak Sháh* and *Fath Sháh*, and *Sherpúr 'Atái*, where *Mán Singh* defeated the *Afgháns* (*Áin* translation, p. 341) also belonged to this *Sirkár*. 26 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 562,218.

18. *Sirkár Sulaimánábád*, a straggling *Sirkár*, which comprised a few southern *parganahs* in the modern districts of *Nadiyá*, *Bardwán*, and the whole north of *Húglí* district. This *Sirkár* was so called after *Sulaimán Sháh* of Bengal, who also called several *parganahs* after himself in *Murshidábád*, *Jessore*, and *Báqirganj* districts; but whether the name was too long,

* The author of the *Siyarul Mutaakhkharín* calls it *Hoglá* (هوجلá), from the Bangálí word *hoglá*, which signifies marsh reed—a name which no doubt explains the name of *Húglí*; but he strangely confounds *Sirkár Baklá* with *Sirkár Sâtgaon* (*Húglí*).

† *Vide* Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, I, p. 248.

‡ The *Akbarnámah* mentions a *Makhçúc Khán*, brother of *Sa'id Khán*; *vide* my *Áin* translation, p. 388. *Makhçúc Khán* served in Bengal and *Bihár*, and his brother *Sa'id Khán* was for some time governor of Bengal.

§ The Muhammadan pronunciation of the Bangálí *Bordomán*. The *Haft Iqlím* mentions an extraordinary custom that obtained in this *Sirkár*. "Feminae hujus provinciae instrumentum quoddam fictile penis instar in vulvam et in anum inferunt, ut sordes removeant. The old kings have in vain tried to break them off this habit."

Regarding the Muhammadan antiquities of *Bardwán*, *vide* *Journal*, *As. Bengal*, for 1871, Pt. I, p. 254.

or was purposely changed after Akbar's conquest of Bengal in honor of Prince Salím (Jahángír), it only occurs now-a-days in the form 'Salímábád.' The chief town of the Sirkár was Salímábád [Sulaimánábád], on the left bank of the Damúdar, south-east of the town of Bardwán. It is marked as 'Silimath' on Van den Broucke's map. Olá (the old name of Bírnapar) in Nadiyá, known from the Srimanta legend, and Paṇḍuah, on the E. I. Railway, with its Buddhist ruins and ancient mosques, also belong to this Sirkár. 31 mahalls; revenue Rs. 440,749.

19. S i r k á r M a d á r a n, extending in a semicircle from Nágor in Western Bírnhúm over Rániganj along the Damúdar to above Bardwán, and from there over K'hand Ghosh, Jahánábád, Chandrakoná (Western Húglí District) to Mandalg'hát, at the mouth of the Rúpnaráyan River. 16 mahalls; revenue, Rs. 235,085.

Thus the above nineteen Sirkárs, which made up Bengal in 1582, paid a revenue on khalsa lands, inclusive of a few duties on salt, *hats*, and fisheries, of 253,482,106 dáms, or Rs. 6,337,052.* According to Grant, the value of the jágír lands was fixed at Rs. 4,348,892, so that we have, in 1582, A.D., as total revenue of Bengal, in its then circumscribed limits, the sum of Rs. 10,685,944. This was levied from the ryots in specie† as the equivalent of the *rub*,⁷ or fourth share, of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as despotic proprietary lord of the soil.

This rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahángír. The remittances from Bengal to Dilhí were, it is true, not very regular, nor up to the sums levied, so much so that Jahángír appointed, in the end of his reign, Fidái Khán, governor of Bengal, merely because he promised to send regularly one million of rupees to court. Under Sháhjahan, the boundaries of Bengal were extended in the South-West, Medinípur and Hijlí having been attached to Bengal, and in the East and North-East by conquests in Tiparah and Koch Hájo; and when Prince Shuja, was made governor, he made, shortly before 1658, a new rent-roll, which shewed 34 Sirkárs and 1350 Mahalls, and a total of revenue, on khalsa and jágír lands, of Rs. 13,115,907. Shujá's rent-roll remained in force till 1722, an addition having been made after the conquest of Chátgáon. In that year, Nawáb Ja'far

* Grant's total is Rs. 6,344,260, or Rs. 7,208 more, chiefly on account of the higher sum given by him for Sirkár G'horág'hát. Vth Report, p. 258.

† "The ryots (*ra'yyat*) of Bengal are obedient and ready to pay taxes. During eight months of the year they pay the required sums by instalments. They personally bring the money in rupees and goldmuhurs to the appointed place. Payment in kind is not usual. Grain is always cheap. The people do not object to a survey of the lands, and the amount of the land tax is settled by the collector and the ryot (*nasaq*). His Majesty, from kindness, has not altered this system." *Ain i Akbari*.

Khán (Murshid Qulí Khán) issued his *Kámil Jama' Tûmári*, or 'Perfect Rent-roll,' in which Bengal was divided into 34 Sirkárs, forming 13 Chaklahs, and sub-divided into 1660 Parganahs, with a revenue of Rs. 14,288,186.

It was, however, only after the rule of Nawáb Ja'far Khán that the *Abwáb* revenue* gradually appeared in the books. Though vast sums had been levied on this head, they had been looked upon as private emoluments of office. As early as in the tenure of Shujá' Khán, Nawáb Ja'far's successor, we find the Abwábs entered as yielding Rs. 2,172,952, and they rapidly increased under 'Alí Virdí Khán and Qásim Khán, so that, when the E.I. Company in 1765 acquired the Díwání, the *net* amount of all revenue collected by authority in Bengal was Rs. 25,624,223.

It is not my intention to enter here further in the historical portion of the revenue question of Bengal, nor shall I minutely describe the Sirkárs and the Mahalls or detail the historical and geographical changes that took place; these I must necessarily reserve for the second volume of my *Áin* translation. But I shall now attempt to trace the frontiers of Bengal under the Muhammadan rule as far as existing historical sources allow us to do.

The Frontiers of Muhammadan Bengal

Abulfazl estimates the breadth of Bengal from Garhí to Chátgáon at four hundred *kos*. From north to south, the longest line was from Koch Bihár to Chittuá in Sirkár Medinípúr. "The zamíndárs are mostly Káyasths." Not a word is said on the strength of the Muhammadan population, or the progress of Islám—comparative statistics were not thought of in his age. The remark made by old English travellers that the inhabitants of the islands and the coast of south-eastern Bengal were chiefly Muhammadans, and the uncertain legend regarding the introduction, in the beginning of the 16th century, of Islamitic rites into Chátgáon by Nuçrat Sháh are the only allusions that I have seen on the subject. Neither history nor legends allude to the conversions among the semi-aboriginal rural population, that must on a large scale have taken place during the reigns of the independent kings of Bengal, chiefly, no doubt, through the exertions of the numerous Afghán Jágírdárs.

The military and naval power of the country is fixed at 23,330 horse, 4,260 guns, 1,170 elephants, and 4,400 boats. In Nawáb Ja'far's

* Imposts as fees on the renewal of annual leases of zamíndárs (*kháçnawísí*); *nazránahs*; fees for remission of imperial revenue; *zar i mahaut*, or imposts levied for the maintenance of the Nawáb's elephants; and many more.

rent-roll, however, the strength of the naval establishment (*nawárá*) consisted of 768 armed cruisers and boats, which were principally stationed at Dháká, to guard the coast against the Mags and foreign pirates; and the number of sailors included 923 Firingis, chiefly employed as gunners. The annual charges of the navy, including construction and repairs, was fixed at Rs. 843,452, which was levied under the name of '*amalah i nawárá*' from parganahs in South-Eastern Bengal. The same rent-roll mentions that the garrisons along the whole eastern frontier from Chátgáon to Rángamáti on the Brahmaputra consisted of 8,112 men (*ahshám*), who cost 359,180, Rs. per annum.

Of the roads in Bengal we have no information prior to Van den Broucke's map (1660) in Valentyn's work. He marks (1) a principal road passing over Patna, Munger, and Rájmahall to Sútí, where the Bhagirathí leaves the Ganges. From here a branch went to Moxudabath (Murshidábád), Plassi (Palásí), and Hagdia,* crossed the Bhagirathí for Gasiapore, and passed on to Bardwán, Medinípúr, Bhadrak (wrongly marked on the right bank of the Baitarani), and Kaṭak. The other branch went from Sútí along the right bank of the Podda to Fathábád, from where it passed on to Dháká. These two branches are marked as principal roads (*sháhi rastah*). (2) A road from Bardwán to Baccaresoor (Baklesar in Bírghúm, famous for its hot springs, within the Marátha Intrenchment of Nágor), and from there to Qásimbázár and the banks of the Ganges, and across the river to 'Hasiaarhati.' This is Hajrahattí, on the left bank of the Podda, now also a ferry place, near the entrance of the Burul River, below Rámpúr Boáliá, and seems to be the Qázihattí (Beng. Kájíerhattí), which Abulfazl mentions in the Áin. From Hasiaarhati the road passed to a place called Harwa, and from there to Ceerpoor Mirts, *i.e.* Sherpúr Murchah, on the Karataya, and passing over Tessiadin (Chandjén, north of Sherpúr, ?) to Gorregaut (G'horág'hát) and Bareithela (Barítalá) on the Brahmaputra, which will be mentioned below as a frontier town. (3) A road from Bardwán over Salimábád, Húglí, Jessore, Bosnah, Fathábád, across the river to Sjatterapoer,† Casisella, and Idrákpúr, opposite the confluence of the

*Hagdia is Agardíp. Van den Broucke's map gives here an interesting particular. He marks Hagdia on the *left* bank of the river, and Gasiapoor (Gházípúr) on the *right* bank. Both places lie now far from the right bank, with only a small k'hál between them, and a large semi-circular lake round both. The lake, as elsewhere in Bengal, is the old bed of the river, which now follows the shorter route along the chord of the loop. This change, therefore, took place after 1660.

Thus also Nadiya lies now on the right bank of the river; but west of the town, there is still the old channel, which goes by the name of Ganga Bhárat.

† Rennel gives Satrapur; but modern maps give no such name.

Lak'hiá and the Dalásari, near Ballál Sen's palace. (4) A road from Dháká, across the Dalásari to Piaarpoer and Bedlia, which latter place is marked at the point where the Dalásari leaves the Jamuná, and from there to Sasiadpoor (Sháhzádpúr, in Pabnah), and Handiael (Hariál).

The Western Frontier

In the north-west, the frontier of Bengal extended but little beyond the Kosí River; but under some of the early Muhammadan governors and the independent kings, the Bengal empire included all upper Bihar north of the Ganges as far as Sárán. Of Ilyás Sháh, for example, it is asserted that he was the founder of Hájpúr, opposite Patna, on the Ghandak, although Fírúz Sháh, on his return from Bengal, appointed for the first time Imperial collectors in Tirhut. Sikandar Sháh's coins, again, have been found far west of the Kúsi.

Southern Bihár only belonged to Bengal from the time of the conquest by Bakhtiyár Khiljí to about 730 A.H. (A.D. 1330), when Muhammad Tughluq annexed it to Dihlí. From 800 again (A.D. 1397), the whole of Bihár belonged to the kingdom of Jaunpúr. Under Buhlúl again, Daryá Khán Lohání was governor of Bihár; and under Ibráhim, Daryá's son Bahádur Khán assumed independence in Bihár under the title of Sháh Muhammad.* It is not clear how far these Afghán chiefs depended on Husain Sháh of Bengal, whom inscriptions represent firmly established in 903 at Munger, while other inscriptions from Bonhára and Cheran (near Sárán) would lead us to conclude that the whole of Upper Bihár and the western portions of Southern Bihár belonged to him in A.H. 908 and 909 (A.D. 1502, 1503). On the other hand, we hear in history of the cession by Husain Sháh of Bihar, Sárán, and Tirhut, and of the reconquest of these lands by Nuçrat Sháh, who, if he could not hold them, assisted the Afgháns against Bábar. Nuçrat Sháh seems even to have passed beyond the Ghandak; for a mosque near Sikaifdarpúr, on the right bank of the river, in District A'zamgarh, was built during his reign.

South of the Ganges, the western frontier is better defined. Fort Taliágarh, or Garhi,† near K'halgáon (Colgong) on the Ganges, was looked upon as the entrance, or key, to Bengal—a position which Muhammadan historians compare with that of Fort Sahwán on the Indus, the key of Sindh.

*Called in many MSS. Mahmúd.

†It is not known which king built the fort; but it may be accidental that the name does not occur in the *Ṭabaqát i Náçiri* and in *Baraní*. At K'halgáon, Mahmúd Sháh III., the last independent king of Bengal, died in 945 (1538 A.D.).

From Garhí the frontier passed along the Ganges to the south of Ág-Mahall (Ráj Mahall), when it again turned westward to north-western Bírghúm, passing along the boundary of the modern Santál Parganahs to the confluence of the Barákar and the Damúdar, from where it went along the left bank of the Damúdar to the neighbourhood of the town of Bardwán. From here the frontier took again a westerly direction, and passed along the north-western and western boundaries of the modern Húglí and Habrah (Howrah) Districts down to Mandalg'hát, where the Rúpnáráyan flows into the Húglí River.

This boundary, it will be seen, excludes the whole of the Santál Parganahs from the south of K'halgáon to the Barákar, Pachet,* and the territory of the Rájahs of Bishnpúr (Bankurá). In vain do we look in Santalia for Muhammadan names of villages and towns; and though there can be no doubt that the Muhammadan kings of Bengal tried to hold parts of the hills by establishing thánahs and appointing jágirholders, no permanent settlements were formed. One of the most westerly thánahs in southern Santalia was Sarhat, N. W. of Shiúrí (Soory) in Bírghúm, which is mentioned in Tribení inscriptions;† whilst the settlement of Pathán jágirdárs, before and after the time of Sher Sháh, as a standing militia against the inroads of the tribes of Jhárk'hand (Chutiá Nágpúr), led to the formation of the great Muhammadan zamíndárí of Bírghúm, which gave the E. I. Company some trouble.

In Todar Mall's rent-roll the following Mahalls are mentioned along this portion of the western frontier of Bengal—Ág Mahall (Rájmahall), Kánkjol, Kunwar Partáb, Molesar,‡ in Sirkár Audambar or Tándah; Bharkúndah, Akbarsháhi, Kaṭangah, in Sharifábád (Bírghúm); Nágor, Sainbhúm, Shergarh (Rániganj), Champánagarí (N. W. of the town of Bardwán), Madáran (Jahánábád and Chandrakoná, west of Húglí), Chittúá (District Medinípúr), and Mandalg'hát, at the mouth of the Rúpnáráyan, all belonging to Sirkár Madáran.

The name of the frontier mahall of Bharkúndah in Bírghúm, men-

*Regarding the invasion of Chutiá Nágpúr by the Muhammadans, *vide* J. A. S. B., 1871, Part I, p. 111.

†Sarhat, spelt on inscriptions Sirhat, lies on the left bank of the Ajai River. Its name on modern maps is corrupted to Saruth. Rennell has Sarhaut. Outside the place, the survey maps mark two old forts. A little to the south of it, a village of the name of Lukrahonda is marked. Rennell on his map of Bírghúm (Bengal Atlas, No. II.) places a 'Lacaracoond,' in conspicuous letters, south of Nágor; but modern maps give no such locality. Could this be the Lak'hnúr of the Tabaqát?

‡Sábiq (*i.e.* former) Molesar and Darín Molesar. The former name is wrong spelt in the Indian Atlas (Sheet 113) Sarik Molisser.

tioned above, seems to have been formerly extended to the whole of Bírbbhúm and the Santál Parganahs. In this extended sense, it is used in the *Tárikh i Dáudi*,* on De Barros' map of Bengal, and on Blaeu's map of India (*vide* Pl. IV). In the latter, it is only given as 'Barcunda,' but in the former as 'Reino de Barcunda,' extending from Ferrandus (a corruption of Bardwán) to Gorij, in which we recognize Garhí, the 'key of Bengal.' West of Barcunda, De Blaeu and De Barros give 'Patanes,' *i.e.* the Patháns, the military and semi-independent landholders of the western Bengal frontier. On the Ganges, both maps shew Gouro (Gaur), and opposite to it, 'Para,' for which De Barros gives 'Rara.'† Both spellings may be mistakes for Tara, *i.e.* Táuda, which should of course be on the other side of the river; or 'Rara' stands for the old Hindu division of Rádhā, which there commences. South of 'Ferrandus,' the old maps give 'Mandaram' and 'Cospetir,' which latter name is wrongly placed on Blaeu's map north of Mandaram, whilst De Barros has it correctly west of it. In Mandaram we recognize Madáran, the chief town of Sirkár Madáran, a name which even now-a-days is pronounced by the peasants Mandáran.‡ 'Cospetir,' or De Barros' 'Reino Cospetir,' a name that puzzled me long, is clearly 'the kingdom of the Gajpatí,' or Lord of elephants, the title of the kings of Orísá, the final *r* being nothing but the ending of the Bangálí genitive. Sirkár Madáran was indeed the frontier of Orísá; but if the legends of the Húglí District speak of the Gajpatís having once extended their kingdom to the Ganges (Húglí River), it must have been prior to the time when Sátgáon became the seat of Muhammadan governors.

It is remarkable that among the names of the jungly and hilly frontier districts, we find so many ending in *bhúm*. Thus we have Bírbbhúm;§ Sainbhúm, along the left bank of the Ajai, in Bírbbhúm district; Sik'harbhúm or Shergarh, the mahall to which Rániganj belongs; Gopíbhúm, along the right bank of the Ajai; Bámanbhúm or Bráhmaṇbhúm, in northern Medinípur District; Mánbhúm, Baráhbhúm, Dhalbhúm, Singbhúm, in

*Dowson, Elliot's History of India, IV., pp. 360, 364.

†South of Para or Rara, Blaeu and De Barros give a place of the name of Moulauadangur; and below Gouro, Patana or Patona, and Meneitipur, which I have not identified.

‡I have identified Madáran with Bhítargaṛh in Jahánábád, in the north-western corner of Húglí District. *Vide* Proceedings, As. Socy. Bengal, for April, 1870, where the legends of the place are given.

As the name of Jahánábád occurs in the Akbaranámah, it has no connexion with Sháhjahán's name, but refers more likely to one of the numerous Khán Jaháns of the Pathán rule.

§The name occurs in the Áin as a Mahall; but as name for a large division it does not seem to have been used before the 18th century.

Chutiá Nágpúr; Túnbhúm, in southern Parúliá; Malbhúm, the frontier of Bardwán and Medinípúr Districts; Bhanjibhúm, with the town of Medinípúr,* &c. Similarly, the frontier district between Rangpúr and the Brahmaputra, comprising Mahalls Bhítarband and Báhirband, is called in Shujá's rent-roll 'Bangálbhúm.'

I mentioned Mahall Mandalg'hát at the confluence of the Rúpnaráyan and the Húglí as the south-western frontier of Bengal. The Districts of Medinípúr and Hijlí (south-east of Medinípúr) were therefore excluded. They belonged to the kingdom of Orísá till A.H. 975, or A.D. 1567,† when Sulaimán, king of Bengal, and his general Kálá Pahár defeated Mukund Deb, the last Gajpatí. Even after the Afghán conquest, Medinípúr and Hijlí continued to belong to the province of Orísá, when Khán Jahán Afghán was appointed by Dáúd Sháh governor of Orísá, Qutlú Khán Lohání being made governor of Púri. On the 20th Zí Qa'dah, 982, (3rd March, 1575) Mun'im KhánKhánán, Akbar's general, defeated Dáúd Sháh at Tukarói or Mughulmári, north of Jalesar, and in the peace of Katak, in the beginning of 983, Bihár and Bengal were ceded. In 984, Dáúd again invaded Lower Bengal, but was defeated and killed on the 15th Rabi,' II, 984, near Ág Mahall by Husian Qulí Khán Jahán when Bengal was again annexed to Dihlí, and the Afgháns withdrew to Orísá. Then the Bengal Military Revolt broke out, and Orísá was invaded, in A.H. 1000, (A.D. 1592) by Mán Singh, when the country was finally annexed to the Dihlí empire. Hence Medinípúr and Hijlí appear together in Todar Mall's rent-roll as one of the 5 Sirkárs of the province of Orísá. Subsequently, Orísá had separate governors; but under Prince Shujá' their power was lessened, and the portion from Mandalg'hát to Baleswar (Balasore) was separated from Orísá and permanently attached to Bengal.‡

Hijlí (*Hidgelee*, *Hedjelee*, Grant; *Hingeli*, van den Broucke; *Ingellee*,

*The Ain also mentions a mahall Bhowálbhúm under Sirkár Madáran; modern maps do not give this name.

†So according to the Akbarnámah. Stirling fixes an earlier date; but Sulaimán reigned from A.H. 975 to 980. Besides, Akbar sent in 972-973 ambassadors to Mukund Deb.

‡"Sjah Sousa had already during his time divided Hingeli from Orisa, and had put there a separate governor, and it is for this reason alone that Hingeli, which by position belongs to Orisa, has been attached to Bengal. So it is also with the governors of Ballasour and Pipeli [Pipli or Shábhandar, now deserted, on the Subarnarekhá River], which the Great Mogul ordered once to be under the governor of Orisa and then again under the governor of Bengal, because the two places are close to the sea." F. Valentyn, Vol. V.

Van den Broucke's map of Bengal in 1660, given by Valentyn, still shews north-west of the town of Medinípúr the "Gedenkteeken," or memorial stone, (corresponding to the 'Old Tower' of modern maps) that marked the frontier between Bengal and Orísá. Grant says that the coast of Hijlí and Medinípúr as far as Balasore (Baleswar) was attached to Bengal

Rennell; *Injeelee*, Stewart, Marshman; *Angeli*, Purchas, De Laët, &c.) appears in the *Áin* under the name of *Máljhattá*. According to the legends preserved in the District, the Muhammadans first attempted a settlement during the reign of Husain Sháh of Bengal, about A.D. 1505, when one *Táj Khán Masnad i 'Álí* and his brother *Sikandar Pahlawán* established themselves at the mouth of the *Rasúlpúr River*,* opposite *Ságar Island*. They conquered the whole of *Hijlí*, which is said to have remained in the family for nearly eighty years, when it passed into the possession of a *Hindú*. As late as 1630 we hear of the conquest of *Hijlí*. "*Hingeli*, which had for many years a chief of its own, was conquered about 1630 by the Great Mogul; but in 1660, the lawful chief of *Hingeli*, who from a child had been kept a prisoner, found means to escape, and with the help of his own to re-conquer his country. But he did not long enjoy it: he was in 1661 brought into *Aurangzeb's* power with the help of the E. I. Company [the Dutch Company], and was again imprisoned and better looked after than at first."†

The Southern Frontier

The southern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal was the northern outskirts of the *Sundarban*, which extended, generally speaking, in the same manner almost as it now does, from *Hatiágarh*, south of *Diamond Harbour* on the *Húglí*, to *Bágherhát* in southern *Jessore* and to the *Haring'hátá* (*Horingotta*), or 'Deer-shore River,' *i.e.* along the southern mahalls of *Sirkárs Sátgáon* and *Khalifatabád*. Beyond the *Haring'hátá* and its northern portion, called the *Madhúmatí* or 'honey-flowing,' the frontier comprised *Sirkárs Baklá* and *Fathábád*, the modern districts of *Faridpúr* and *Báquirganj* (north). *Sirkár Fathábád* included the islands of *Dak'hin Shahbázpúr* and *Sondíp*, at the mouth of the *Megna*. *Tiparah*, *Bhaluah*, *Noak'háli*, and *District Chátgáon*, were contested ground, of which the *Rájahs* of *Tiparah* and *Arakan* were, at least before the 17th century, oftener masters than the Muhammadans. It was only after the transfer of the capital from *Rájmahall* to *Dháká*, that the south-east frontier of Bengal was extended to the *Phaní River*, which was the imperial frontier till the beginning of *Aurangzib's* reign, when *Chátgáon* was permanently conquered, assessed, and annexed to '*Çúbah Bangálah*.'

on account of the *Mags* and the Portuguese privateers, who were to some extent controlled by the Imperial fleet stationed at *Dháká*.

†Few rivers in India have Muhammadan names. Due south of *Contai* the maps give a village of the name of *Masud 'Álípúr*. *Táj Khán's* tomb is on the *Rasúlpúr River*.

‡From *Valentyn's* work, Vol. V. The '*Álamgírnámah*' says nothing about it.

Various etymologies have been proposed in explanation of the word 'Sundarban.' It has been derived from *sundar* and *ban*, 'the beautiful forest;' or from *sundari*, a small timber tree (*Heretiera litoralis*), which is exported as fuel in vast quantities from the coast and is supposed to have been so called from its red wood. Others again have derived the word from Chandradíp-ban, or Chandradíp forest, from the large zamíndárí of Chandradíp, which occupies the south and south-east of Báqirganj District. Or, the name has been connected with the Chandabhandas,* an old Sundarban tribe. Grant derives it from Chandraband, 'the embankment of the moon,' which seems to have been the etymology that obtained at his time, and which has led to the spelling 'Soonderbund' adopted by Europeans.

The application of the name to the whole seacoast of southern Bengal is modern. Muhammadan historians call the coast strip from the Húglí to the Megna 'Bhátí,' or 'low land subject to the influx of the tide,' and even now-a-days this name is very generally used. The sovereignty of this district, according to the Akbarnámah and the Rájah Pratápaditya legend, was divided among twelve chiefs; and Col. Wilford, whatever may have been the source of his information, says that "the kings of Arakan and Comillá were constantly striving for the mastery, and assumed the title of lords of the twelve Bhúniyás."†

The sea coast itself is marked on Van den Broucke's map in Valentyn's work as 'onbekent,' or 'unknown,' consisting of numerous islands and rivers, 'peryculeous' for ships, being the place where the "Jagt ter Shelling"‡ foundered in 1661.

In order to trace the direction of the northern outskirt of the Sunderban, as it existed sometime before 1582 A.D., we have again recourse to Todar Mall's rent-roll in the Áin. There we find that Mahall Hatiágargh (below Diamond Harbour) was, in 1582, the most southerly assessed mahall of Sirkár Sátgáon. The jungle boundary then passed north-east to Barídhattí and Medinímall, north-west of Port Canning, to Bálingdá and Máhihattí (Mychattee), then south again to Dhuliápúr,§ and Bhaluká to the Kabadak River. These mahalls belong to what is now called the

*A copper plate grant in the possession of the Society, found at 'Ádilpúr (Edilpore), mentions that the villages of Baguli, Bittogádá, and Udayamuna, were given, in the third year of the reign of Keshab Sen, i.e. in 1136 A.D., to one Jovaradeb Sarma. The grant mentions the tribe of the Chandabhandas. The reading Chandabhanda, as Bábu Pratápachandra Ghosh informs me, is an improved reading for Chhattabhata, as the name was read by Gobind Ram; *vide* Journal, 1838, Vol. VII, p. 40.

†As. Researches, XIV, p. 451.

‡*Vide* Mr. Foster's article, Journal, As. Socy. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 36.

§North of Ishwarípúr (Issuripore), the residence of Pratápaditya.

24-Parganahs; and Sheet 121 of the Indian Atalsa of the Survey Department will shew that they lie even now-a-days very little north of the present northern limit of the Sunderban in the 24-Parganahs. Going up the Kabadak, in Jessore, we come to Āmadī,* to the north of which, in the immediate neighbourhood, we have Masidkoor, a corruption of Maṣjidkur, one of the clearances of Khān Jahān (died A.D. 1459),† the warrior saint of Khalīfatābād or Southern Jessore, to whom the traditions of the present day point as an indefatigable establisher or Sundarban-ābādīs (clearances). The Āin then gives Mahall Tālā, with Tālā on the left bank of the Kabadak as chief town and Kopilmuni‡ near it, and then mahalls Sāhas, Khālīṣpūr, Charulīā, Rangdiyā (wrongly called in the Indian Atlas *Sangdia*) and Salīmābād,§ north of the modern Morrellganj at the beginning of the Haring'hātā. North-west of Morrellganj, on the Bhairab (the 'dreadful'), we have the small station of Bāgherhāt, which gives name to a Sub-Division, and in its immediate neighbourhood we come to another clearance by the patron-saint of Jessore, where his mosque and tomb stand. It is the country round about Bāgherhāt which up to the end of last century bore the name given it in the Āin 'Hawelī, Khalīfatābād,' the 'Vicegerent's clearance'. Here, amidst the creeks and the jungles, which no horseman can approach, Nuṣrat Shah, as will be seen below, erected a mint, apparently in opposition to his father 'Alauddīn Husain Shāh. ||

Thus we see that in southern Jessore also the northern limit of the Sundarban has not considerably changed since 1450 A.D.

Passing from the Haring'hātā eastward, we come to Sirkārs Baklā and Fathābād. Sirkār Baklā only contained four mahalls, *viz.* Ismā'īlpūr or

*Marked wrongly on the Survey map Armadi. Rennell has correctly Amadi.

†Westland, Jessore Report, p. 20; Gaur Dās Baisākh, Journal, As. Socy. Bengal, 1867 pp. 130, 131; also Journal, 1872, Part I, p. 108.

‡Rash Bihārī Bose, J. A. S. Bengal, 1870, Part I, p. 235; Westland, Jessore Report, Chapter VI, and p. 286.

§Here also the Āin has the form Sulaimānābād.

|| It is curious that a little higher up on the Bhairab, east of Khulnā, where the Athārabanka (the 'eighteen windings') joins the Bhairab, there is an 'Alāipūr, *i.e.* 'Alāuddīn's town. Were it not for the distinct statement of the *Riyāzussalātīn* that 'Alāuddīn, after arriving as an adventurer in Bengal, settled at a Chandpūr (a very common name) in Rādha District, *i.e.* west of the Húglī, I would be inclined to identify the Chandpūr near this 'Alāipūr as the place where the Husain dynasty of Bengal kings had its home, especially because Husain first obtained power in the adjacent district of Faridpūr (Fathābād), where his earliest coins are struck.

The Indian atlas (sheet No. 121) spells 'Alāipūr 'Alypore,' which blots out every historical recollection, and places it moreover wrongly on the right bank, instead of on the left, of the Athārabankā. 'Alāipūr is a flourishing place and has numerous potteries.

Baklá; Srírámpúr; Sháhzádpúr; and 'Ádilpúr, (from 'ádíl' just,' corrupted on the maps to Edilpore), which all belong to Báqirganj District. Abulfazl, in speaking of the great cyclone that swept in 1583 over Balká, says that the then zamindár of Baklá had a son of the name of Pramánand Rái. Sirkár Fathábád derives its name from the Hawelí mahall Fathábád, in which the modern station of Farídpúr lies. Yúsufpúr and Belphúlí, in Jessore District; Hawelí Fathábád and Sirdiá (Sherdia), in Farídpúr; Balaur, Telhattí, Saráil or Jalálpúr,* Khargapúr, in both Farídpúr and Dháká; Hazratpúr, in Dháká; Rasúlpúr, in Dháká and Báqirganj; the Islands of Sondíp and Shahbázpúr; and a few other mahalls which I have not yet identified, belong to this Sirkár. Thus we see that the greater portion of both Sirkárs lies between the Haring'hátá (Madhúmatí) and the Títuliá River, which flows between Báqirganj District and the island of Dak'hin Shahbázpúr. At the mouth of the Títuliá we find the Don Manik Islands, one of the few still surviving geographical names of the Portuguese.† Opposite to these islands we have mahall Názirpúr, which we find on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu, placed rather far to the north. Near it, we also have 'Fatiabas',‡ the chief town of Sirkár Fathábád. The whole south and south-east of Báqirganj District is occupied by the old Chandradíp zamindári, which according to some, as we saw above, gives name to the Sundarban. On Rennell's map it is marked 'depopulated by the Mugs'.

Abulfazl says that there were in Sirkár Fathábád three classes of zamindárs, which perhaps refers to the independent Afghán, Hindú, and Portuguese chiefs. When Akbar's army, in 1574, under Mun'im Khán-Khánán invaded Bengal and Orísá, Murád Khán, one of the officers, was despatched to South-Eastern Bengal. He conquered, says the Akbar-námah, Sirkárs Baklá and Fathábád, and settled there; but after some time, he came into collision with Mukund, the powerful Hindú zamindár of Fathábád and Bosnah, who, in order to get rid of him, invited him to a feast and murdered him together with his sons.§ This notice helps us to explain a remark made by Grant that in Sháb Shujá's rent-roll (1658) a portion of Sundarban land had for the first time been assessed at Rs. 8,454, the ábádís being called Murádkhánah. || The name of Mukund still lives

*Which, like the name of the Sirkár, reminds us of *Jaláduddin Sháh*.

†Their names for Húglí (Porto Piqueno) and for Chátgáon (Porto Grande) are no longer known; but Sherpúr Firingí, Firingíbázár, Point Palmyras, still remind us of their former importance in this part of India.

‡Van den Broucke's map has wrongly Fathpúr.

§Áin translation, p. 374.

|| Grant derives the name from *murád* and *khánah*, the 'house of desire;' but there is little doubt that we should derive it from Murád Khán, 'Murád Khán's clearance.' I do not know

in the name of the large island 'Char Mukundia' in the Ganges opposite Faridpúr. This Mukund is the same zamíndár whom the Pádisháhnámah wrongly calls 'Mukindra of Bosnah.' His son Satrjít gave Jahángír's governors of Bengal no end of trouble, and refused to send in the customary *peskkash* or do homage at the court of Dháká. He was in secret undetstanding with the Rájahs of Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo, and was at last, in the reign of Sháhjahán, captured and executed at Dháká (about 1636, A.D.). One of his descendants, or successors in the zamíndarí, is the notorious Sítarám Rái of Mahmúdpúr.*

Another Zamindár of Fathábád is mentioned in the beginning of Sháhjahán's reign, Majliş Báyzázíd—by his very name an Afghán.

The Parganahs to the south of Baqirganj are called on the maps 'Boozorgoomedpore' and 'Arungpore,' which names are connected with Buzurg Umed Khán, son of Sháístah Khán (Aurangzíb's governor of Bengal from 1664 to 1677) and with Aurangzíb, 'Arang' being a corruption of Aurang. East of these two Parganahs we have Sháístahnagar.† These names, though they do not perhaps shew when the mahalls were reclaimed, point to the time when they came for the first time on the Imperial rent-roll.

Sirkár Fathábád, as stated above, comprised the islands of Dak'hin-Shabházpúr, Sondíp, &c. Of the latter island we have a short notice by Caesar Frederick, the Venetian merchant, who travelled in Asia, as he himself says, from 1563 to 1581. He left Pegú for Chatigan (Chátgáon), "between which two places there was much commerce in silver,"‡ but "encountered a 'Touffon' (*túfán*, cyclone), which take place in the East Indies every ten or twelve years; they are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible but to those that have seen it," and was driven to Sondíp. "And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were comming a-land: presently they made a place of *bazar*, or a market, with shops right

to what part of Báqirganj or Faridpúr the name was applied. Grant also says that Murád Khánah was sometimes called Jerádkhanah.

*Journal, As. Socy. Bengal, for 1872, Part I, pp. 58, 59. Satrjít's name occurs in the name of the town of Satrjítpúr on the Noboganga, in north-eastern Jessore, not far from Mahmúdpúr (wrongly called Mahomedpore on all modern maps) on the Madhúmatí and from the old town of Bosnah, on the Alangk'háli [Ellenkalli] Branch. *Vide* Westland's Jessore Report, p. 32.

†Sháístah Khán's real name is Mírzá Abú Tálíb; hence we find in Dháká District a Tálíbábád. Núr Jahán was Sháístah Khán's aunt; *vide* Áin translation, p. 512.

‡The export of silver from Pegú to Bengal may have supplied the Bengal mints with silver. Sir A. Phayre and Dr. T. Oldham speak of the export of gold from Burma to the Coromandel coast. Considerable quantities of silver may also have come from Ásám, where silverpieces even for small fractions of a rupee were current.

over against the ship, with all manner of provision to eate, which they brought down in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapness thereof. I bought many salted kine there for the provision of the ship for half a *Larine* apiece, which *Larine** may be 12 shillings 6 pence, being very good and fat; and 4 wilde hogges ready dressed for a *Larine*; great fat hennes for a *Bizze* [pice] a pice, which is at the most a penny: and the people told us that we were deceived the half of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sack of rice for a thing of nothing; and consequently all other things for humane sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that have seen it. This Island is called *S o n d i v a*, belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120 miles from Chatigan, to which place we were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had been a tyrant as others be, he might have robbed us of all."

Ralph Fitch also was about the same time in south-eastern Bengal. He says, "From Chatigan in Bengala I came to *B a c o l a* [*Sirkár Baklá*]; the king whereof is a Gentile [*Hindú*], a man very well disposed and delighted much to shoot in a gun. His country is very great and fruitful, and hath store of rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked except a little cloth about their waste. The women wear great store of silver hoopcs about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

"From *Bacola* I went to *S e r r e p o r e*,† which standeth upon the river Ganges, the king is called *Choudery*. They be all here abouts rebels against their king *Zebaldim Echebar*:‡ for here are so many rivers and islands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevail against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

"*S i n e r g a n* [*Sunnárgaon*] is a towne six leagues from *Serrepore*, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chief king of all these countries is called *Isacan*,§ and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians.*** I went from *Serrepore* the 28th November 1582 for *Pegu*."

**Lári* (لاری). *Áin* translation, pp.23, 37. It is so called from *Láristán* in Persia.

†*Sherpúr Firingí*, marked by Van den Broucke a little south of *Idrákpúr*, on the *Dalásari*, in *Parganah Bikrampúr*, where *Rájá Ballál Sen's* residence was. It is not given on modern maps.

‡The first *b* is a constant misprint for *l*: *Jaláluddín Akbar*.

§*Isá Khán*. *Abul Fazl* calls him 'king of *Bhátí*,' and says that twelve *zamíndárs* were under him. He was powerful enough to make war with *Koch Bihár*. *Vide Áin* translation, p. 342, note.

Sondip was only conquered in the end of 1666 (middle of Jumáda II., 1076), when Diláwar Khán Zamíndár submitted, though not without fighting, to Aurangzib's army that invaded Chátgáon.

I have a few words to say on the hypothesis which has often been started, that the whole of the Sundarban was once in a flourishing condition. No convincing proof* has hitherto been adduced; and I believe, on physical grounds, that the supposition is impossible. The sporadic remains of tanks, gháts, and short roads, point to mere attempts at colonization. The old Portuguese and Dutch maps have also been frequently mentioned as affording testimony that the Sundarban, even up to the 16th century, was well cultivated; and the difficulty of identifying the mysterious names of the five Sundarban towns Pacaculi, Cuipitavaz, Noldy, Dipuria (or Dapara), and Tiparia, which are placed on the maps of De Barros, Blaeu, and Van den Broucke close to the coast-line, has inclined people to believe that they represent "lost towns." Now the first of these five towns, from its position, belongs to the Sundarban of the 24-Parganahs, and the second (Cuipitavaz) to that of Jessore District, whilst the remaining three lie east of it. But Pacaculi is either, as Col. Gastrell once suggested to me, a mistake for Pacacuti, *i. e.* *pakká koḥ'hi*,† a factory or warehouse, erected by some trading company, as we find several along the Húglí; or it stands for Penchakuli, the name of the tract opposite the present mouth of the Damúdar, or a little above the northern limit of the Sundarban. Cuipitavaz I have no hesitation to identify with Khalífatábád.‡ Van den Broucke also places it correctly south-east of Jessore. Noldy is the town and mahall of Noldí (Naldí) on the Noboganga, east of Jessore, near the Madhúmatí. Dipuria is Dapara, or Daspara, south-east of Báqirganj station, near the right bank of the Títuliá, still prominently marked on Rennell's map; and Tiparia cannot stand for anything else but the district of Tiparah, which is correctly placed north-east of Daspara.

The old Portuguese and Dutch maps, therefore, prove nothing. They support the conclusion which I drew from Todar Mall's rent-roll, that in the 24-Parganahs and Jessore the northern limit of the Sundarban, omitting recent clearances, was in the fifteenth century much the same as it is now. But considerable progress must have been made in Báqirganj District, as we see from the numerous accessions, during that period, to the Imperial rent-roll.

*Westland, Jessore Report, pt. 231.

†Houses are either *kachchá* [mud-houses], or *pakká*, brick or stone-built.

‡The letter *f* often turns in Bangálí to *p*; hence Khalífatábád becomes Kolípitábád. Thus Firúzpur becomes Perojepore.

Of other names given on old maps along the southern boundary of Bengal, we have (above Noldy) *N a o M u l u c o* (?), *B u r a m* (Boṛhun, in the 24-Parganahs); *M a l u c o* (Bhaluká, on the Kabadak, ?); west of them, *A g r a p a r a* and *X o r e*, (Agrapára and Dak'hineshor, north of Calcutta); and on the other side of the Húglí, *A b e g a c a*, which seems to be some Ámgáchha, unless it is slightly misplaced and refers to Ambiká (Kalnah); *B e r n a g a r*, which should be Barnagar, on the other side of the river below Xore; *B e t o r* (?) as on Blaeu's map, and *B e l o r*, (?) on that of De Barros. Van den Broucke's map gives, in Húglí District, *Sjanabath* (Jahánábád); *Sjandercona* (Chandrakoná); *Cannacoel* (Kánákul); *Deniachali* (Dhonek'háli); *Caatgam* (Sátgáon); *Tripeni* (Trípaní, the Muhammadan form of Tribení); *Pandua* (Paṇduah); *Sjanegger*; *Basanderi* (the old mahall Basandhari), where Van den Broucke makes the remark, 't *Bosh Sanderie alwaar Alexandre M. gestuyt werd*, 'the bush Sanderie where Alexander the Great was stopped !'

Again, along the lower Ganges the old maps have *B i c a r a m* (Bikram-púr, south of Dháká); *B e l h a l d y*; *A n g a r a* (Angaria, at the confluence of the Kirtinásá and the Megna); *S o r n a g a m* (Sunnárgáon); *Dacca*; *M u l a r a n g u e*;^{*} *B u n d e r* (Bandar, 'harbour'); *N a z i r p u r*, mentioned above; *B u l n e i* or *B u l n e e*, ?; *G u a c a l a* or *G u c a l a*, perhaps a mistake for Bacala; *N o o r k u l y* or Noricoel, as Van den Broucke gives it, (Noríkol, due south of Dháká, and a little south of the right bank of the Kirtinásá); *S u n d i v a* (Sondíp Island); *J u g a d i a* (Jogdiah in Noák'háli near the Little Phaní, mentioned in the '*Alamgírnámah* as an Imperial thánah, and often quoted as the seat of English and French factories in the eighteenth century); *T r á q u e t e a*, ?; *M a u a*, or *M o u a*, and *A l v i a*, for which Van den Broucke gives Mava and Alvia, ?; *J e f f e r i*, on Van den Broucke's map, the same as Rennell's Jeffri, at the mouth of the Phaní, right bank.

The coast of Arakan on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu is broken up into numerous islands as the Sundarban coast: it looks as if some of them belonged to Bengal. Thus we find *Bulua* and *Bacala*, which must refer to Bhaluah in south Tiparah and Baklá. *C h o k u r i a* may be identified with Chukuria, marked on modern maps opposite Maskal Island, on the Mamorí River, as thánah and saltgolah; but the names *Irabu*, *Maoa* (perhaps a mere repetition of the Maua given above), *Santatoly*, *Orieton*, are unknown to me.

Blaeu's map (Pl. IV) and the Chart of the empire of the Grand Mogul

^{*}As this place is marked on an island south-west of Dháká, it seems to be Múlnadángi in the south of Char Mukundiá.

by N. Sausson (A. D. 1652) give opposite Chatigam (Chittagong) a town, called Bengala or Bengola. Purchas (a compiler who never came to India) says in his 'Pilgrims,' "Gouro, the seat Royall, and Bengala are faire Cities. Of this, the Gulfe, sometimes called *Gangeticus*, now beareth name *Golfo di Bengala*." Rennell, in his 'Memoir,' mentions the town as being given "in some ancient maps and books of travels; but no traces of such a place exist." But he says that it is placed near the eastern branch of the Ganges, and that it may have been carried away by the river (Ganges?). Lately also, a writer in Mookerjee's Journal (Dec. 1872), Mr. H. J. Rainey, published an imaginative account of the submersion of this now lost city, which in his opinion had given name to the kingdom of Bengal. But the town is nowhere mentioned by Muhammadan historians, nor by Ibn Baṭūṭah, Caesar Frederick, and Ralph Fitch who were in Chátgáon, nor by De Barros and Van den Broucke. The probability, therefore, is that no such town ever existed, and that the name was put on Blaeu's map from Purchas's statement; or else the name 'Bengola' is a mere corruption of what we call a 'Bungalow' (بنگله, *bangalah*), or a 'Flagstaff Bungalow,' of which we find several marked on District maps of Chittagong along the Karanphúlí River, as early as on Rennell's chart. However, this mysterious town is not to be identified with the place 'Dianga' given by Van den Broucke half way between Chittagong and Rammoe (Rámú, or Rambú*), because Dianga is the Dak'hindángá or the Brahmandángá, both on the Sangú River, south of Chátgáon, where saltgolahs still exist.†

Regarding the State of Codavascam, which the old maps place east and north-east of Chátgáon, *vide* Wilford's Essay, As. Researches, Vol. XIV, p. 450.

The province of Chátgáon was no secure possession, and seems to have been alternately in the hands of the kings of Bengal, the Rájahs of Tiparah, and the kings of Arakan. In 750 A. H. (A. D. 1350), about which year Ibn Baṭūṭah was in Chátgáon,‡ it belonged to king Fakhruddin of Sunnárgáon. That year falls within the reign of the Arakanese king Meng-di, who is said to have reigned from A. D. 1279 to 1385, or 106 years,§ when the king of Thu-ra-tan (Bengal), called Nga-pu-kheng, courted his alliance. About 1407, again, the king Meng-tsau-mwun fled to Bengal,

*The most south-easterly point to which the Mughuls advanced.

†The word 'dángá,' which occurs so often in geographical names in Bengal, signifies 'high land.'

‡Called in Lee's translation سدكوان. Regarding Fakhruddin *vide* below.

§*Vide* Sir A. P. Phayre's History of Arakan, Journal, A. S. Bengal, for 1844, p. 45. Thu-ra-tan Sir Arthur Phayre identifies with Sunnárgáon.

and witnessed the war between Rájah Káns and Jaunpúr. He was ultimately restored to his throne with the help of Bengal troops; but he became "tributary to the king of Thu-ra-tan, and from this time the coins of the Arakan kings bore on the reverse their names and titles in the Persian character. This custom was probably first made obligatory upon them as vassals; but they afterwards continued it *when they had recovered their independence, and ruled the country as far as the Brahmaputra River. Meng-tsau-mwun, having got rid of his allies, meditated a change of capital.*"

In 1512, Chátgáon was conquered, according to the Ráj Málá,* by the Rájah of Tiparah, who drove away Husain Sháh's garrison. Whether the Rájah of Tiparah kept it for any time is doubtful; for in 1517, "John de Sylvera was invited by the king of Arakan, and he appears to have gone to Chatigam, then a port of that king's dominions.†" Anyhow, we can now understand why Nuçrat Sháh, Husain Sháh's son, should have invaded Chátgáon;‡ but although popular belief ascribes to his invasion the first Muhammadan settlements in the District, it is clear from the preceding that his invasion cannot have been the first.

It is not known how the District was again lost; but during the troubles of Sher Sháh's revolution, the Mughul invasion, the aggressions of the Portuguese, and the Bengal Military Revolt, Chátgáon did not belong to Bengal. If, therefore, Todar Mall in 1582 included it in his rent-roll, he did so on the principle on which he included Kalinga Dandpát and Sirkár Rájahmandrí in the rent-roll of Orísá.§

The Eastern Frontier

The eastern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal extended from Sumnár-gáon and the Megna (but in Sháhljahán's reign, from the Phaní River over southern and western Tiparah) northward, and then passed to the east including the District of Silhaṭ. The boundary passed along the southern slopes of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and Gáro Hills to Mahall Sherpúr in northern

*Journal, A. S. Bengal, Vol. XIX, for 1850, pp. 545, 546.

†Vide Sir A. Phayre's History of Pegu, J. A. S. B., 1873, pt. I, 127.

‡For particulars vide my extract from the *Tárikk i Hamidí* in Journal, 1872, Part I, p. 336.

§"From Satagam [Sátgáon-Húgli] I travelled by the country of the king of Tipara, with whom the Mogen [Mags] have almost continual warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon [*Rakhaing*, Arakan] and Rame [Rámú], be stronger than the king of Tipara, so that Chatigan, or Porto Grando, is often times under the king of Recon." *Ralph Fitch*.

Muhammadan historians spell the word 'Rakhaing' رخنگ, *Rakhang*, or give the still shorter from رخ *Rukh*, whence De Laët's "Roch, on the borders of Bengala."

Maimansingh to the right bank of the Brahmaputra near Chilmárf, and from here along the river to Mahall Bhítarband, which formed the north-east frontier. The sirkárs that lay along the boundary were Sunnárgáon, Bázuhá, Silhaṭ, and G'horág'hát; and the neighbouring countries to the east were Tiparah, Kachhár (the old Hirumba), the territories of the independent Rájahs of the Jaintiah, Khasiah, and Gáro Hills, and, on the left bank of the Brahmaputra, the Karibárf Hills, the zamíndárs of which were the Rájahs of Sosang. They depended in reality on the powerful kingdom of Koch Hájo,* the 'Azo' or 'Asoe' of old maps, which extended along the left bank of the Brahmaputra to Kámrúp. In the Karibárf Hills, the Muhammadans possessed, opposite to Chilmárf, the old frontier thánah Hatsilah, which Rennell still marks as 'Hautchella.' The north-eastern frontier was never absolutely fixed. Barítalah, on Van den Broucke's map *Bareithella*, was looked upon as a frontier town till the beginning of Aurangzíb's reign.

The invasions on the part of the Asamese were as numerous as the inroads of the Muhammadans into Ásám, which had commenced under the successors of Bakhtyár Khiljí. During the reigns of Rájah Káns and his son, the Asamese under Chudangpha (A. D. 1414 to 1425) conquered north-eastern Bengal as far as the Karataya;† and as about the same time Jaunpúr was at the height of its power, successfully encroaching on the western frontier, and the Rájahs of Tiparah made likewise invasions,‡ we may assume that Bengal under the kings of the Káns dynasty was most circumscribed. With the restoration of the Ilyás Sháhí dynasty (about A. D. 1440) and the gradual downfall of Jaunpúr, Bengal recovered her ancient limits, and entered upon her most flourishing period. The invasion of Husain Sháh into Kámrúp is well known;§ but Kámrúp was only permanently annexed in 1637, when Gauhattí became the north-eastern frontier of Bengal.

Silhaṭ, as we shall see below, was conquered in A. D. 1384, and the earliest inscription hitherto found there, belongs to the reign of Yúsuḥ Sháh (A. D. 1480). North-western Silhaṭ had the name of Láúḥ, or Láúr, and the thánah which the Muhammadans established there, was under the commander of the 'Iqlím Mu'azzamábád,' 'the territory of Mu'azzamábád,' also called 'Mahmúdábád.' The exact extent of Mu'azzamábád is still unknown; but the name occurs on coins and on Sunnárgáon inscriptions,

**Vide* Journal A. S. Bengal, Part I, 1872, p. 53.

†So according to the Ásám Búranjí; *vide* Useful Tables, p. 273.

‡Rájmálá, J. A. S. B., XIX, 1850, p. 542.

§J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, pp. 79, 335.

once in conjunction with Láúr, and once with Tiparah, and it seems, therefore, as if the “iqlím” extended from the Megna to north-eastern Maimansingh and the right bank of the Surmá. In the Áin, we find, indeed, under Sirkár Sunnargáon, a Mahall Mu’azzampúr, the chief town of which lies between the Brahmaputra and the Lak’hia and bears the same name. The present inhabitants, as Dr. Wise tells me, know nothing of its ancient renown; and the only old building is a ruinous dargáh, called after a saint Sháh Langar, the impression of whose foot draws crowds of pilgrims about the time of the I’d ulfiṭr festival. The saint is said to have come from Egypt.

The thánah Láúr is also mentioned in the Áin as a Mahall of Sirkár Silhaṭ, which consisted of Partábgarh; Panchkhand; Banyánchang; Bájúá Bayájú (?); Jaintiá; Haweli Silhaṭ; Satrk’handal; Láúd;* and Harinagar. The author of the *Haft Iqlim* calls Silhaṭ repeatedly سري هت *Srihaṭ*, and this forms explains perhaps the ‘Reino Sirote,’ which De Barros and Blaeu give instead of ‘Silhaṭ’ (*vide* Pl. IV). The town of Sirote is correctly placed on the right bank of the Surmá, which leaves no doubt as to the identity of both names.

K á m r ú p, which also appears under the names of Kámrúd, Kámrú, and Kánwrú is often mentioned together with Kámatá.† The Brahmaputra which Ibn Baṭúṭah calls the ‘Blue River’, is correctly described by the old traveller as coming from the mountains of Kámrúp. De Barros, however, and Blaeu give the river the name of Caor, and show it as flowing from the Reino de Caor, north of Comota and Sirote. Wilford identifies Caor with “Goḍa or Gaur, *i.e.* Gorgánw,” meaning G’hargáon, the capital of Ásám, But G’hargáon (which is the correct spelling) was only built by Chu-klunpha, between A. D. 1549 and 1563, *i.e.* at a time when the materials had long been sent to Europe from which De Barros in Lisbon wrote his book. It seems, therefore, more natural to compare ‘Caor’ either with ‘Gaur,’ the old name of northern Silhaṭ, and which under the form of Gor is placed by Blaeu north of Bengal, or with the name of the Gáros who inhabit the hills near the bend of the Brahmaputra.‡

The south-east frontier was Tiparah, or Tripura, spelt on old Muhammadan inscriptions *Tipúrah*, whence perhaps the form Tipora given by De

*So at least according to some MSS. *Vide* my text edition, p. 406, where سر كهندل is a misprint for ستر كهندل. Láúr lies at the foot of the hills.

†For Kámatá *vide* below. Husain Sháh is said to have invaded Kámrúp and Kámatá; and the Áin says, Kámrúp and Kámatá are in the possession of the Rájah Koch Bihár.

‡Regarding Wilford’s identification of Sirote, *vide* Asiatic Researches, XIV, pp. 387, 436. The places which Blaeu gives between Gor and Caor, as Kanduaná, Mewat, &c., are mentioned below.

Barros and Blaeu. Abulfazal, in the *Áin i Akbarí*, says—"Tiparah is independent; its king is Bijai Mánik. The kings all bear the name of Mánik,* and the nobles that of Náráyan." The military power was estimated at 200,000 foot and 1,000 elephants; and numerous invasions of Silhaṭ and Sunnárghaon by the Rájahs of Tiparah are mentioned in the *Rájmálá*. The old capital was Udaipur, or Rángamáti, on the left bank of the Gúmti. Hence Van den Broucke speaks of 'Oedapoer and Tipera;† but on his map he places between Tipera and the Brahmaputra, above Bolua, the "Ryk van Udesse," which is not marked on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu. As he does not mention Udesse in his text, the name is either a mistake for Udaipur, or he has been misled by his countryman. De Laët, who says, "Udessa, or Udeza, whose metropolis is Jokanat or Jekanat, the furthest province of this empire to the eastward, is adjacent to the Mag kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians," and who thus places Orísá (Oḍesá) and Jagarnáth near Arakan.

The western and southern portions of Tiparah are included in Todar Mall's rent-roll in Sirkár Sunnárghaon; but they were only conquered, according to Grant, in Sháhjahán's reign; and in A.D. 1728, we hear of a re-conquest, when the district was placed on the rent-roll under the name of Raushanábád.

Before going further, I have a few words to say on the country of Jájnapur, which Stewart, Stirling, Dowson, and Thomas agree in identifying with Tiparah. Stewart and Dowson, however, also apply the name to a portion of Orísá, and compare the word with the name of the town of Jájpúr, north-east of Kaṭak, on the Baitaraní. Jájnapur is mentioned as a country full of wild elephants (مرغزار فيل) in the *Ṭabaqát i Náçirí*, and the two *Tárikh i Fírúz Sháhís*, *i.e.* up to about A. D. 1440, after which the name disappears. It also occurs in the *Áin*; but the passage refers to the reign of Hoshang of Málwah (A. D., 1405 to 1434).‡

It is first mentioned as lying, together with Bang, Kámrúd, and Tirhut, near the kingdom of Lak'hnaúti;§ and when Ṭughán Khán ('Izzuddín Abul Fath Ṭughril) invaded Jájnapur, he left Lak'hnaúti city in Shawwál,

*According to the *Rájmálá*, the kings of Gaur had conferred this title on the Tiparah Rájahs. It is impossible to reconcile the discrepancy between the *Rájmálá* and the *Áin* as regards the time when Bijai Mánik reigned. According to the *Áin* he would have reigned towards the end of the 16th century; but the *Rájmálá* places his reign much earlier. Journal, Vol. XIX, for 1850, p. 546.

†"The countries of Oedapoer and Tiparah are sometimes independent, sometimes under the great Mogul, and sometimes even under the king of Arakan."

‡It may be that Da k'hin historians use the term to a later period.

§Tab. Náçirí, p. 163.

641, and arrived after about a month, on the 6th Zi Qa'dah, at Katásan, the frontier of Jájnapar.* In the following year, 642 [A.D., 1244], the Rái of Jájnapar invades the kingdom of Lak'hnautí, and first seizes on Lak'hnor, which above was identified with Rárho (west of the Húgli), where he kills the jágirdár Fakhruddín Lágharí, and then marches on Lak'hnautí.

This remark would seem to shew that, in the opinion of the author of the *Ṭabaqát*, Jájnapar lay somewhere west or south-west of the Bardwán and Húgli Districts, i.e. in Jhárkhand, or Chutiá Nágpúr.

The next invasion, on a large scale, was undertaken by the Emperor Balban, who in his pursuit of Sulṭán Mughís, about A. D. 1280, marched from Lak'hnautí to Sunnárgáon, the independēt Rái of which makes himself responsible not to let Mughís escape either by land or by water. From Sunnárgáon,† Balban arrives, after a march of 60 or 70 *kos*, at the confines of Jájnapar, where Mughís is surprised and killed.

From this remark by Baraní, Stewart, Stirling, Thomas, and Dowson‡ conclude that Jájnapar corresponds to Tiparah; and the eastern parts of Hill Tiparah certainly lie about 70 *kos* from Sunnárgáon. The *Rájmálá*, however, does not state that Tiparah had the name of Jájnapar.

Jájnapar is again mentioned during the reign of Ghiyásuddín Tughluq, when Ulugh Khán, in 1323 A. D., invades Talinga, Jájnapar, and Bedar;§ and lastly, when Fírúz Sháh, after his second unsuccessful invasion of Bengal to conquer Sikandar, returns, in 1360, from Hazrat Panḍuah to Zafarábád and Jaunpúr, || where he stays during the rainy season. He then marches over Bihár to Jájnapar; arrives at Satgarh (?), the Rái of which retreats; then comes to Báránasí, the residence of a great Rái; crosses the Mahindrí, and goes for some distance into Talinga, to which country the Rái had fled. Fírúz Sháh then retreats, passes through the country of Rái Paríhán [Bir Bhán Deo, *Lucknow Edition*], and arrives in Padmáwatí and Baramtalá, great fields for elephants, and returns quickly to Karah**

**Loc cit.*, p. 244. Katásan has not been identified. The MSS. have also Katás, and Katásín.

†Baraní, p. 87. The *Bibl. Indica* Edition has Hájínagar, Jájínagar, and (once) Jájnapar.

‡History of India, Vol. III, pp. 112, 113. The *Bibl. Indica* Edition of Badáoní, I, p. 129, calls Mughís wrongly Mu'izz, and says that he had gone towards Jájnapar and Tárkilah (or Nárkilah, as the *Lucknow* edition of Badáoní has).

§Badáoní, I, 223. Dowson, III, 234. Baraní, 450.

|| Zafarábád, which is so often mentioned by Muhammadan historians, lies on the right bank of the Gúmṭí, a little below Jaunpúr, which lies on the left bank. The maps give, of course, Jaffurabad.

**Badáoní, I, 247. Dowson, III, 312 to 316. Dowson has Banárasí, for Báránasí; and

Lastly, in the *Áin* (my text edition, p. 472, l. 6), Hoshang of Málwah goes in disguise to Jájñagar, in order to obtain elephants.

In these passages it is clear that Jájñagar represents a country between Talinga and Bihár, or, as expressed in the *Ṭabaqát*, west of Raṭha, *i.e.* the wild districts of western Orísá, Chutiá Nágpúr, and the eastern portions of the Central Provinces, of which Ratanpúr, Bastar, and Sirguja are also mentioned in the *Áin* as hunting places for wild elephants. But it is remarkable that Baraní, in relating Balban's expedition, places Jájñagar 70 *kos* beyond Sunnárgáon, whilst in his account of Tughluq Sháh's reign he gives the same name to a district near Talinga; and we are forced either to believe that there were two Jájñagars, one famous for elephants near south-western Bengal (*Ṭabaqát i Náçirí*, Baraní, Firúzsháhi, *Áin*), and another in Tiparah or south-eastern Bengal (on the testimony of a single passage in Baraní); or to assume that there was in reality only one Jájñagar, bordering on south-western Bengal, and that Baraní in the above single passage wrote Sunnárgáon by mistake for Sátgáon,* which would remove all difficulties.

The Northern Frontier

From Bhítarband, near the bend of the Brahmaputra, and in later times from Gauhatti in Kámrup over K'hontag'hát, the frontier passed along the southern portions of Koch Bihár to Mahall Pátgáon, or Pátgram (west of Koch Bihár), which is mentioned by Mughul historians as the frontier-town in the extreme north, and from there along the foot of the hills and forests of Sikkim and Nepál to the northern portions of Púrniah District. Thus by far the greater portion of what is now-a-days called the Koch Bihár Division, did not belong to Bengal.

The Sirkárs along the northern frontier were G'horág'hát, Panjrah, Tájpúr, and Púrniah.

The inhabitants of northern Bengal according to the *Ṭabaqát i Náçirí* were the Koch, Mech, and Thárú tribes, whose Mongolian features struck the first invaders as peculiar.†

Firishtah (Lucknow edition, p. 147) has 'Banáras, which is the residence of the Rái of Jájñagar.'

Kaṭak is called in the *Áin* 'Kaṭak Banáras'; and from the account translated by Dowson from 'Afif it is clear that south-western Orísá is meant, although the comparison of Jájñagar and Jájpúr may be redundant. Rennell in his Bengal Atlas (Map VII) gives a Baramtalá in Singhbhúm, near northern Mayurbhanj.

*Baraní's statement of the distance of 70 *kos* would admirably suit Sátgáon; it would bring us to Mayurbhanj and western Chutiá Nágpúr.

†For 'Thárú' Stewart has *Neharu*, but there can be no doubt that the author of the *Tabaqát*

The Rájahs of Northern Bengal were powerful enough to preserve a semi-independence in spite of the numerous invasions from the time of Bakhtiyár Khiljí, when Debkot, near Dinájpúr, was looked upon as the most important military station towards the north.

During the fifteenth century, the tract north of Rangpúr was in the hands of the Rájahs of Kámatá (কামত), to which country passing allusion was made above. The kingdom is prominently marked as 'Reino de Comotah,' or Comotay, on the maps of De Barros and Blaeu (Pl. IV). The town of Kámatá, or Kámatápúr, lay on the eastern bank of the Darlá river, which flows south-west of the town of Koch Bihár, and joins the Brahmaputra near Bagwah. The river near its confluence with the Brahmaputra, separates mahall Bhítarband from Báhirband. The town itself and the Darlá river are correctly marked on the old maps. Buchanan estimated the circumference of Kámatápúr at nineteen miles; the palace, as in the case of Burmese and Chinese towns, stands in the centre. History informs us that Kámatá was invaded, about 1498 A. D., by Husain Sháh, and legends state that the town was destroyed and Nilamba, the last Kámatá Rájah, was taken prisoner. He escaped, however, and disappeared; but people believe that at some time in future he will be restored.

The Kámatá family was succeeded by the Koch dynasty, to which the present Mahárájá of Koch Bihár belongs. The new Rájás secured their possessions by erecting along the boundary a line of fortifications, many of which are still in excellent preservation.

The prevalence of human sacrifices in Koch Bihár is known from the Áin. The *Hafz Iqlim* has the following: "There is a cave in this country, which, according to the belief of the people, is the residence of a Deo. The name of the Deo is Áí, and the people are zealous in their worship. Once a year they have a feast, when they kill all sorts of animals found in the country, believing that the meritoriousness of the slaughter comes from Áí. They likewise kill on the same day the Bhogís, who are a class of men that have devoted their lives to Áí, saying that Áí has called them. From the time they become Bhogís, they may do what they like; every woman is at their command, but after one year they are killed."

The first European traveller that visited Koch Bihár was Ralph Fitch. He says: "I went from Bengala into the country of Couche or Quicheu, which lies 25 days' journey northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile;

means the Thárús of Mithila. *Vide* Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 126; J. A. S. B., 1872, Part I, p. 66.

The *Pádisháhnámah* says of the Asamese also that they resemble in features the Qaráqal-páks of southern Siberia.

his name is Suckel Counse;* his country is great and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they have pepper from thence. The port is called Cacchegate.† All the country is set with bamboos or canes made sharp at both endes and driven into the earth, and they can let in the water and drown the ground above knee deep, so that men nor horses can pass. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they have much silk and musk and cloth made of cotton. The people have ears which be marvelous great, of a span long, which they draw out in length by devises when they be young. There they be all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds, and for all living creatures. When they be old and lame, they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quick thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it or other victuals, and keep it in their hospitals or let it go. They will give meat to the ants. Their smal mony is almonds, which often times they use to eate."

As Ralph Fitch mentions Chichákoťá, and the 'Álamgirnámah Kanthalbári,‡ as belonging to the Koch Bihár, it follows that portions of the Dúárs must have once belonged to Koch Bihár.

Aurangzib's army under Mír Jumlah took Koch Bihár on the 19th December, 1661, when the town was called 'Álamgirnagar,§ a name which has not come into use; and the imperial collectors expected to raise a revenue of eight lák'hs of rupees, whilst in Prince Shujá's rentroll of 1658 Koch Bihár is put down as yielding Rs. 3,27,794.

On Van den Broucke's map, the whole Himálaya tract, from northern Bihár to Ásám, is called "T Ryk van Ragiawarra," or the realm of Rájáwára and in the text he says, that "Ragiawara consists of several separate countries, which sometimes fight the Great Mogul, and at other times are forced to submit." Of these several countries he mentions on the map 'T Ryk van Morang and 'T Ryk van Jesval, which latter name is also given on Blacv's map and will be remarked on below.

*Shukl Gosáin; *vide* my essay on Koch Bihár and Ásám, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 53.

†*I. e.* the place where the merchants from China meet. Cacchegate is Chichákoťá, north of the town of Koch Bihár and south of Baksa Fort, Long. 89°35, in the Bengal Dúárs. It is now British.

‡West of Kanthalbári, the maps give a place called Mogulmurri [Mughulmári], evidently the scene of a fight with Mughul troops. Another Mughulmári lies between Bardwán and Jahanábád; a third between Medinipur and Jalesar, where Akbar's troops defeated Dáúd Sháh (Áin translation, p. 376); and a fourth, eight miles north of Medinipur.

§Thánah Sangrámgarh, one of Aurangzib's frontier thánahs near Noák'háli, had received the same name in allusion to the title of the emperor.

The Morang was entered by Mughul troops in the beginning of Aurangzib's reign. We first hear of an expedition led by Mírzá Khán, Faujdár of Darbhanga, and Iláh Virdí Khán, Faujdár of Gorák'hpúr, against the refractory zamíndár of Morang (beginning of 1075, or end of A. D. 1664). Mírzá Khán died during the expedition; but Iláh Virdí Khán returned with fourteen wild elephants and nine presentation elephants.* In the end of 1079 (beginning of 1669), Ma'şúm Khán reported that a false Shujá' had appeared in Morang and had caused disturbances there, and Ibráhím Khán and Fidái Khán received orders to capture him wherever he shewed himself, and to send his head to Court. Lastly, in 1087 (beginning of 1676), we hear of a conquest of Morang, but no particulars are given.

Blaev's Map of Bengal and of the Mughul Empire

The map of Upper India by William and John Blaev (Pl. IV) is taken from their "Theatrum Orbis Terrarum," Amsterdam, 1645 to 1650, Vol. II,† and is based upon the Portuguese and Dutch charts that existed at the time, and upon the descriptions of European travellers. As far as Bengal is concerned, it is a reprint of De Barros' map, and represents, therefore, the knowledge which European geographers had of Bengal about 1540. In point of accuracy it is much inferior to Van den Broucke's map of 1660,‡ given in Valentyn's work. But the map is of great interest, as it helps us to unravel the difficulties in Terry's enumeration of the provinces of Bengal and other portions of the Dihlí empire,§ which has also been followed by the Dutch traveller De Laët in his "India Vera" (Amsterdam, 1631), and of which traces may still be found on Van den Broucke's map. It is with a view to explain the extraordinary configuration of Bengal on the old maps that I have given the present chapter a place in this essay.

From a glance at the map, it will be seen that our early geographers had no information of the extent and situation of the countries which we

**A'lamgirnámah*, pp. 850, 875. *Maásir i' A'lamgiri*, pp. 64, 150.

†Capt. J. Waterhouse drew my attention to a copy of this work in the Library of the Asiatic Society.

‡Mattheus Van den Broucke was Land-Voogd, or governor, of Choromandel, which included Bengal, from 1658 to 1664, during which time he compiled the map in the Vth Volume of the 'Beschryving van Choromandel' in Francois Valentyn's 'Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien', Amsterdam, 1728. (Library, As. Soc. Bengal, No. 2266.)

§Edward Terry was chaplain to Sir Thomas Row, the Ambassador to Jahángir's Court, and was later Rector of the Church at Greenford, Middlesex. He presented his 'Voyage to East India,' in 1622, shortly after his return to England, to the then Prince of Wales; but he only published it in 1655, when he was sixty-four years old.

now-a-days call the Central Provinces and Chutiá Nágpúr. Hence Gwáliar, Narwar, and (on Van den Broucke's map) Málwá, bound Bengal on the west; the Santál mountains are continued eastwards to meet the Ásám mountainchains, and places belonging to the Central Provinces have been put north of Bengal.

Terry enumerates the following provinces as belonging to the Mughul empire—1. *Candahore*, Qandahár; 2. *Cabul*; 3. *Multan*; 4. *Haiacan*, Hájikán, a sirkár of Sindh; 5. *Buckor*, Bhakkar; 6. *Tatta*; 7. *Soret with Jonagar*, Sorat'h with Júnágarh; 8. *Jesselmeere*; 9. *Attok*; 10. *Peniab*, Panjáb; 11. *Chishmeere*, Kashmír; 12. *Banchish*, "the chief city is called *Bishur*; it lyeth east, somewhat southerly from Chishmeere, from which it is divided by the River Indus." Here we have the first misplacement. Terry means Bangash and Bajor (Sawád, Swat); but for *East*, he should have said *West*.

13. *Jangapore*, "the chief city so called; it lieth upon the River *Kaul*, one of those five rivers which water *Peniab*." (?) De Laët has 'Jengapor or Jenupar,' between Lahore and Agra. 14. *Jenba*, east of *Peniab*, Chamba. 15. *Dellee*,* Dihlí. 16. *Bando*; 'it confineth Agra to the west.' This is Bándhú, or Bándhúgarh, south-east of Ágrah. 17. *Malwa*; 18. *Chitor*; 19. *Gujarat*; 20. *Chandis*, Khándesh; 21. *Berar*, with the chief city *Shapore*;† 22. *Narwar*; 23. *Gwaliar*; 24. *Agra*; 25. *Sambal*, Sambhal, or Murádábád District. 26. "*Bakar*, the chief city called Bikaneer, it lyeth on the west side of the River Ganges." The whole remark seems to be erroneous. 27. *Nagracot*, Nagarkot or Kángrah. 28. *Siba*, "the chief city is called *Hardware*.‡" 29. *Kakares*, "the principal cities are called *Dekalee* and *Púrhola*." Terry means the Gakk'har District, the chief cities of which were Dángalí and Pharwálah; vide Áín translation, p. 621. Terry also remarks that the Caucasus (Himálaya) divides Kakares from Tartaria, which accounts for its northern position on Blaeu's map. 30. *Gor*, "the chief city so called; it is full of mountains; the River *Sersily*, a tributary unto *Ganges*, has its beginning in it." Vide 32.

31. *Pitan*, "the chief city so called; the River *Canda* waters it, and falls into the *Ganges* in the confines thereof." This is Paithán, the form

*"Which signifies an Heart, and is seated in the heart of the Mogul's territories." Terry. This unfortunate etymology shews however that Terry knew some Persian, because he cleverly disposes of the final *yá*. Similarly, he derives 'Khusrau,' from خوش and زر; and 'Sultán Khurram' from كرم *karam*, liberality!

†Sháhpúr, built by Sultán Murád, Akbar's son, six *kos* south of Bálápúr, now in ruins.

‡I do not know whether the country near Haridwár was ever called Síbá. In the Áín, a parganah of the Bísat Jálándhar Dúáb is called Síbah.

used by Abulfazl for Paṭhán, or Paṭhánkōṭ. Terry evidently means the whole hill tract of the Sirmúr range, as far as the Alaknandá. It is, however, possible that he meant the Markandá; but this river does not flow into the Ganges. The error in the position of Pitan is remarkable, as Terry, De Laët, and Blaeu give Temmery (a Dutch spelling for Dhamerí, the old name of Núrpúr, near Paṭhánkōṭ) between the Rávi and Nagarkōṭ (Kángrah).

32. *Kanduana*, "the chief city is called *Karhakatenka*; the River Sersily parts it from Pitan. This and Gor are the north-east bounds of this Monarchy." There can be no doubt that Kanduana is Gondwánah (Central Provinces), of which the capital is Gaṛha-Katanga (Jabalpúr); *vide* Áin translation, p. 367. If Gor is the north-east boundary of the empire, it is the Gaur of Silhaṭ, mentioned above, or the Gáro Hills. Sersily is a misprint for Sersity, the Saraswatí, which after the Jamuná is the principal (legendary) tributary of the Ganges. The map follows the legend and makes the Saraswatí flow into the Ganges near Hclobass (Iláhbás, the old name of Iláhábád).^{*} De Laët increases the confusion by calling the Sersily 'Perselis'. But the passage need no longer exercise commentators. Blaeu's map clearly shows how erroneously the early geographers arranged the provinces.

33. *Patna*, "the chief city so called; the River Ganges bounds it on the west; Sersily on the east; it is a very fertile Province."

34. *Jesual*, "the chief city is called Raiapore; it lieth east of *Patna*." Van den Broucke puts Jesual east of Morang; and Blaeu's map marks it as a country for elephants. It seems, therefore, that Ráipúr in the Central Provinces is meant, the elephant country *par excellence*, though the name 'Jesual' is not clear to me.

35. *Mevat*, "the chief city is called *Narnol*; it is very mountainous." This is Mewát, south-west of Dihlí, with Nárnol. I am at a loss to understand how Mewát could have been placed so far away from Dihlí; but Blaeu's map shows why Terry and De Laët mention it here. The error was not even detected by Van den Broucke, who places 'T Ryk van Mewat east of the Brahmputra, south of 'Cos Assam.'[†]

^{*}According to the legend, the Saraswati, which is lost in the sand east of Bhatinda District, joins the Ganges *below the ground* at Iláhábád. Hence at Tribení and other places in Bengal, wherever two rivers leave the Ganges, we find the names Saraswati and Jamuná repeated.

[†]The London edition of 1655 has 'Jesuat.' De Laët has "Jesual, whose metropolis is Raiapore or Ragapore, lies to the east of Patna, and north-west of Bengala."

[‡]Ásám is often called Koch Ásám.

36. *Udessa*, "the chief city called *Jekanat*; it is the most remote part east of this empire." De Laët says: It is the furthest province of this empire to the eastward, is adjacent to the Maug kingdom, whose inhabitants are most ferocious barbarians." De Barros and Blaeu have avoided this mistake; Van den Broucke, however, places 'T Ryk van Udesse north of Bollua (Bhaluah), between Tiparah and the Brahmaputra. But Oṛisá and Jagannát'h are meant. The spelling *Udessa* is clearly a transliteration of اوديسه, Uḍesá, and De Laët has overlooked the identity of 'Orisa' and 'Udessa.'

37. *Bengala*.

It would take me too far from my subject, were I to enter on the identification of the places in western India on Blaeu's map. I hope to do so at a future period, or would rather leave the task to Mr. E. Lethbridge, who has lately published valuable extracts from De Laët's work in the *Calcutta Review*.

PART II.—HISTORICAL

The Muhammadan period of the history of Bengal may be conveniently divided into five parts—

I. The 'Initial period', or the reigns of the governors of Lak'hnaúti appointed by the Dihlí sovereigns, from the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí, A. D. 1203 to 1338 A. D.

II. The period of the independent kings of Bengal, from 1338 to 1538.

III. The period of the kings of Sher Sháh's family and their Afghán successors, from 1538 to 1576.

IV. The Mughul period, from 1576 to 1740.

V. The Nawábí period, from the accession of 'Alí Virdí Khán, in 1740, to the transfer of Bengal to the East India Company.

In the following pages, I shall principally treat of the first and second periods.

I

THE INITIAL PERIOD (1203 To 1338, A. D.)

The first period has been almost exhaustively described by Mr. E. Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage of Bengal,' published in the *Journal* for 1867, in which he details the results of his examination of selections made from 13,500 pieces of silver, accidentally found in Koch Bihár in August, 1863. I can, therefore, with regard to this period, merely give a few interesting inscriptions which have since turned up, and note a few coins—

second gleanings from the Koch Bihár *trouvaille*—which are in the Society's cabinet.

Of the following inscriptions belonging to the Initial Period, one was received from General Cunningham, and the others from Mr. Broadley, who handed over to the Society in all twenty-two rubbings, which I have deciphered and translated. The original stones are either attached to old public buildings in the town of Bihár, or are preserved in the Museum of that place.*

No. 1. *The Tughril Inscription of Bihár.* [B. C.]

امر ببناء هذه العمارة في أيام مملكة المجلس العالي خان الاعظم
خاقان المعظم عز الحق و الدين غياث الاسلام و المسلمين مغيت الملوك
والسلاطين ابي الفتح طغرل السلطاني خلد الله ملكه العبد مبارك خان
الخازن تقبل الله منه في المحرم سنة اربعين و ستمائة //

This building was ordered to be erected during the days of the reign of the Majils i' 'Alí, the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, 'Izzul haq waddín, the help of Islám and the Muslims, the helper of princes and kings, Abul Fath Tughril, the Royal, may God perpetuate his reign ! The slave, Mubárák Khán, the Treasurer,—may God grant acceptance !

In the month of Muharram, 640 [July, 1242, A.D.]

The inscription is a large slab of basalt, and is at present in the Bihár Museum. It was found let into brick work on the north side of the great Dargáh, to protect the doorway from rain. A photozincograph of it was published by me in the Journal of the Society for 1871, Pt. I, Pl. vii.

It is of interest to remark that South Bihár was under the Lak'hnauti governors from Bakhtyár Khilji's time.

Tughril in 631 (A. D. 1233-34) succeeded Saifuddín Aibak as governor of Lak'hnauti, in which office he continued till the 5th Zi Qa'dah 642 (or 4th April, 1245), on which day he was forced to cede his office to Qamaruddín Timur Khán. Tughril was appointed to Audh; and Timur Khán remained

*Together with the rubbings, Mr. Broadley made over to the Society readings of several early Muhammadan coins of importance, and also a few notes on the Muhammadan buildings of the town of Bihár. The coins have since passed into the collection of Col. Guthrie, and have been published by Mr. E. Thomas in his 'Second Part of the Initial Coinage of Bengal' (about to be reproduced in this Journal). The "notes" are of little value, and are moreover incomplete, so that I can only give my readings and translations of the Bihár inscriptions. They are marked 'B. C.' (Bihár Collection.)

in Lak'hnauti till 29th Shawwál, 644, (or 9th March, 1247) on which day both he and Ṭughril died.*

The following are the governors of Bengal from Saifuddín Aibak to Bughrá Khán. The dates differ slightly from Mr. Thomas's list on p. 8 of his 'Chronicles.'

Saifuddín Aibak. Dies at Lak'hnauti in 631. *Tabq.*, p. 239.

'Izzuddín Abul Fath Ṭughril Ṭughán Khán, governor from 631 to 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642. *Tabq.*, p. 245. He withdraws to Audh, and dies on the 29th Shawwál, 644.

Qamaruddín Timur Khán, governor from 5th Zí Qa'dah, 642, to 29th Shawwál, 644, when he, too, dies. *Tabq.*, p. 246.

Ikhtiyáruddín Yúzbak Ṭughril Khán, proclaims himself king under the title of Sultán Mughísuddín. Perishes in Kámrúp. *Tabq.*, p. 263. No dates are given.

Jaláluddín Mas'úd, Malik Jání Khiljí Khán, becomes governor on the 18th Zí Qa'dah, 656 (or 17th Nov., 1258). *Tabq.*, pp. 206, 225.

'Izzuddín Balban, was governor in 657, in which year he was attacked by Tájuddín Arsalán Khán Sanjar i Khwárazmí, who, however, was captured or killed by 'Izzuddín. *Tabq.*, p. 267.†

Muhammad Arsalán Tatar Khán, son of Arsalán Khán Sanjar. He had been for some time governor, when the emperor Balban ascended the throne (664). *Baraní*, p. 66. After a few years he was succeeded by Ṭughril, who proclaimed himself king under the name of Sultán Mughísuddín. His fate has been mentioned above. No dates are given.

Bughrá Khán, Náçiruddín Mahmúd, second son of emperor Balban.

No. 2. *The Bárahdarí Inscription of Bihár.* [B. C.]

This inscription also belongs to the time of the early governors of Bengal; but unfortunately the first half with the name of the governor is wanting. Its date however, A. H. 663, shews that it belongs to the time of Muhammad Arsalán Tatar Khán, governor of Bengal in the end of the reign of Náçiruddín Mahmúd of Dihlí. The inscription was found in the yard facing the shrine of Sháh Fazlullah, Bárahdarí Mahallah, Bihár.

**Tabaqát i Náciri*, pp. 245, 246, where Ṭughril is called Ṭughril Ṭughán Khán. Hence the *tárikh* on p. 246 is wrong, and for *sin* we have to read *mím*. 'Ṭughril' signifies a kind of falcon or hawk, and *tughril shudan*, like *shunqár shudan*, means 'to die.' 'Shunqár' also is a kind of falcon.

†Hence Tájuddín Arsalán Khán should not be put among the governors of Bengal.

** الله و امرارة و ابقى فى ديار الممالك عمارته ببناء هذه المقبرة المتبركة شهر سنة
 *** العدل الرفاة المخصوص بعناية الرحمن ** ساطان شاه نور اللهم تربيته و
 بيض غرته و اجعل قبره روضة من رياض الجنان و لا تجعل حفرة من حفر النيران
 فى ليلة الأحد الثامن عشر من جمادى الاولى سنة ثلاث و ستين و ستمائة و المعمار
 عدهما الممنون بانعامهما مبدد الكابلي ||

**may God (perpetuate) his rule and governorship, and may He cause his edifice to remain in the realm ** by the erection of this blessed tomb in the months of the year **Sultán Sháh, (O God, illuminate his grave, and whiten his forehead, and make his grave a garden of the gardens of Paradise, but do not make it a pit of the pits of fire !). On Saturday evening, the 18th Jumáda I, 663. The architect is their § slave, who is obliged by their rewards, Majd of Kábul. [8th March, 1265].

No. 3. *The Kai Káu's Inscription of Kagol.* Pl. V, Nos. 1 and 2.

A rubbing of this inscription was received from General Cunningham. Its date is, curious to say, the same as that of the Kai Káu's inscription of Gangarámpúr, published by me in the Journal, for 1872, p. 103. Mr. Thomas has published coins of this king, bearing the dates 691, 693, 694, 695 (Chronicles, p. 149), and the cabinet of the As. Soc. of Bengal contains two clear specimens of 691, and 696 (Lak'hnauti mint).

The inscription is—

و قر (؟) لبناء هذا المسجد الجامع فى عهد الدولة السلطان المعظم
 مالك رقاب الامم مولى ملوك الترك و العجم صاحب القاج و لخاتم
 ركن الدنيا * * * * س شاه السلطان بن سلطان بن سلطان يمين خليفة الله
 ناصر امير المؤمنين فى نوبت الخان الاعظم خاقان المعظم اختيار الحق
 و الدين خان خان الشرق و الصين سندر الثاني فيروز اينكين لسلطان
 خلد الله دولته * * * * المظفر المنصور الغازي ضياء الدولة و الدين
 لغ خان ادام الله دولته و زاد خيره فى الغرة من المحرم سنة سبع
 و تسعين و ستمائة ||

This Jami' Mosque was built during the reign of the great Sultán, the owner of the necks of nations, the master of the princes of the Turks and the Persians, the lord of the crown and the signet, Ruknuddunyá waddín [Kai Káu's] Sháh, the king, son of a king who was

the son of a king, the right hand of God's Viceregent, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, and during the governorship of the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, Ikhtiyár ul haq waddín, the Khán of the Kháns of the East and of China, the second Alexander, Firúz Aitigin Sultán, (may God perpetuate his rule !) **[by] the victorious, the invincible, the champion, Ziyauddaulah waddín Ulugh Khán, may God perpetuate his rule and increase his benefits ! On the 1st day of Muharram, of the year 697. [19th October, 1297]*

The reading of the name 'Aitigin' or 'beautiful moon,' in this inscription was suggested by Mr. Redhouse, and I gladly correct my reading Itgin in the Kai Káuś inscription, published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 103, where the correct name of the builder is Zafar Khán Bahrám Aitigin, the Royal (*sultáni*).†

*This inscription contains what Mr. Thomas calls an unusual reiteration of the words *ibnu sultān ibni sultān*, which is perhaps more unusual on coins than on inscriptions. But the spirit of pride that breathes in the words is apparent, when we compare with it the legend of the coins struck in Tirhut by the rebel Bahádur, given in Badáoní II, p. 298.

In Raziya's Bengal coinage (Thomas, Chronicles, p. 107), I read for مهرة, which has no sense, ممددة, *mumiddatu*, 'the helper,' the same as ناصرة. 'Raziya' stands for 'Raziyat unnisá,' i.e. one who among women is looked upon with favour.

I also take this opportunity to give my reading of the Náçiruddín Mahmúd Inscription, published by Mr. Thomas in his Chronicles, p. 129, an inscription which in style is similar to the above Kai Káuś inscription. General Cunningham has favored the Society with a rubbing of it.

[بني] هذه العمارة في عهد مملكة السلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم ناصر
الدنيا و الدين سلطان السلاطين نبي الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملك سليمان
صاحب الخاتم في ملك العالم ابي المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و
سلطانه بامر الملك الكبير اعظم قتلغخان بها الحق و الدين ملك ملوك
الشرق و الصين بلبس الشمس في ايام ايلته دامت معاليه في العاشر من رجب
سنة اثني و خمسين و ستماية ١١

'This building was erected during the reign of the great Sultán, the owner of the necks of nations, Náçiruddunyáwaddín, the king of kings, who protects the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, the lord of the signet in the kingdom of the world, Abul Muza ffar Mahmúd Sháh, the son of the king (may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom !), by order of the learned and great Malik, A'zam Qutlugh Khán Bahá lhaq waddín, the Malik of the Maliks of the Eastern Provinces and China, Balban the Shamsí [slave of Shamsuddin Iltitish], during the period of his governorship, may his high qualities endure ! On the 10th Rajab, 652.'

From this it will be seen that A'zam Qutlugh Khán (Balban) does not call himself *Malik ul' Alam* 'the Malik of the world,' but *almalik ul'dim*, 'the learned Malik.'

†Or, we might at once translate, 'the Sultán;' for *sultáni*, as abstract noun, occurs on numerous coins; vide Proceedings A. S. Bengal, for June, 1870, p. 152. The translation of the other portions of the inscription is here confirmed.

The date of this inscription is the latest yet discovered of Kai Káu's reign.

Kai Káu seems to have been succeeded by his brother Shamsuddín Fírúz Sháh (I). Mr. Thomas quotes coins of this king, dated 702, 715, 720, 722, and the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has three specimens, struck at Lak'hnautí, with clear dates 706 and 715, and (slightly doubtful) 710.

Three inscriptions of Fírúz Sháh have hitherto been found, of which one, dated 1st Muharram, 713, or 28th April, 1313, was published by me in this Journal, for 1870, Part I, p. 287.* The other two inscriptions are from Bihár, and are dated 709 and 715. They reveal that Fírúz Sháh had a son Hátim Khán,† who in those two years, and probably in the interval, was governor of Bihár.

No. 5. *The Fírúz Sháh (I) Inscription of Bihár.* [B. C.]

بني هذه العمارة المزیدة (٩) فی عهد السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا
و الدين ابی المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و نوبة ايلة
الخان العادل البازل الغازی * * الحق حاتم خان ابن السلطان خلد ملكه
و سلطانه العبد الضعیف محمد حسین تکهروزی فی شهر سنة تسع و سبعماية //

This (additional ?) building was erected in the reign of the great Sultán Shamsuddunyáwaddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king, (may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule !) and during the governorship of the just and liberal Khán, the champion of God, **Hátim Khán, the son of the king, may God perpetuate his rule ! The weak slave Muhammad Husain Tak'harorí. During the months of the year 709. [A.D. 1309.]

A plate of this inscription was published in this Journal, for 1871, Part I, Pl. viii. The inscription itself is attached to a lofty gateway, which together with an arched hall, fast falling to decay, and a roofless mosque, forms the remains of what tradition calls Hátim Khán's palace. It stands on a gentle eminence, due east of the Bihár mountain.

No. 6.

بنی هذا المسجد فی نوبة السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر
فیروز شاه السلطان و یم اماره خاقان الزمان الخطاب بعاتم خان ادام الله

*Where in the third line for الاکرم read الاکرام.


†Besides the four sons mentioned by Mr. Thomas, Chronicles, p. 148.

ظالمها العبد الراضي بالله و لكرمه الرجى احقر الخلائق بهرام بن حاجى
 تاب الله عليه و غفر لوالديه فى الغرة من رجب سنة خمس عشرة
 و سبعمائة ||

This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sulṭān Shamsuddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaḥḥar Fīrūz Shāh, the king and during the governorship of the Khāqān of the age, known as Hātim Khān, may God cause their shadows to last! The slave, who trusts in God and hopes for His mercy, the meanest of mankind, Bahram, son of Hājī, may God turn to him and may He pardon his parents!

On the first day of the month of Rajab of the year 715. [1st October, 1315].

This inscription, a fine slab of basalt, leans against the wall of the Chhoṭā Dargāh in Bihār.

Two other sons of Fīrūz Shāh, Shihābuddīn Bughdah Shāh and the well known Ghiyāsuddīn Bahādur Shāh, struck coins as 'kings of Bengal' during the lifetime of their father. Of the former, Mr. Thomas says (Chronicles, p. 194)—"Neither history, incidental biography, nor numismatic remains avail to do more than prove the elevation, as they seem to indicate the brief and uneventful rule, of Shihābuddīn Bughdah Shāh. No date or place of mintage is preserved." However, the cabinet of the Asiatic Society possesses two specimens,* one of the same kind as published by Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, Pl. VI, No. 4), and a new variety, containing the same legend, but with the letters, on the obverse, close together, and with a  instead of the star on the reverse. The former fortunately contains a complete margin, with the clear legend—

ضرب هذه الفضة بلكهنوتى سنة ثمان عشر و سبعمائة

This silver coin was struck at Lak'hnauti in the year 718.

Mr. Thomas looks upon the *d* in the name of this king as the Hindi *ḍ*, which is so often interchanged with *ṛ*. This may be the case, inasmuch as Shihāb, according to Muhammadan custom, would assume the name of his grandfather *bughrā*,† but in India, people seem early to have substituted a *dāl* for the *re*; hence we find in the *Āin* the form *bughdi*.‡

Ghiyāsuddīn Bahādur Shāh was the last of the Balbanī kings of Bengal. "In A.H. 733, Muhammad ibn i Tughluq is found issuing his own coin in

*Evidently Bābu Rājendralāla Mitra's selections from the Koch Bihār hoard.

†Which signifies a male 'Bactrian Camel' (with two humps). The spellings given in dictionaries are *بوغرا* - *بغرا* - *بغر* - *بوغر* - *بغور* - *بوغور*.

‡Vide my *Āin* translation, p. 143.

Bengal, and Bahádur, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the province and the empire.”* And already the year before, we find that a palace had been built, or renovated, in Bihár for the Imperial *Náib*, which tradition still calls the ‘*sukúnat*,’ or residency.

No. 7. *The Sukúnat Inscription of Bihár.* [B. C.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

شد بتجدید عمارت این دروازه عالی عالم آرای و این طاق رفیع فلک سایی در ایام
خلافت خلیفه جهانپناه آسمان بارگاه خدایگان سلاطین گیهان فرمان فرمای عالمیان
ذی الامن و الامان لاهل الایمان وارث ملک سلیمان ابرو المجاهد محمد بن
تغلقشاه السلطان خلدت خلافته و سلطانه فی الغرة من الشهر المبارک رمضان سنة
اثنی و ثلاثین و سبعماية ||

This high and world-adorning gate, and this lofty, heaven-touching portico, were renewed in the reign of the Khalífah, the asylum of the world, whose court is the heaven, the Lord of the kings of the universe, the ruler of mankind who gives security and safety to the people of the Faith, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, A b u l M u j á h i d M u h a m m a d, son of T u g h l u q S h á h, the Sultán, (may his kingdom and rule be perpetuated !). On the first day of the blessed month of Ramazán, 732, A. H. [27th May, 1332].

From this time till the beginning of the 10th century, Southern Bihár as remarked above, remained detached from Bengal, and followed the fortunes of the empires of Dihlí and of Jaunpúr.

Muhammad Tughluq's governors of Lak'hnaúti, Sátgáon, and Sunnár-gáon did not long remain undisturbed, and the death of Bahrám Khán, governor of the last province, was the commencement of new revolutions, which led to the establishment of a line of independent kings.

II

THE SECOND PERIOD, OR THE PERIOD OF THE INDEPENDENT KINGS OF BENGAL (1338 TO 1538, A.D.)

For this period I shall take the kings singly, and collect for each reign whatever new information I have been able to gather from the rubbings received from General Cunningham, Dr. J. Wise, and Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C. S., and from unpublished Bengal coins in the Society's cabinet.

I have also compared the corresponding chapter of the *Riyázussaláfin* with the statements given in the *Tabaqát i Akbarí* and in *Firishtah*.

The line of the independent kings commences with

* Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 200.

I. Fakhruddi'n Abul Muzaffar Mubá'arak Sha'h

He had been *Siláhdár*, or armour-bearer, to Bahrá'm Khán, the Dihlí governor of Sunnárgáon, and on his master's death in 739 A. H., or 1338 A. D., proclaimed there his independence.

According to the *Ṭabaqát i Akbari*, *Firishtah*, and the *Riyázussaláṭin*, Mubá'arak Sháh was killed by 'Alí Mubá'arak in 741, after a reign of two years and some months.* But as his coins extend over a period of more than ten years, from 739 to 750, it looks as if the date given in the histories should be corrected to *ده سال و چند ماه*, 'ten years and some months.' Mr. Thomas is willing to antedate Mubá'arak Sháh's accession to 737; but the coins (*Chronicles*, p. 263, and Plate vi, fig. 7) do not satisfactorily prove this, because the reading *سبع*, in the absence of diacritical marks, is more likely *تسع*, which the histories give, especially because the numerous coins hitherto found do not give the intervening year (738).

The name 'Mubá'arak Sháh' has been proved by coins, the histories only call him Sultán Fakhruddín or more familiarly still, Fakhrá.† Ibn Baṭúṭah also mentions him under the name of Fakhruddín, and says that he was an eminent man, kind to strangers and *Qúfis*.‡

Mubá'arak Sháh's son is mentioned below. His son-in-law Zafar Khán fled from Sunnárgáon over Tattah to Fírúz Sháh in Dihlí, who, at his request, invaded Bengal a second time in the beginning of Sikandar Sháh's reign.§

II. 'Ala'uddi'n Abul Muzaffar 'Alí' Sha'h

Regarding this king the *Riyázussaláṭin* has the following:

'It is said that Malik 'Alí Mubá'arak, who as king is styled Sultán 'Aláuddín, was a trusted servant of Malik Fírúz [subsequently Fírúz Sháh III of Dihlí], and Malik Fírúz was brother's son to Sultán Ghiyásuddín Tughluq Sháh, and son of the paternal uncle of Muhammad Sháh. Muhammad Sháh, in the first year of his reign, made Malik Fírúz his Náib-Bárbak. Now at this time, Hájí Ilyás, the foster-brother of 'Alí Mubá'arak, did something wicked and fled from Dihlí. Malik Fírúz asked 'Alí Mubá'arak what had become of Hájí Ilyás. 'Alí Mubá'arak went in search of him; and when

* The *Riyáz* has five months. Stewart places his death in 743; but all histories have 741.

† Dowson, *Elliot's History*, III, p. 304.

‡ See Ibn Baṭúṭah, p. 195.

§ These facts are only mentioned by Shams i Siráj, who moreover places Fakhruddín's defeat and death immediately after Fírúz Sháh's first invasion of Bengal in 754. This is clearly a few years too late.

he found no trace of him, he told Malik Fírúz that Hájí Ilyás had run away. Fírúz scolded him and told him to leave his presence. 'Alí Mubárák now went to Bengal. On his way, one night, he had a dream and saw the revered saint Jaláluddín Tabrizí, who said to him, "I will give thee the kingdom of Bengal; but thou wilt have to build me a vault." 'Alí Mubárák put the finger of acceptance on his eye, and asked where it was to be built. The saint replied, "In the town of Panđuah at a place where thou wilt see thirty bricks one over another, and below them a fresh rose of a hundred petals."

'When 'Alí Mubárák arrived in Bengal, he entered the service of Qadar Khán, [the Imperial governor of Lak'hnautí] and received from him the command (*bakhshigari*) of the army. But when Fakhruddín revolted against Qadar Khán, 'Alí Mubárák killed his benefactor, and proclaimed himself king under the title of Sultán 'Aláuddín. He then made war upon Fakhruddín, and slew him "as a punishment for having killed his benefactor." Leaving thanahs in (the province of) Lak'hnautí, 'Aláuddín marched to subjugate other parts of Bengal. But from the time he had proclaimed himself king, the whirlpool of pleasure had made him forgetful of his promise to the Saint, when one night Jaláluddín again appeared to him and said, "O Sultán 'Aláuddín, thou art now king of Bengal, but me thou hast forgotten." The king next day at once searched for the bricks, and found them just as the saint had described. There he built the vault, the ruins of which exist to this day.

'Now about this time Hájí Ilyás also arrived in Panđuah. Sultán 'Aláuddín put him into prison, but after some time, at the request of his mother who had been Sultán 'Aláuddín's nurse, he set him at liberty, and allowed him to come to court. Hájí Ilyás, in a short time, found means to gain over the army, killed 'Aláuddín with the help of the eunuch, and proclaimed himself king under the name of Shamsuddín Bhangrah.

'The reign of Sultán 'Aláuddín lasted one year and five months.'

This extract is so far satisfactory, as it explains the relation between Fírúz Sháh, 'Alí Mubárák, and Hájí Ilyás.

The evidences of coins, as in the case of the preceding king, gives 'Aláuddín 'Alí Sháh a longer reign than the histories. Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, p. 265) gives a coin of the year 742, and he adds that he has seen coins of 744, 745, 746. There is nothing strange in the name '*Alí Mubárák*, which he thinks has arisen from "a strange jumble of Muhammadan writers, who endowed 'Alí Sháh with the surname of his adversary Mubárák Sháh;" for 'Alí Mubárák is as common a name as Mubárák 'Alí, and the histories say that this was 'Alí Sháh's name before accession.

From the fact that the coinage of Mubárah Sháh is restricted to the Sunnargáon mint, and that of 'Alí Sháh to Fírúzábad (*i. e.* Panduah), we may conclude that the former held Eastern, and the latter Western Bengal.

But 'Alí Sháh was vigorously opposed by Hájí Ilyás, who struck coins in Panduah, 'Alí Sháh's capital, in 740 and 744, and in uninterrupted succession from 746 (probably the correct year when 'Alí Sháh was over-come by him) to 758.

III. Ikhtiyá'ruddí'n Abul Muzaffar Gha'zí' Sha'h

Fakhruddín Mubárah Sháh was succeeded in Eastern Bengal by Ikhtiyáruddín, who styles himself "son of the Sultán." We may, therefore, accept Mr. Thomas's hypothesis that he was the son of Mubárah Sháh. Coins are the only testimony on which the name of this king of Eastern Bengal has found a place in the list of kings. The figure of one of the coins given by Mr. Thomas, as also the specimen in the cabinet of the Bengal Asiatic Society, shew the year 753.*

IV. Shamsuddí'n Abul Muzaffar Ilyás's Sha'h.

The relation of this king to 'Aláuddín 'Alí Sháh and Fírúz Sháh III of Dihlí has been mentioned above. Having in 746 become master of Western Bengal, he established himself, in 753, in Sunnargáou (Thomas, p. 269), and thus founded a dynasty, which, with an interruption of about forty years in the beginning of the 9th century of the Hijrah, continued to rule over Bengal till 896 A.H.

Ilyás Sháh's successes in Eastern Bengal were followed by an attempt to extend the western boundaries of the kingdom, and according to the *Riyáz* he pushed as far as the Banáras district. In order to punish him, Fírúz Sháh, in 754, after marching through Tírhut and Púrniah, invaded Bengal and besieged Ekdálah. The defeat of Ilyás Sháh is almost humorously described by Ziyá i Baraní. But "the invasion only resulted in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country," and Fírúz Sháh withdrew,† appointing collectors, apparently

* Thomas, Chronicles, Pl. VI, fig. 9. The margin clearly gives ثلاث. A figure with احد would be desirable, so that the reign of this king might be fixed from 751 to 753.

† It is said in the *Tabaqát i Akbari*, under Ilyás Sháh, that Fírúz Sháh's expedition lasted from the 10th Shawwal, 754, till 11th Rabi' I, 755. As the latter date corresponds to the 5th April 1353, it could only have been *prospect* of the rains, not the setting in of that season, that drove Fírúz Sháh back to Dihlí. The army, according to Baraní, complained of mosquitos in the vicinity of Panduah.

for the first time, in Tirhut, and was glad in subsequent years to exchange presents with Ilyás Sháh.

As Hájí Ilyás is the legendary founder of Hájípúr, opposite Patna, we may assume that in northern Bihár the Ghandak formed the frontier; in south Bihár, however, the frontier could not have passed beyond Munger, because the inscriptions preserved in the town of Bihár (*vide* below) shew that in 732, 737, 753, 761, 792, and 799, the town of Bihár was under Dihlí governors.

Just as Mubárák Sháh and 'Alí Sháh are called in the histories by their first name, so is Ilyás Sháh also invariably called Sultán Shamsuddín. The name 'Ilyas Khaje,' which Stewart gives, is not to be found in historical works. Stewart also mentions 760 as the year in which Ilyás died, but the histories only mention that his reign lasted sixteen years and some months. In 758, he had for the third time sent ambassadors with presents to Dihlí, and Fírúz returned the compliment by sending him horses; but the Dihlí ambassadors on reaching Bihár heard that Ilyás had in the meantime died. The latest of Mr. Thomas's coins of Ilyás Sháh also bear the year 758.*

Ilyás Sháh is nicknamed 'Bhangrah,' a corruption, it seems, of the Hindústání *bhangerá*, 'a seller, or eater, of the drug *bháng* (hemp).' Firishtah says that he does not know the origin of the word; but Ziyá i Baraní evidently knew more about it; for he says, rejoicing in his joke,—“And the well known Bengal Páiks, who for years had borne the name of the Bengal Ancients' or 'the Dead,' had taken a quid from Ilyás the Bháng-eater, in order to shew that they were ready to sacrifice their lives for him; and standing in front of the train of that wild maniac, together with the mouldy-looking Bangálí Rájahs, they bravely threw about their arms and legs; but as soon as the battle commenced, they put from fear their fingers into their mouths, gave up standing to attention, threw away swords and arrows,

The 'Fírúzpúrábád,' mentioned by Stewart and quoted by Mr. Thomas (p. 264, note 2), where Fírúz Sháh pitched his camp, should be 'Fírúzpúr.' The *Riyáz* says—“At a place where now Fírúzpúr lies (*bajáe kih alyaum Fírúzpúr ábádest*, not *Fírúzpúrábád ast*), Fírúz Sháh pitched his camp, and starting from that place on horseback laid siege to the fort of Panquah. In the fort Sultán Shamsuddín had left his son, whilst he himself had retreated to Fort Ekdáláh, which is very strong.” The maps shew several Fírúzpúrs round about Gaur; thus two are south of the fort of Gaur.

* Reinaud, however, quoted by Marsden (p. 566, note) mentions two Sunnárágáon coins of 754 and 760. The MS. of the *Riyáz* belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal mentions 758 as the year in which the last ambassadors left for Dihlí; Stewart has 759; and the Tabaqát and Firishtah, who copies from it, have 'in the end of 759.' The earliest coin of Sikandar figured by Mr. Thomas (Journal, As. Soc. of Bengal, 1867 Part I p. 63 and Pl. II, No. 12) belongs to 761.

rubbed their foreheads on the ground, and were consumed by the swords of the enemies." A graphic description, by the way, of the Bengal Military Police in 1353, A. D.

No inscriptions have hitherto turned up that mention Ilyás Sháh; nor does the author of the Riyáz, who had a good personal knowledge of the ruins of Gaur and Paṇḍuah, speak of any buildings erected by him. He only says—'It is said that Sultán Shamsuddín made in Bengal a reservoir in imitation of Hauz i Shamsí at Dihlí.


Regarding the coinage of Ilyás Sháh, *vide* Thomas, Initial Coinage of Bengal, Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1867, pp. 57, 58.

V. Abul Muja'hid Sikandar Sha'h

Ilyás Sháh was succeeded by his eldest son Sikandar Sháh. The beginning of his reign was marked by a second attempt* made by Fírúz Sháh to annex Bengal; but as in the first, Ekdálah held out, and Fírúz returned to Dihlí, and never again interfered in Bengal matters.

'In 766,' says the Riyáz,† 'Sikandar commenced to build the Ádínah [*i.e.* Friday] Mosque; but he had not finished it when he died, and the building remained half completed, and now-a-days parts of the edifice may be seen in the jungle near Paṇḍuah, about a *kos* from it. I have seen it myself: it is, indeed, a fine mosque and must have cost a great deal of money. May Sikandar's efforts be thankfully remembered !'

According to the same author, Sikandar Sháh died after a reign of nine years and some months—a statement also given in the Ṭabaqát—of wounds which he had received 'on the field of Goálpárah,' fighting with his favourite son Ghiyás, whom the machinations of a jealous step-mother had driven into rebellion.‡

'Sikandar was the contemporary of the  Revered saint 'Alául Haq.'

Several inscriptions belonging to Sikandar's reign have been found. One of the year 765, from Dinájpúr, was published by me in the Journal for

* In 760, according to the Ṭabaqát and the Riyáz; Stewart has 761. Regarding Fírúz Sháh's desire to reinstate Zafar Khán, Mubárah Sháh's son-in-law, in the government of Sunnárghaon, the cause that led to the expedition, *vide* Dowson, Elliot's History of India, III, 304, ff.

† Stewart has 763.

‡ Ghiyás marched with a large army from Sunnárghaon, and pitched his camp at Sunnárgharhi. Stewart has *Sunnárkoḷ*. From the other side, his father issued forth with a terror-inspiring army, and the next day, on the field of Goálpárah, both parties engaged in deadly strife. The whole story is only to be found in the Riyáz.

The Goálpárah meant here is, no doubt, the village quite close to Paṇḍuah, S. W. of it. I have not identified Sunnárgharhi.

1872, p. 105. I remarked there on the beauty of its characters;* but the inscriptions inside and outside the Ādinah Mosque, rubbings of which the Society owes to General Cunningham and Mr. W. L. Heeley, are the finest that I have seen. The characters are beautiful, and the rubbings have created sensation wherever I have shewn them. The inscription inside is 13½ ft. long and 1¼ ft. broad, but contains only verses from the Qorán [Sur. IX, 18, 19], on the top in Kufic and below in (what people call now-a-days in India) Ṭughrá characters. The stone outside measures 4 ft. 9 in. by 10 in., and its letters are just as beautiful.

No. 8. *The Sikandar Sháh Inscription, Adinah Mosque, Hazrat Panḍuah, A. H. 770, (vide Pl. V, No. 3).†*

أمر ببناء العمارة هذا المسجد البجا ابا (؟) فى الدولة السلطان الاعظم
اعلم اعدل اكرم اكمل السلاطين العرب و العجم الراضى بتأييد الرحمن ابو المجاهد
سكندر شاه سلطان بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافته الى يوم الموعود
تنبه فى التاريخ ست رجب سنة سبعين و سبعمائة ١١

This.....mosque was ordered to be built in the reign of the great king, the wisest, the justest, the most liberal of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abul Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh, the king, son of Ilyás Sháh, the king,—may his reign be perpetuated till the day of promise !

He wrote it on the 6th Rajab of the year 770. [14th February, 1369.]

Neither inscriptions nor coins give Sikandar Sháh a full *julús* name; he only has a *kunya*, Abul Mujáhid. Perhaps it would be going too far in speculations, if I were to say that Ilyás *naturally* called his son Sikandar; but a Muhammadan, on hearing the name of Ilyás, will immediately think of the *áb i hayát*, 'the water of life'; and as Sikandar is the legendary successor of Ilyás (the Prophet Elias) in search of the precious commodity, the name of the father may have suggested that of the son.

As stated above, the histories assign Sikandar Sháh a reign of nine years and some months. Stewart says that he died in 769, a year obtained by adding nine years and a fraction to 760, which he assumes to have been the year in which Ilyás Sháh died. The above Panḍuah inscription

* It was written by one Ghiyás. General Cunningham is inclined to think that the Ghiyás is Sikandar's son.

† I have elsewhere remarked on the numerous grammatical mistakes in Bengal Arabic Inscriptions. They consist chiefly in wrong articles, mistakes in gender, in oblique cases, and in wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals. In order not to disfigure the text, I shall no more indicate such errors by a (*sic*).

extends Sikandar's reign to the latter half of 770, and the coins figured by Mr. Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage' (J. A. S. B., 1867, Pl. II, Nos. 12, 14, and 13) give the dates 761, 782, and 783. But Mr. Thomas also states that among the large number of Sikandarsháhís that passed through his hands, he found coins of almost every year between 750 and 792, with the exception of the years 755, 762, 767, 768, 769, 774, 775, 777, and 778. It thus becomes clear that Sikandar Sháh struck coins as prince. Mr. Thomas also quotes A'zam Sháhí coins of 772, 775, 776, the years when Sikandar's coinage is most interrupted, and again from 790 to 799. Further, we have to remember that the poet Háfiz sent the well known ghazal to Ghiyásuddín A'zam Sháh, 'king' of Bengal; and as Háfiz died in 791 (خاك مصلی being the date of his death), the ghazal must have been sent to Bengal during Sikandar Sháh's lifetime. The fact that A'zam Sháh's early coins (of A. H. 772) were struck in Mu'azzamábád (*vide* above), agrees with the statement of the Riyáz that he rebelled in Eastern Bengal, where he remained "nominally subordinate or covertly resistant to paternal authority."*

VI. Ghiya'suddi'n Abul Muzaffar A'zam Sha'h

The only fact given in the *Riyáz* and omitted by Stewart is that "Azam Sháh was treacherously murdered (*ba-daghá kushtah*) by Rájah Káns after a reign of seven years and some months,† or, as I have seen in a little book, after a reign of sixteen years, five months, and three days."

The coins of this king, as mentioned before, go to 799; the latest figured by Mr. Thomas (Initial Coinage of Bengal, Pl. II, No. 15) is of 795.‡ No inscription of this and the following two kings have been found.

* It is also curious that in the inscription of 777, published by me in this Journal for 1870, p. 292, no king is mentioned, as if it had been doubtful who the real king was.

In order to remove all doubts regarding a confusion of تسعين and سبعين in the reading of Sikandar's and A'zam Sháh's coins, a few clear drawings of Sikandar Sháhís struck between 783 and 792, and of A'zam Sháhís, struck in 772, 775, 776, would be required. A'zam Sháh's reign, according to the common statement, lasted 7 years, which we certainly get when we subtract 792 (the latest year *cited* by Mr. Thomas for Sikandar Sháh) from 799 (the latest year *cited* for A'zam Sháh); but if we take the second statement, given in the *Riyáz*, regarding the length of A'zam Sháh's reign, *viz.* 16 years, 5 months, and 3 days, and subtract it from 799, we get 783, the year of Mr. Thomas's latest *figured* coin.

† I. e., according to the wrong chronology of the *Ṭabaqát* and the *Riyáz*, in 775.

‡ I may here suggest a few unimportant alterations in Mr. Thomas's readings of A'zam Sháh's coins ('Initial Coinage,' J. A. S. B., 1867, pp. 68 to 70). First, عورن السلام is to be corrected to غوث الاسلام. Again, the mysterious كين (*loc. cit.*, p. 68) is nothing but يمين,

VII. Saifuddi'n Abul Muja'hid Hamzah Sha'h, son of Azam Sha'h

The histories give him the epithet of Sultán ussaláṭīn, and praise him for his virtues. Firishtah says:—"And the Rájahs of the country did not draw their heads out of the yoke of obedience and practised no neglect and delay in paying taxes."

According to the Ṭabaqát, he reigned ten years. But the author of the Riyáz saw "in the little book," that the reign of this king was 3 years, 7 months, and 5 days, which would bring his reign to 802, or 803, A. H.

Marsden has published a coin of this king, without, however, giving the Royal name (Numism., Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCLIV). It follows in appearance the coins of Sikandar Sháh and A'zam Sháh; the margin contains 'Fíruzábád,' but no year. The specimen in the cabinet of the Asiatic Society is of very rude manufacture, and has most clumsy letters, especially on the reverse.

Vide Pl. VII, No. 1. Silver. Weight, 162.505 grains. A. H. (80)4. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, one specimen) Rare. Circular areas.

OBVERSE—المريد بتأييد الرحمن سيف الدنيا والدين ابر المجاهد حمزه شاه
بن اعظم شاه السلطان

REVERSE—ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين

MARGIN—* * * سنة اربع

Assisted by assistance of the Merciful, Saifuddin yáwaddín Abul Muja'hid Hamzah Sháh, son of A'zam Sháh, the king. The helper of Islám and the Muslims** year** 4.

VIII. Shamsuddi'n ? ? , son of Saifuddin Hamzah Sha'h

The Ṭabaqát says that this king followed the path of his father, and died after a quiet reign of three years and a few months. Firishtah states that as the king was young and deficient in intellect, an infidel of the name *yamin*. Lastly the reverse of coin No. 38 (*loc. cit.*, p. 70), as I see from a specimen in the Society's Coin Cabinet, is *ابد الله دولته و خلد الله ملكه*

May God render his power everlasting, and may God perpetuate his reign,—*abbada alláhu*, not the name 'Abdullah,—which removes from the mint officials the charge of ignorance. It was only Akbar who, in his hatred of everything that was Arabic, recommended the substitution of *Alif* for 'Ain, and *ه* for *ح* &c.

In the reverse of the Sikandar Sháhi (*loc. cit.*, p. 64, No. 23), as I also see from a coin in the possession of the Society, there is a wrong *Alif* before *لدين* and *و* (*waw*) is omitted before *Alqáhiru*,—"Who renders assistance to the religion of God, and who is victorious over the enemies of God." This cancels the footnote.

* *I.e.*, according to the erroneous chronology, he would have died in 785.

of Káns, who was an Amír of the court, obtained great power and influence, and usurped the executive and the collection of taxes. The Riyáz has the following: "After enjoying himself for some time, he died, in 788, from an illness, or through the foul play of Rájah Káns, who at that time was very powerful. *And some writers have asserted that this Shamsuddín was no son of the Sultán ussalátn, but an adopted son (mutabanní), and that his name was Shihábuddín. Anyhow, he reigned 3 years, 4 months, and 6 days.* It is clear that Rájah Káns, who was zamíndár of Bhatúriah, rebelled against him, killed him, and usurped the throne."

THE SAINTS OF GAUR AND HAZRAT PANDUAH

Before proceeding in my account of the kings of Bengal, it may be convenient here to collect the information which we possess regarding the Muhammadan saints of Gaur and Panḍuah. Their names often occur in Bengal History, while their dargáhs, as elsewhere, are the natural depositories of inscriptions.

The principal personages of saintly renown are Shaikh Jaláluddín Tabrízí, Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín 'Usmán, Shaikh 'Aláulhaq, and Núr Quṭb 'Álam.* All larger works on Muhammadan Saints contain biographical notices of them.

1. Shaikh Jaláluddín Tabrízí ✓

He was a pupil of Abū Sa'id Tabrízí and of the renowned Shaikh Shiháb-uddín Suhrawardí. He accompanied the latter on his pilgrimages to Makkah, and used to carry on his head a small oven with the hot pots in which his master kept his food. Numerous miracles are ascribed to him. Among others, he converted, with one look, at Badáon a Hindú milkman to Islám. Though several times charged with immoral practices, he defeated his accusers. When he went to Bengal, he commenced to destroy idols; in fact, his vault occupies the site of an idol temple. He kept a *langarkhánah*, where he housed and fed beggars and travellers. He died in 642 A. H. or A. D. 1244. The place where he died does not seem to be accurately known. The Mutawallis of the tomb near Gaur say that he died in Aurangábád (the old K'harkí), and that his shrine in Bengal† is a mere

* Besides these, the Riyáz mentions a Shaikh Rájá Bayábání (died in 754, when Fírúz besieged Ilyás Sháh). Shaikh Hamíd of Nágor, one of Núr Quṭb 'Álam's teachers, belongs to Nágor in Jodhpúr, not to Nágor in Bírghúm, as Stewart says.

† As most Dargáhs in Bengal, Sháh Jalál's tomb is rich. Its lands lie chiefly in Bardwán District, at Bohát, near Maimári, a station on the E. I. Railway. There is a Madrasah and a Sarái in Bohát.

The oven is still shewn at the Gaur shrine, and "till three generations back, it cooked rice without fuel."

jawáb, or imitation-vault; but the *Áin i Akbarí* (IVth book) says that he was buried at Bandar Díú Mahall.* *Vide* below under Yúsuf Sháh.

2. Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín 'Usmán ✓

Siráj came as a boy to Nizámuddín Auliá of Dihlí, who handed him over to Fakhruddín Zarrádí to teach. In course of time, he became very learned, and was told to go to Bengal, where he died in 758 A. H., or 1357 A. D. The *Haft Iqlím* says that Nizám called him 'the mirror of Hindústán,' and that he only received, when advanced in age, proper instruction from Fakhruddín. After Nizám's death, he went to Lak'hnautí, and all the king became his pupils.

For the inscriptions at his tomb, *vide* below under Husain Sháh.

3. Shaikh 'Aláuddín 'Alá-ulhaq

'Alá-ulhaq was the son of Shaikh As'ad of Láhor, and one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín 'Usmán. According to the *Ma'árij-ulwiláyat*, he was a true Quraishí Háshimí, and traced his descent from Khálid bin Walíd. He was at first exceedingly proud of his origin, wealth, and knowledge, so much so, that Shaikh Akhí complainingly told Nizámuddín Auliá that he was no match for 'Alá-ulhaq. But Nizám told him not to mind it, as 'Alá would in time become his (Akhí's) pupil. It seems that 'Alá in his pride called himself *Ganj i Nabát*,† and when Nizám heard this, he cursed him, and said, "May God strike him dumb!" The curse instantly took effect; nor was 'Alá-ulhaq's tongue loosed till he became the humble pupil of Shaikh Akhí. As Shaikh Akhí travelled a great deal on horseback, 'Alá-ulhaq accompanied him walking barefoot and carrying his master's pots filled with hot food on his head, till he became quite bald. Nor did he feel concerned when Shaikh Akhí, with a view of humbling him, passed on his journey the houses of his brothers, who were all Amírs and rich men.

Once some travelling faqírs came to 'Alá-ulhaq's cell. One of them had a cat with him;‡ but whilst in 'Alá's house, the cat was lost. The owner asked the saint to 'make' him a new cat; but when 'Alá said that he did

* *I.e.*, either the Maldives, or Díú in Gujarát. *Vide* Dowson, IV, 96, note.

† Faríduddín 'Attár, the great saint of Pák Paṭan (Ajodhan) in the Panjáb has the title of *Ganj i Shakar*, 'store of sugar.' But *shakar* may be unrefined, whilst *nabát* is applied to the best refined sugar. 'Alá-ulhaq, therefore, placed himself above Faríd.

‡ What the dog is to Europeans, is the cat to Indians. To kill or lose a cat is most unlucky.

not know from what to make one, he replied, "What do I care from what you make it, make it out of the horn of a stag, if you like." 'Alá was annoyed and said, "You shall feel the horns." Thereupon another of the faqirs, in order to vex the saint, said, "Well, can I make a cat from my testicles?" and 'Alá replied, "There you shall feel it." When the faqirs had left the house, the former was killed by an ox, and the second got an attack of orchitis, of which he died.

'Alá-ulhaq spent large sums in feeding pupils, beggars, and wanderers. But the king of the land got envious, because the public treasury even could not have borne such a heavy expenditure, and he drove the saint to Sunnargáon. He stayed there for two years, and gave his servants orders to spend twice as much as before. And yet, he only possessed two gardens, the income from which was eight thousand silver tankahs *per annum*; but as he gave a beggar the land as a present, all money must have been supplied him from the unseen world.

'Alá-ulhaq died on the 1st Rajab, 800, or 20th March, 1398, and his tomb is at Hazrat Panđuah.

4. *Shaikh Núruddín Núr Quṭb 'Álam* ✓

He is the son and spiritual successor of 'Alá-ulhaq. In order early to practise the virtue of humility, he washed the clothes of beggars and wanderers, and kept the water constantly hot for ceremonial ablutions; nay, he even swept the cell of his father and cleaned the privies attached to the house. One day, whilst thus engaged, his pure body was polluted, and his father allowed him to proceed to other work, as woodcutting. He refused the invitation of his worldly brother A'zam Khán, who was the Vazír at the court of Muhammad Tughluq.*

Quṭb 'Álam died in 851, or A. D. 1447, and lies buried at Panđuah. The words *shams ul hidáyat*, 'lamp of guidance,' are the *tárikh* of his death. He was succeeded by his sons Ruf'atuddin and Shaikh Anwar.

IX. **Rájah Káns**

We saw above that Shamsuddín (II.)—a king whose existence and royal titles have not yet been verified by medallie or mural evidence—was dethroned by Rájah Káns. This Rájah, at the present stage of research, belongs to legends and traditions rather than to authenticated history, there being little else known of him besides the fact that through him the succession of kings of the house of Ilyás Sháh, which had successfully ruled

* This is rather early, considering that 752 is Tughluq's last year.

over Bengal for more than fifty years, was broken, and that his son became a Muhammadan.

The remark of the Riyáz regarding Shamsuddín and the probability that he did not belong to the old dynasty, but was an adopted son and was called *Shihábuddín*, receives a particular importance from the following coins of a new king, whom I shall now assign, for the first time, I believe, a place in the list of the kings of Bengal. Their manner of execution, which follows closely on that of the coins of preceding kings, and the mint towns mentioned proclaim them to be Bengal coins. The name of the new king is—

Shihábuddín Abul Muzaffar Báyzid Sháh

His coins do not mention the name of his father, and the absence of the usual phrase *ibn ussulán*, 'son of the king,' indicates that he was either a usurper, in which case 'Báyzid' might represent the Muhammadan name of Rájah Káns after conversion, or a puppet king, in whose name Rájah Káns reigned and coined in the 'Dárul Islám' of Bengal.

If we take the first alternative, we have against it the clear statement of the historians that Káns remained a Hindú, and also the circumstance that his son does not mention the name of his father on his coins, which he would scarcely have omitted, if Káns had turned Muhammadan. And if we look upon this Báyzid Sháh as a successful rival of Rájah Káns, we have history and legends against us. Hence the theory of a puppet king—a *benámi* transaction—is perhaps the least objectionable.

1. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 2. Silver. Weight, 163·94 grains. A. H. 812. Circular areas. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, one specimen.)

OBVERSE.—المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن شهاب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بايزيد شاه
السلطان

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه

Margin.—ضرب هذه السكة ... سنة ٨١٢

Assisted by the assistance of the Merciful, Shihábuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Báyzid Sháh, the king.

The helper of the Commander of the Faithful, the aid of Islám and the Muslims, may God perpetuate his reign! 'This coin was struck*****year 812.

2. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 3.* New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·76 grains. Fírúzábád, A. H. 816. (Asiatic Society of Bengal, two specimens.) Rare.

* In the figure of this coin, there is a wrong stroke between the *λ* and *l* in the year.

The obverse has sixteen convex scollops, and the reverse eight concave ones.

OBVERSE.—As in No. 1.

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين

Margin.—(ابو بكر) ضرب (عمر) فيروز (عثمان) آباد سنه (علي) ٨١٦

In the Margin—(Abú Bakr) struck at ('Umar) Firúz-(‘Usmán) ábád in the year ('Alí) 816.

Rájah Káns has been identified by Mr. E. V. Westmacott* with Ganesh, Rájah of ‘Dyñwaj,’ or Dínájpúr. The Riyáz, who appears to have compiled his chapter on this usurper from local traditions, calls him ‘Rájah of Bhatúriah.’ Whether this name is an ancient one, I cannot say; it does not occur in the Áin, nor have I seen it before the time of Rennell’s Atlas (1778), in which the name of Bhatúriah is given to a large District east of Máldah, bounded in the west by the Mahanandá River and the Púrnabhába its tributary, in the south by the left bank of the Ganges, in the east by the Karataya, and in the north by Dínájpúr and G’horág’hát. Bhatúriah, therefore, is the district to both sides of the Atrai River.

The Ṭabaqát i Akbari merely states the fact of Káns’s usurpation, and assigns him a reign of seven years. Firishtah, who has been followed by Stewart, says that, “though no Muhammadan, he mixed with them and loved them, so much so that some Muhammadans testified to his conversion, and claimed for him a Muhammadan burial. After a vigorous reign of seven years, he went to the world of annihilation, and was succeeded by his son, who had the honor of being converted to Islám.”

The Riyáz represents the views of the opponents of the Rájah, and gives the following:—

‘When Sulṭán Shamsuddín died, Rájah Káns, a Hindú zamíndár, seized the whole kingdom of Bengal, and sat proudly on the throne. Oppression and bloodshed followed; he tried to kill all Muhammadans, and had many learned men murdered. In fact, his object was to drive Islám from his kingdom. One day, people say, Shaikh Badr ul Islám, son of Shaikh

* *Vide* Calcutta Review, No. CX, October, 1872. Col. Dalton suggests a comparison of the name ‘Káns’ with ‘Kons,’ or ‘Konch,’ the same as Koch (Koch Bihár). Koch is often pronounced with a nasal twang, as if it were spelt Koñs.

It is also curious that a Parganah near Dínájpúr (south-west of it) has the name of ‘Bajitpúr,’ a well known Bengálí corruption of Báyazíd púr, which at once reminds us of Báyazid Sháh. We may attach some significance to this, as the name is evidently old; for the name of this very parganah occurs in the Áin i Akbari (my text edition, p. 403, in Sirkár Panjrah).

Mu'inuddín 'Abbás, went to the wicked tyrant, but did not greet him. When the Rájah asked him why he had not saluted him, he replied, "Learned men are not supposed to greet infidels, especially an infidel tyrant, who like thee sheds the blood of Muhammadans." The unclean heretic was silenced, he winced under the reply, and thought of nothing else but to kill the Shaikh. He, therefore, called him one day to a room, the door of which was very low and narrow. But the Shaikh saw through the plan,* and put his foot first over the threshold, and then entered without bending his head. This annoyed the Rájah so much, that he gave orders to take him to the path of his brethren. The Shaikh was at once executed. All the remaining learned men, on the same day, were put on board a ship and were drowned in the middle of the river.

'The usurpation of this infidel and the slaughter of Muhammadans drove at last the Saint Núr Quṭb ul 'Álam to despair, and he wrote a letter to Sultán Ibráhím i Sharqí (of Jaunpúr), *who at that time had extended his kingdom to the [Eastern] frontier of Bihár*,† complaining of the injustice done to Islám and the Muslims, and asking the king to march against the infidel. Ibráhím received the letter with due humility, and consulted with Qází Shihábuddín Jaunpúrí, the chief of the learned of the age, who was allowed at court to sit on a silver chair. The Qází represented the worldly and religious advantages that would flow from a war with the infidel on the one hand, and from a visit to the great saint, on the other. The king, therefore, collected a large army, invaded Bengal, and pitched his camp at Sarái Fírúzpúr. Rájah Káns now applied to Quṭb ul 'Álam, begged to be forgiven, and asked him to intercede on his behalf with the king of Jaunpúr. The saint replied that at the request of an infidel he could not bid a Muhammadan king stop; in fact, he had himself invited the enemy to come. The Rájah placed his head on the feet of the saint, and said, he was willing to perform anything he ordered him to do, whereupon Quṭb ul 'Álam told him that he would not interfere until he was converted to Islám. The Rájah placed the finger of acceptance upon his eye; but the wife of the infidel led him back to perdition, and he evaded conversion. But he took his boy, who was twelve years old and had the name of Jadú, to the saint and said, "I have got old and wish to renounce the world; make this boy

* The Rájah evidently wished the Shaikh to come to him in a stooping position, which might be looked upon as a 'salám'.

† The Jaunpúr kingdom was founded in 796, and Ibráhím Sharqí, the first titular Sultán, reigned from 804 to 844. The faulty chronology of the Ṭabaqát, Firishtah, and Stewart, makes Rájah Káns die in 794. The story of the Riyáz, therefore, agrees very well with the testimony of coins; but it is strange that the author of the Riyáz did not see the anachronism.

a Muhammadan and give him the kingdom of Bengal." Quṭb ul 'Ālam, thereupon, put some *pán* which he was chewing, into Jadú's* mouth, taught him the creed, and thus made him a Muhammadan, giving him the name of Jaláluddín. According to the Rájah's wish, he also sent a proclamation through the town, ordering the people to read the Friday prayer in the name of the new king. The blessed law of the prophet was thus carried out with new vigour. Quṭb ul 'Ālam now went to king Ibráhím, and asked him to return. The king looked angrily at Qází Shihábuddín, who said to Quṭb ul 'Ālam, "At your request the king has come here, and now you come to him as ambassador to implore his mercy. What shall men think of this?" The saint replied, "When I called you, a tyrant oppressed the faithful; but now, in consequence of your approach, the new ruler has become a Muhammadan; fight with infidels, not with a king that belongs to the Faith." This silenced the Qází; but as the king still looked angry, the Qází had the boldness to enter into a scientific discussion with the saint. After many questions and answers, Quṭb said, "To look on the poor with contempt or entangle them in examinations, brings no man prosperity. Your miserable end is at hand." He then looked even at the Sultán with expressions of anger. Ibráhím now got vexed, and returned with a sorry heart to Jaunpúr. It is said that not long after, Sultán Ibráhím and Qází Shihábuddín died.

'When Rájah Káns heard that Sultán Ibráhím was dead, he deposed Jaláluddín, took again the reins of the government into his own hands, and ruled according to his false tenets. He made several hollow cows of gold, threw Jalál into the mouth of one, and pulled him out behind; the gold was then distributed among the Brahmans. He hoped that the boy would thus return to his old faith. But as Jalál had been converted to Islám by a saint like Quṭb ul 'Ālam, he remained faithful to his new belief, and the talk of the infidels made no impression upon him.

'Rájah Káns now again commenced to persecute the Muhammadans. When the measure of his cruelties was full, Shaikh Anwar, son of Quṭb ul 'Ālam, said one day to his father, "It is a matter of regret that, with you as guardian saint, the Muhammadans have so much to suffer at the hand of this infidel." The saint was just as his devotions, and angry at the interruption, he exclaimed, "The misery will not cease till thy blood is shed." Anwar knew that whatever his father said, was sure to come true; he, therefore, replied that he was a willing martyr***. The oppression of Rájah Káns reached the climax, when he imprisoned Shaikh Anwar and his brother's son Shaikh Záhíd. But as he dared not kill them, he banished

* As saints do with their pupils, or in order to break the boy's caste.

them to Sunnārgáon, in the hope that they would confess where Qutb ul 'Álam had buried his money and that of his father. But even though they were sent to Sunnārgáon, and were much threatened, no money was found, because none had ever been buried, and Shaikh Anwar was ordered to be killed. Before his execution, he said that at such and such a place they would find a large pot. People dug and found a large vessel with only one gold coin in it. On being asked what had become of the other money, Anwar replied, "It seems to have been stolen." Anwar, no doubt, said so by inspiration from the unseen world.

'It is said that on the very day on which Shaikh Anwar died, Rájah Káns went from his palace to the infernal regions. But according to the statement of some, he was killed by his son Jaláluddín, who, though in prison, had won over the officers. The oppressive rule of this monster had lasted seven years.'

X. Jalaluddin Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh

According to the histories, he is the son* of Rájah Káns. His real name is given in the Riyáz as 'Jadú,' and by Firishtah as 'Jatmall' or 'Jaimall'—the MSS. differ. There is a place J a t m a l l p ú r, a little east of Dinájpúr, and we may assume the first name to be correct. As the coins of Bá yazíd Sháh go up to 816, and the coins of Muhammad Sháh commence with 818, the latter year, or 817, must be the beginning of his reign; and if he reigned for seventeen years, as stated in the histories, his reign may have lasted from 818 to 835, which agrees with the year on Marsden's coin of his successor Ahmad Sháh (836). General Cunningham tells me that the Bodleian Library at Oxford has a specimen of 831.

1. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 4, and Marsden, Numism., Pl. XXXVII, No. DCCLXV. Silver. Weight, 166·89 grains. Mint town ? A. H. 818. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen.)

Obverse area, bounded by sixteen convex scollops; reverse area, a four-leafed shamrock.

OBVERSE.—جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Margin, none

REVERSE.—ناصر الاسلام و المساهمين خلد ملكه

Margin.—ضرب هذه السكة في * * * * سنة ٨١٨

Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh, the king. The helper of Islám and of the Muslims,—may his reign be perpetuated ! This coin was struck in.....in the year 818.

* Stewart supposes that he was the eldest son the Rájah by a Muhammadan concubine. According to the Tabaqát and Firishtah, he reigned seventeen years, and died in 812 A.H. Stewart says, eighteen years.

Marsden gives this coin as dated 823, but his figure does not shew that year.

2. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 5, New variety. Silver. Weight, 165.695 grains. A. H. 818. (As Soc. Bengal, one specimen). Obverse area as in No. 1; reverse, eight concave scollops.

OBVERSE.—السلطان العادل جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Margin, none.

REVERSE.—ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين

Margin, (ابوبكر) ضرب (عمر) سنة ثمان (عثمان) عشر (على) ثمانمائة

The just king Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Muhammad Sháh, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, the aid of Islám and the Muslims. (Abú Bakr) struck ('Umar) in the year ('Usmán) eighteen ('Alí) eight hundred [818, A. H.].

3. *Vide* Pl. VIII, No. 6. Silver. Weight, 155.725 grains. Sunnárágáon (?), A. H. 821. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen.) Obverse area, as in No. 1; reverse area, a square inscribed in a circle.

OBVERSE and REVERSE, as in No. 1.

Margin, ضرب * * * * (سزار كانو ؟) ٨٢١

During the time of Muhammad Sháh, says the Riyáz, the town of Panḍuah became so flourishing, that it cannot be sufficiently described. The king also built a mosque, a reservoir, the Jalálí Tank, and a Sarái in Gaur; in fact, Gaur also was again during his reign occupied. He reigned for seventeen years. In the year 812 [822], he made the Palace of Gaur his residence. A large dome with his tomb still exists in Panḍuah, and the tombs of his wife and his son are at the side of his in the same vault.'

XI. Shamsuddín Abul Mujáhid Ahmad Sháh

Marsden (Numismata, Pl. xxxvii, No. DCCLXXIV) has published a silver coin of this king, whom the histories call the son of Muhammad Sháh. The coin bears the clear date 836 A. H. (1432-33, A.D.), and differs from the preceeding Bengal coins by having the Kalimah on one side.* The السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد احمد شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان Tabaqát merely states that he reigned for sixteen† years, and died in 830 A. H., whilst Firishtah adds that he was a good and liberal king. The Riyáz gives him a different character. 'As Ahmad Sháh was of rough disposition, tyrannical, and blood thirsty, he shed the blood of innocent people, and tore open the bodies of pregnant women. When his cruelty had risen

* The reading of the obverse is—

† Stewart has eighteen.

high, and great and small were in despair, Shádí Khán and Náçir Khán, two of his slaves, whom he had raised to the rank of Amírs, made a conspiracy and killed him. This took place in 830, after Ahmad Sháh had reigned sixteen, or, as some say, eighteen, years.'

'Shádí Khán now desired to get rid of Náçir Khán; but Náçir Khán outwitted him, killed him, and issued orders as king. The Amírs and Maliks, however, refused to obey him, and murdered him, after seven days, or, as some say, after twelve hours.'

With Ahmad Sháh ends the dynasty of Rájah Káns. Taking the year 817, the beginning of Muhammad Sháh's reign, as a well attested starting point, and assuming the duration of each reign as given in the histories to be correct, we would get—

	<i>Duration of reign</i>	<i>Ascertained dates</i>
Rájah Káns (Báyazíd Sháh) }	817— 7, or 810 to 817.	Coins of 812 and 816.
Muhammad Sháh,	817+17, or 817 to 834.	Coins of 818, 821, 823, 831.
Ahmad Sháh,	834+16, or 834 to 850.	Coin of 836.

Now above we saw that the last ascertained year for Hamzah Sháh's reign is 804. If we then allow, on the testimony of all histories, above three years to Shamsuddín, son of Saifuddín, we would be brought to the year 808, the commencement of the usurpation of Rájah Káns, and the reckoning, according to the data which we at present possess, is on the whole satisfactory.

The length of Ahmad Sháh's reign only is open to doubt; for if his reign be extended to 850, we are forced to assume that for the greater part of his rule he was vigorously and successfully opposed by Náçiruddín Mah-Múd, whose coinage, as will be seen from the following, goes back at least to 846 A.H.

RESTORATION OF THE ILYA'S SHA'H DYNASTY.

XII. Nasiruddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmud Shah (I)

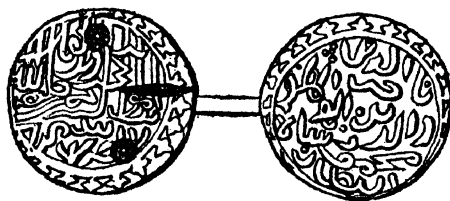
The histories agree in describing him as a descendant of Ilyás Sháh. He seems to have been supported by the old party who were tired of Ahmad Sháh; old families are said to have gathered round him; and Gaur, the old capital, was rebuilt by him. The wars between Jaunpúr and Dihlí, as Firishtah correctly observes, gave Bengal rest, and Mahmúd Sháh, according

to the histories, reigned in peace for thirty-two years, or according to some "not more than twenty-seven years," and died in A. H. 862.

In the histories, he is called by his first name Náçir Sháh, instead of Mahmúd Sháh. Bengal history presents several examples of similar inversions, if the retention of the familiar name of the king can be called so.

The chronology of Mahmúd Sháh's reign has been considerably cleared up by a coin in the possession of Col. H. Hyde, the President of our Society, and by the inscriptions received from General Cunningham and Dr. Wise. The dates now ascertained are 846; 861; 20th Sha'bán, 863; 28th Zil Hajjah, 863. Again, the oldest inscription of Bárbak Sháh, discovered by Mr. E. V. Westmacott, is dated Çafar, 865. We are, therefore, certain that Mahmúd Sháh must have reigned at least till the beginning of 864. But if the second statement of the histories regarding the length of his reign (27 years) be correct, we would get the year 836 as the first year of his reign, the very year in which Marsden's Ahmad Sháhí was struck. This would make Mahmúd Sháh an opposition king for the whole length of Ahmad Sháh's reign, which the histories say was not the case. We require, therefore, more evidence to fix the beginning of Mahmúd's reign.

1. *Coin of Mahmúd Sháh.* New variety. Silver. Weight, 165·08 grains. (Col. H. Hyde) A. H. 846. No mint-town. The margin contains little crosses.



OBVERSE.—المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن حجت خليفة الله [في الزمان؟] ضرب سنة ٨٤٦

REVERSE.—ناصر الدين و الدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه سلطان

He who is assisted by the assistance of God, the evidence of the Khalifah of God in this age, Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaññar Mahmúd Sháh, the king. A. H. 846.

Mahmúd Sháh's coins hitherto published are almost valueless. The cabinet of the Asiatic Society has only one specimen, without date or mint-town, like No. 8 of Laidley's Plate of Bengal coins (Journal XV, for 1846, Pl. IV). Some have the Muhammadan creed on one side in (so called) Tughrá characters, and, on the other side, the name of the king *Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaññar Mahmúd Sháh*. The margin of the specimen

is unfortunately cut away. Mr. Laidley's No. 7 has the same obverse; the reverse is the same as on Hamzah Sháh's coins—*

ناصر امير المؤمنين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين خلد ملكه—

But the three inscriptions of this king are very valuable, viz., one from Sâtgaon, dated A. H. 861, or 1457 A. D.; one from Dháká, dated 20th Sha'bán, 863, or 13th June, 1459;† and one from Gaur, discovered by General Cunningham, dated 28th Zil Hijjah, 863, or 26th October, 1459.

No. 9. *The Mahmúd Sháh Inscription of Sâtgaon* (A. H. 861).‡

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة
و اتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى ان يكونوا من المهتدين
و قال عز من قائل جل جلاله و عـم نواله ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله
احدا و قال النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم و على آله و اصحابه من بنى
مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا فى الجنة * * * * المؤيد بتأييد
[الرحمن] * * * * بالحجة و البرهان غوث الاسلام و المسلمين ناصر الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر [محمود] د شاه السلطان خلد ملكه و سلطانه و على امره و شانه بنه

* I am doubtful whether Laidley's Nos. 11 and 12 belong to this king. The obverse of No. 11 consists of seven circles, four with 'Náçir Sháh,' and three with 'assultán;' the reverse is illegible. It is unlikely that the king should have called himself Náçir Sháh on some coins, when other coins and all inscriptions give his royal name 'Mahmúd Sháh.' Laidley's No. 12 is curious; it shews on the reverse the *kalimah* in clumsy Kufic characters, and on the obverse five circles with 'Mahmúd Sháh assultán.' In the centre of the piece are three rings, thus—°.°. Three rings thus arranged are Timur's arms; vide Vambery's Bokhara, p. 205.

† Received from Dr. J. Wise. It was published in Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1872, Part I, p. 108.

‡ This inscription was first published by me in Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, for 1870, Part I, p. 293, where notes will be found on the locality. The name 'Mahmúd' is broken away, only the *dál* is left, which in 1870, when I copied the inscription from the stone, I mistook for a *nún*. General Cunningham's rubbing leaves no doubt that it is a *dál*. I therefore republish the inscription with this important correction.

الخان الاعظم المعظم المكرّم المخاطب بخطاب تربيت خان سلّمه الله تعالى
عن آفات آخر الزّمان بمنّته وكمال كرمه فى سنة الحامى وستين وثمانماية ١١

God Almighty says, 'Surely he builds the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day, and establishes the prayer, and offers the legal alms, and fears no one except God. It is they that perhaps belong to such as are guided. And how beautifully does He whose glory shines forth and whose benefits are general, say, 'Surely the mosques belong to God, do not call on any other besides Allah.' And the Prophet says—may God's blessing rest upon him and upon his house and his companions!—'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise.'

**** by him who is assisted by the help of the Merciful, *** by proof and evidence, the help of Islām and the Muslims, N á ç i r u d d u n y á w a d d i n A b u l M u z a f f a r [M a h m ú] d S h á h, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition! It was built by the great Khán, the exalted, the liberal, who has the title of Tarbiyat Khán—may God Almighty protect him from the evils of the end of time by His grace and the perfection of His mercy! In the year 861. [A. D. 1457]

No. 10. *The Mahmúd Sháh Inscription of Hazrat Panḍuah*, (Pl. V, No. 4).

General Cunningham found this inscription at the Chhoṭá Dargáh in Panḍuah.

قال الله تعالى كلّ نفس ذائقة الموت و قال الله تعالى اذا جاء اجلهم
فلا يستأخرون ساعة ولا يستقدمون * قال الله تعالى كلّ من عليها فان ويبقى
وجه ربك ذوالجلال والاکرام * وانتقال مخدومنا العلامة استاد الائمة برهان الامّة
شمس الملة حجة الاسلام و المسلمين نافع الفقراء و المساكين مرشد الراصلين
و المسترشدين من دار الفناء الى دار البقاء الثامن و العشرين من ذى الحجة
فى يوم الاثنين و كان ذلك من السنّة الثلث و الستين و ثمانماية فى عهد
سلطان السلاطين حامى بلاد اهل اسلام و المسلمين ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر
محمود شاه سلطان صانه الله بالامن و الامان و بنى هذا الروضة خان الاعظم
لطيف خان سلّمه من البليات و آفات ١١

God Almighty says, 'Every creature tasteth death' (Qor., III, 182). He also says, 'When their fate comes, they cannot delay it an hour, nor anticipate it' (Qor., X, 50). He also says, 'Everything on earth fadeth, but the face of Thy Lord remaineth full of glory d honor.'

Our revered master, the teacher of Imáms, the proof of the congregation, the sun of the Faith, the testimony of Islám and of the Muslims, who bestowed advantages upon the poor and the indigent, the guide of saints and of such as wish to be guided, passed away from this transient world to the everlasting mansion, on the 28th Zil Hijjah, a Monday, of the year 863, during the reign of the king of kings, the protector of the countries of the Faithful, N á ç i r u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u z a f f a r M a h m ú d Sh á h, the king,—may God keep him in safety and security! This tomb was erected by the great Khán, Latíf Khán,—may God protect him against evils and misfortunes!

XIII. Ruknuddin Abul Mújahid Barbak Shah

The histories agree in calling him the son of Náçir Sháh, *i. e.*, Mahmúd Sháh, and in assigning him a reign of seventeen years. The Riyáz says, seventeen, *or sixteen*; and the latter statement is evidently nearer the truth, as by the preceding inscription Bárbak cannot have commenced to reign before 864.

To judge from the Tribení inscription published by me in this Journal for 1870, p. 290, it would appear that Bárbak as prince was governor of south-western Bengal in 860; but the inscription styles him 'Malik,' not 'Sulţán,' from which it is clear that he was no rebel.

The following inscription, which Mr. E. V. Westmacott found in Dínájpúr, is very valuable, as it proves that Bárbak was king in the very beginning of 865.

No. 11. *The Bárbak Sháh Inscription of Dínájpúr.*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ * نصر من الله وفتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين *
 فالله خير حافظا و هو ارحم الراحمين *
 بئذ المسجد فى العهد السلطان ابن سلطان ركن الدنيا و الدين ابر المجاهد
 باركشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطاه بحكم اشارة خان اعظم
 خاقان معظم يهلوى العصر و الزمان ألغ اقرار (؟) خان سر لشكر و وزير بانى
 خير مسجد مذكور و مرمت كرد و روضه خان اعظم و خاقان معظم الغ نصرت خان
 جنگدار و شقदार معاملات جور و برور و محلها ديگر فى التاريخ السادس و عشر
 و عشر من الشهر الصفر ختمه الله بالخير و الظفر شهر سنة خمس و ستين
 و ثمانماية ١١

In the name of God the merciful and the clement! A victory from God and a near success, and announce it to the Faithful (Qor., LXI, 13). God is excellent as a protector, and He is the most merciful of the merciful (Qor., XII, 64).

The building of this mosque (took place) in the reign of the king, the son of a king, Ruknuddunyá waddín Abul Mujáhid Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Magmúd Sháh, the king,—may God continue his kingdom and rule!—by the direction of the great Khán, the noble chief, the hero of the age and the period, Ulugh Iqrr (?) Khán commander and wazír, builder of this religious edifice, the said mosque. And the repairer of the tomb (is) the great Khán and noble chief Ulugh Nuçrat Khán, the jangdár and shiqdár of the affairs of Jor and Barúr and of other Mahallahs. Dated, the 16th day of the month of Safar,—may God bring it to a happy and successful end!—of the year 865. (1st December, 1460, A.D.)*.

Note on a Bárbak Sháh Inscription from Dinájpúr.—By E. VESEY WESTMACOTT, ESQ., C. S.

‘I send a rubbing of an inscription of the reign of Barbak Shah, A. H. 865. It states him to have been the son of Mahmood Shah, a point upon which a bit of additional evidence is not without value. It is very clearly cut on the usual black stone, which is commonly called basalt, but which is more like a slate. In one place I found the surface flaking off, and so brittle, that I was afraid to clear it of the whitewash, with which it was clogged, as thoroughly as I should have liked. The slab is about twenty-two inches by ten, and the inscription is in five lines.

‘It is let into the eastern front of a little brick-built mosque adjoining the grave of Chihil Ghazee, the Peer, mentioned by Dr. Buchanan in his report on Dinagepore, p. 29. The grave, surrounded by an iron railing, is 54 feet long, and is supposed to correspond to the stature of the saint. It is on the north side of the path upto the mosque, some hundred yards to the west of the Darjeeling road, four miles north of Dinagepore, and not far from the Gopalgunge temples. The Mootawallee is a very ignorant fellow, and I have found out nothing of the Peer beyond his name.

‘The founder of the mosque was “Shikdár of the affairs of Baroor,” and of another place. Baroor I take to be the parganah of that name, now in Poorniah, outside the western border of Dinagepore.

‘On each side of the inscription has been let into the wall a stud, or circular piece, of the same stone, which have on the right side of each a groove, as if for a clamp, which makes me think they were not originally cut for their present position. They are about eight inches in diameter. The centre of each bears in Tughra the *muhr i nubuwwat* or ‘seal of prophethood,’ surrounding this is an inscription of which I send rubbings, but which neither the Moulawi nor I can decipher. In an outer ring, half an inch lower, the northern stone bears the inscription—

*I take this opportunity to correct the wrong reading of a title in the Bárbak Shah Inscription published by me in this Journal, for 1870, Pt. I., p. 290, Inscr. VII., where for جامدار عزمحل I should have read جامدار غير محلي *jámadár i ghair i mahallí*, as explained in Journal for 1872, Pt. I., p. 106.

این نقشه مهر نبوت که در میان در شانه مبارک محمد مصطفی صلی
الله علیه وسلم برد

This is the picture of the seal of prophethood which was between the two shoulders of Muhammad Muḥṣafā—may God bless him !

‘As door steps to the mosque and to the enclosure surrounding the grave are pieces of hewn stone, similar pieces lying close by; they are more or less carved and appear to be parts of doorways. Such stones are common in all parts of the district, and are said by tradition to have been brought from Bannagar, near Debkot. They are similar to the remains of Gour and Poroowa [Panduah]. On the south side of the path is the female portion of a *ling*, of large size, a queer ornament for the premises of a Mahomedan saint.

‘The mosque is somewhat ruinous, the roots of plants are tearing it in pieces. I think that it is of greater antiquity than most in the district, from the strength of the brick arches, the workmanship of the dome, and the fact that the hewn stones which are built into the inner side of each archway, have been cut to fit their places, although bearing marks of clamps to show they have been taken from another building.

‘Three archways, twenty-eight inches wide and nearly six feet high, lead into a vestibule twelve feet by five and a half, at each end of which a similar archway opens to the north and south. Three more archways lead into a chamber, twelve feet square, surmounted by a dome, now cracked in several directions. In the west wall are three niches, and two small archways on the north and south lead into the open air. On the inner side of each of the ten archways, a little below the spiring of the arches, hewn stones, six or eight inches thick, are carried through the whole thickness of the wall which is three feet through. It is unusual in Dinagepore to find that the workmen have dressed the stone as they have here.

‘It is usual to build them in just as they are, often with most incongruous Hindoo carvings upon them.’

Regarding the “Seal of prophethood,” it is said in the *Madārij-unnubuwwat* by ‘Abdul Haq of Dihlī, that the seal between the shoulders of the Prophet was a thing raised above the surrounding parts of his blessed body, resembling the body in colour, smoothness, and brightness. And it is stated in the *Mustadrik* that Wahb ibn Munabbih said that no prophet was sent on earth that had not the sign of prophethood on his right hand, except the Prophet, who had the sign between the shoulders. Shaikh Ibn Hajar in his commentary to the *Mishkāt* says that the seal contained the words *والله راحده لا شريك له ترجمه حیث کنت فانك منصور* “and God is one, He has no associate; pay attention wherever thou art, for thou art victorious.”

Some traditions say that the seal was of light, and others, that it vanished from the skin when the Prophet expired, so much so that people knew by its disappearance that the prophet was really dead. Several authorities compare the seal to the egg of a pigeon: some call it a *غدة حمراء*, 'a red fleshknot,' and others say that it was a wart covered with hair.

Marsden gives a Bárbak coin which clearly shews the year 873.* The cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal contains the following:—

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 7. New variety. Silver. Weight 164·025 grains. (Asiatic Society's Cabinet.) A specimen in the possession of Bábu Rájendra-lála Mitra weighs 164·335 grains.

OBVERSE.— * * * *لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان العالم العادل*

REVERSE.— * * * *الاعظم المعظم باريكشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان*

Neither of these coins give Bárbak's full name.

XIV. Shamsuddin Abul Muzaffar Yusuf Shah, son of Barbak Shah

Firishtah represents him as a learned man, who, after his accession charged the 'Ulamá to see the law of the Prophet carried out. 'No one dared drink wine.'

The histories assign him a reign of seven years and six months, and say that he died in 887. If so, the end of his reign was marked by a successful rebellion of his uncle Fath Sháh; but it is just as likely that Yúsf died early in 886.

Marsden has a coin of this king without year, and Laidley gives a new variety of 884.† General Cunningham's inscriptions give the following dates—

1. Panḍuah, 1st Muharram, 882, or 15th April, 1477.
2. Hazrat Panḍuah, 20th Rajab, 884, or 8th October, 1479.
3. Gaur, 10th Ramazán, 885, or 13th November, 1480.

No. 12. *The Yúsf Sháh Inscription of Panḍuah, Húgli District.*‡

(Pl. VI, No. 1.) A. H. 882.

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال عليه السلام

من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بنى الله له في الآخرة سبعين قصرا * بنى

* *Vide* also Journal, As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, Part I., p. 299, note.

† Bábu Rájendralála Mitra has a specimen (like Laidley's) of 883 خزانة. The margin, similarly to Fath Sháh's coins, contains shamrocks separated by dots. Weight 163·65 grains.

‡ *Vide*, Journal, As. Socy., Bengal, 1870, Pt. I., p. 300.

المسجد في عهد السلطان الزمان المريد بتأييد الدين خليفة الله بالحجة
والبرهان السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر
يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باريك شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله
ملكه و سلطانه بني هذا المسجد المجلس المجالس مجلس معظم المكرم صاحب
السيف و القلم يهوى العصر و الزمان الغ مجلس اعظم سلمه الله تعالى في الدارين
مؤرخا في اليوم الرابع الغرة من شهر محرم سنة اثنى و ثمانين و ثمانماية
و تم بالخير ا

God Almighty says—'Surely the mosques belong to God. Do not call on any one besides Allah. And he upon whom God's blessing rest, says, 'He who builds a mosque in the world, will have seventy castles built for him by God in the next world.' This mosque was built during the reign of the king of the age, who is assisted by the assistance of the Supreme Judge, the viceregent of God by proof and evidence, the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shamsuddunyáwaddín Abul Muza'ffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárba Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! The mosque was built by the Majlis ul Majális, the great and liberal Majlis, the lord of the sword and the pen, the hero of the age and the period, Ulugh Majlis i A'zam—may God Almighty protect him in both worlds!

Dated Wednesday, 1st Muharram, 882. Let it end well!

No. 13. *The Yusuf Shah Inscription of Hazrat Panduah.* A. H. 885.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجدا لله بنى الله له قسرا في الجنة *
بني هذا المسجد في زمن السلطان العادل البازل شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابوالمظفر يوسف شاه السلطان بن باريك شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه مجلس المجلس اعلى اعلاه الله تعالى شأنه
في الدارين و كان ذلك في التاريخ هجرة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم في
يوم الجمعة عشرين شهر رجب رجب قدره سنة اربع و ثمانين و ثمانماية ا

The Prophet (may God's blessing rest upon him!) says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, shall have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the reign of the just and liberal king Shamsuddunyáwaddín Abul Muza'ffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárba Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—by the Majlis ul Majális, the exalted Majlis,—may God whose dignity is exalted also exalt him in both worlds! And this took place on Friday, the 20th Rajab (may the dignity of the month increase!) of the year 884, according to the era of the flight of the Prophet, upon whom God's blessing rest!

No. 14. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Gaur. A. H. 885.*

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله تعالى
 له سبعين قسرا في الجنة * بنى هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان ابن السلطان
 بن السلطان باريك شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان * بنى هذا المسجد
 خان اعظم و خاقان معظم * * * بتاريخ دهم ماه مبارك رمضان سنة خمس
 و ثمانمائة ١١

The Prophet, &c. &c., [as before]. This mosque was built in the reign of the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, the king, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king. The mosque was built by the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, * * * * [not legible.]

Dated, the 10th day of the blessed month of Ramazán, 885.

A rubbing of another Yúsuf Sháhí Inscription has been received from Dr. J. Wise. Dr. Wise says—"The inscription is from one of the four mosques which surround the tomb of Sháh Jalál at Silhat. It is a fine *Tughrá* inscription, but unfortunately one-third of it has been built into the masonry, the slab forming the lintel of the door!"

The inscription is—

No. 15. *The Yúsuf Sháh Inscription of Silhat*

*** ابو المظفر يوسف شاه ابن باريك شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه
 خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بنى هذا المسجد المجلس الاعظم المعظم الدستور الساعي
 في الخيرات و المبرات المجلس الاعلى حفظ الله تعالى عن الآفات ١١ ****

**** Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh, son of Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom! And the builder is the great and exalted Majlis, the wazir (*dastúr*), who exerts himself in good deeds and pious acts, the Majlisi A'lá—may God preserve him against the evils and **

To judge from Dr. Wise's rubbing, the inscription, in point of beauty, ranges immediately after the Sikandar Sháh inscription No. 8, mentioned above, and it would be well, if the *Sar i qaum*, 'the head of the clan,' as the Mutawallí of the tomb is called, would take steps to have this beautiful inscription taken out of the masonry, and thus restore it to light and history.

Dr. Wise has also sent the following interesting note on Sháh Jalál.

*Note on Sháh Jalál, the patron saint of Silhaṭ.—By DR. J. WISE,
DHÁKÁ.*

The following abridgment of the life and miraculous adventures of Sháh Jalál, the conqueror of Silhaṭ in the 14th century, is taken from the *Suhail-i-Yaman*, written by Nāṣiruddín, late Munṣif of Silhaṭ; his work was composed in the year 1859. It is an abstract of two earlier histories, one of which is called the "Risálah of Muḥí-uddín Khádím;" the other, by an unknown author, is designated the "Rauzatus-Saláṭín."

According to the Munṣif, Sháh Jalál Mujarrid Yamaní was the son of a distinguished saint, whose title of Shaikhush-Shuyúkh is still preserved. He belonged to the Quraish tribe. Sháh Jalál's father was named Muhammad; his grandfather Muhammad Ibráhím. His mother was a Sayyidah. She died within three months of the birth of this her only son. His father died fighting in a *jihád* against the infidels.

The youth was adopted by his maternal uncle Sayyid Ahmad Kabír Suhrwardi, a Darwísh of no mean accomplishments, who had studied under the renowned Sháh Jalál ud-din Bukhárí.

For thirty years Sháh Jalál is said to have lived in a cave without crossing the threshold. He was at last summoned from his seclusion by his uncle, owing to the following circumstance. One day seated in front of his house at Makkah, lost in contemplation, Sayyid Ahmad saw a doe big with young approach him. The doe related how a lion had appeared in the wood in which she lived, and was killing all her comrades. She finally requested him to come and drive away the brute. Sháh Jalál was called forth from his cave, and directed to go and turn out the lion. On the way he puzzled himself what was to be done when the lion was seen. Unexpectedly, however, he met the animal, and the lustre which shot from his eye was so dazzling, that the lion fled and was heard of no more.

On his return, Sayyid Ahmad was so pleased with his behaviour, that he gave him a handful of earth and told him to go forth and wander over the world, until he found earth of similar colour and smell. Where he did, he was there to make his abode.

Hindústán was then the land to which adventurers directed their steps, and Sháh Jalál followed their example. He passed by a city of Yaman, the king of which was informed that a great Darwísh was near. He accordingly sent a cup of deadly poison instead of sharbat, to test his power. Sháh Jalál at once divined its nature, and informed the king's messengers that the instant the draught was swallowed, the king would die. The poison was quaffed without injury to the saint, but, as foretold, the king died.

Sháh Jalál proceeded on his course, but four days afterwards he was overtaken by the Sháhzádah, who had determined on leaving his kingdom and on following the saint in his wanderings.

After journeying for many days, they arrived at Dihlí, where the celebrated Nizám-uddín Auliya then resided. When Sháh Jalál entered the city, Nizám-uddín was sensible of the arrival of a saint. He, therefore, sent messengers to search for him and to invite him to come and eat with him. Sháh Jalál accepted the invitation and gave the messengers a bottle filled with cotton, in the centre of which he placed a live coal. The receipt of this wonderful bottle satisfied Nizám-uddín that this was no common Darwish. He accordingly treated him with every honour, and on his departure he gave him a pair of black pigeons.

The narrative is now transferred to Silhat. In a Mahallah of that city, called Tol-takar, resided at this period Shaikh Burhán-uddín. How a Muhammadan got there, or what he was doing so far away from his own countrymen, puzzles Muhí-uddín, who thinks that this solitary believer must have belonged to some Hindú family, and that he could not have been a true Muhammadan. Burhán, the story goes, had made a vow, that if he was blessed with a son, he would sacrifice a cow. A son being born, he performed his vow; but as bad luck would have it, a kite carried off a portion of the flesh and dropped it in the house of a Brahman. The incensed Brahman went to Gaur Gobind, the king of Silhat, and complained. The king sent for Burhán and the child; and on the former confessing that he had killed a cow, the child was ordered to be put to death, and the right hand of the father cut off.

Burhán-uddín left Silhat and proceeded to the court of Gaur. The king on hearing of what had occurred, ordered his nephew (*bhánjá*) Sultán Sikandar, to march at once towards the Brahmaputra and Sunnargáon with an army.

When news reached Silhat that an army was approaching, Gaur Gobind, who was a powerful magician, assembled a host of devils and sent them against the invaders. In the battle that ensued, the Muhammadans were routed, and Sultán Sikandar with Burhán-uddín fled. The Prince wrote to his uncle, informing him of the defeat and of the difficulties met with in waging war against such foes. The monarch on receiving the news, gathered together the astrologers, and conjurers, and ordered them to prophesy what success would attend a new campaign. Their reply was encouraging, and Naçír-uddín Sipahsálár was directed to march with a force to the assistance of Sultán Sikandar. This re-inforcement, however, did not restore courage to the Muhammadan soldiery, and it was decided to consult with

Sháh Jalál, who with 360 Darwishes was waging war on his own account with the infidels. The Sultán and Naçíruddín proceeded to the camp of the saints, where the Sháh encouraged them by repeating a certain prayer, and promised to join their army and annihilate the hitherto victorious army of devils. Along with the Sháh were Sayyid Muhammad Kabír, Sayyid Hájí Ahmad Sání, Shaikh Abul Muzaffár, Qází Amínuddín Muhammad, Sháhzádah Yamaní, &c., &c.

The advance of this army of saints was irresistible. The devils could not prevail against them, and Gaur Gobind, driven from one position to another, at last sought refuge in a seven-storied temple in Silhaṭ, which had been built by magic. The invaders encompassed this temple, and Sháh Jalál prayed all day long. His prayers were so effective, that each day one of the stories fell in, and, on the fourth day, Gaur Gobind yielded on the promise of being allowed to leave the country.

The terms agreed to Gaur Gobind retired to the mountains (*kohistán*). While at his protracted prayers, Sháh Jalál discovered that the earth on which he was kneeling was of the same colour and smell as that given him by the Makkah Darwísh. He, therefore, determined on establishing his abode there. With him remained Sháhzádah Yamaní, Hájí Yúsuf, and Hájí Khalíl. The rest of the saints retired with the army.

The remainder of Sháh Jalál's life was spent in devotion and in miraculous actions which still live in the traditions of the people. It is believed that Sháh Jalál never looked on the face of woman. One day, however, standing on the bank of a stream, he saw one bathing. In his simplicity, he asked what strange creature it was. One being informed, he was enraged, and prayed that the water might rise and drown her. He had no sooner expressed this wish than the water rose and drowned her. Other less questionable actions are related regarding him. For instance, he caused the corpse of Naçír-uddín Sipahsálár, who died at Silhaṭ, to disappear from a Mosque, while the friends were mourning over it. On another occasion he wished that a fountain like the holy Zamzam of Makkah might spring up near his abode, and immediately the fountain appeared.

Sháh Jalál was translated (*intiqád*) the 20th of the "Kali Chand," A. H., 591, in the 62nd year of his age.

Dr. Wise also writes—"It is a curious fact that the Sháh is invoked by the Silhaṭ *gánjah* (hemp) smokers. I have got a Silhuaṭ lunatic, who every day before smoking his *chillum* of tobacco invokes the saint in the following manner:—

*Ho ! Bisheshwar Lál,
 Tin lák'h Pír Sháh Jalál,
 Ek bár, dubráa, Jagannath ji ká piyára
 Kháne ká dúdh bhát, bajáne ko dotára.*

The chronology of the 'Life of Sháh Jalál,' as Dr. Wise observes, is confused. His death is put down as having occurred in 591, A. H., and he said to have visited Nizámuddín Auliá, who died in 725, A. H. Again, according to the legends still preserved in Silhat, the district was wrested from Gaur Govind, the last king of Silhat, by king Shamsuddín in 1384 A. D., or 786 A. H., during the reign of Sikandar Sháh, whilst 'king Shamsuddín' can only refer to Shamsuddín Ilyás Sháh, Sikandar's father.

Dr. Wise also draws attention to the statement made by Ibn Baṭúṭah who "from Sadkáwán [Chátgáon] travelled for the mountains of Kámrú [Kámrúp, western A'sám].** His object in visiting these mountains was to meet one of the saints, namely, Shaikh Jalál uddín of Tabriz."* Jalál then gives him a garment for another saint 'Burhánuddín,' whom Ibn Baṭúṭah visits in Khánbálík (Pekin). Ibn Baṭúṭah, as remarked above, was in Eastern Bengal, when Fakhruddín was king (739 to 750, A. H.). But here again the confusion of dates and names is very great. Jaláluddín of Tabriz died, as we saw above, in 642, and the Silhat Jalál is represented as a man from Yaman.† Neither Jalál nor Burhánuddín is mentioned in the biographical works of Muhammadan Saints.

XV. Sikandar Sháh II

The Riyáz says that this king was the *son* of Yúsuf Sháh; the other histories say nothing regarding his relationship. Stewart calls him "a youth of the royal family," but afterwards calls Fath Sháh his "uncle." The Riyáz says that he was deposed on the same day on which he was raised to the throne; the A'in i Akbari gives him half a day; my MS. of the Tabaqát, two and a half days; Firishtah mentions no time; and Stewart gives him two months.

XVI. Jaláluddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sháh, son of Mahmúd Sháh

Fath Sháh was raised to the throne, as "Sikandar Sháh did not possess the necessary qualifications." The histories say that his reign lasted from

* Lee, Ibn Baṭúṭah, p. 195.

† *Vide* the Silhat Inscription of 1505, given below under Husain Sháh.

887 to 896, A. H., and yet, they only give him seven years and five months (Stewart, seven years and six months). The inscriptions and coins, however, given below shew that he reigned in 886; and if the "seven years and five months" are correct, Fath Sháh could only have reigned till 892 or 893, which agrees with the fact that his successor Fírúz Sháh II. issued coins in 893. Fath Sháh was murdered at the instigation of the Eunuch Bárbak.

Laidley has published two silver coins of this king, of which one seems to have been struck at Fathábád in 892. The following is a new variety.*

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 8. Silver. Weight, 158·65 grains. *Fathábád*, A. H. 886. (As. Soc. of Bengal, one specimen.) Circular arcas. The margin consists of ornamental designs, resembling the niches in mosques and rosettes.

OBVERSE.—جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فتحشاه سلطان

REVERSE.—ابن محمود شا السلطان مجده الله الفتح باد ٨٨٦

Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Fath Sháh Sultán, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God strengthen him with victory! Fathábád, 886.

The following five inscriptions of this king have been received by the Society—

1. *Dháká*, 1st Zil Qa'dah, 886, or 2nd January, 1482.
2. *Dhámrái*, 10th Jumáda I., 887, or 27th June, 1482. Published, J. A. S. B., 1872, p. 109.
3. *Bikrampur*, middle of Rajab, 888, or August, 1483.
4. *Sunnárgáon*, Muharram, 889, or beginning of A. D. 1484.
5. *Sálgáon*, 4th Muharram, 892, or 1st January, 1487. Published, J. A. S. B., Pt. I, 1870, p. 294.

No. 16. *The Fath Sháh Inscription of Bandar, near Dháká.*

A. H. 886. (Pl. VII, No. 1.)

The Society is indebted to Dr. J. Wise for this important inscription, regarding which he writes as follows—"The inscription was found on an old Masjid at Bandar, on the banks of a K'hál called Tribení, opposite Khizrúp (Dháká). This K'hál was in former days the junction of the Brahmaputra, Lak'hya, and Ganges. At its opening on the left bank of the Lak'hya, a fort still stands, said to have been built by Mír Jumlah (*vide* Journal, As. Soc., Bengal, 1872, Pt. I, p. 96]. The place called Bandar is now a mile inland (*vide* Pl. IV), but during the height of the rains, the K'hál is navigable for native boats. The inscription is the most perfect as yet met with in this District."

* The coin given by Marsden as a Fath Sháhi does not belong to this king.

قال الله تعالى ر ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * قال النبي
صلي الله عليه و سلم من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له قصرا فى الجنة *
بنى هذا المسجد المبارك الملك المعظم بابا صالح فى زمان السلطان
ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا و الدين ابر المظفر فتح شاه السلطان ابن محمود
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى تاريخ اول شهر ذى القعدة سنة
ست و ثمانين و ثمانمائة من الهجرة النبوية ||

God Almighty says, 'The mosques belong to God. Do not associate any one with God.' The Prophet, may God bless him!—says, 'He who builds a mosque, will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.'

This auspicious mosque was built by the great Malik Bábá Sálíh in the reign of the king, the son of the king, Jaláuddunyáwaddín Abul Muza'ffar Fath Sháh, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!—on the 1st Zil Qa'dah, 886, A. H. (2nd January, 1482, A.D.).

The builder of the mosque appears to have been a very pious man. Three miles west from Sunnágáon, Dr. J. Wise discovered a mosque built by the same man, and adjoining the mosque his tomb. The masjid is within half a mile of the mosque to which the preceding inscription belongs, and was built in 911, A.H. A portion of the date of the inscription is designedly, as it would appear, chipped off.

No. 17. *The Bábá Sálíh Inscription of Sunnágáon.*

قال الله تبارك و تعالى ر ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا بنى هذا
المسجد المبارك فى زمن السلطان علاؤ الدنيا و الدين ابر المظفر حسين
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه الملك المعظم المكرم خادم النبي حاجى الحرمين
و زائر القديمين حاجى بابا صالح * * * دى * * * و تسعماية من
الهجرة النبوية ||

God Almighty says, &c. [as above]. This blessed mosque was built in the reign of Sulṭán 'Aláuddunyáwaddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his reign!—by the great and liberal Malik, the servant of the Prophet, who has made a pilgrimage to Makkah and Madinah and has visited the two footprints of the Prophet, Háji Bábá Sálíh. Dated 9*1, A.H.

The wanting words are no doubt *فى سنة حادى عشر*, which would be 911. A small slab let in the brick work of Bábá Sálíh's tomb contains the following date of his death.

No. 18. *The Inscription on Bába Sálîh's Tomb.*

الله لا اله الا هو ليجمعنكم الى يوم القيامة لا ريب فيه و من اصدق من الله
حديثا ||

*** روضة الحاحي الحرمين الزاير القدمين خدام النبي عليه السلام
حاجى بابا صالح الم *** فى تاريخ ** ربيع الاول من سنه اثنى ***

O God ! There is no God but He. He will surely collect you towards the day of resurrection, and who is more truthful a speaker than God ? [Qor., IV. 89.] ** the tomb of the pilgrim to Makkah and Madinah, who has visited both footprints of the Prophet, the servant of the Prophet (upon whom be peace !), H á j í B á b á S á l í h ** (*almutawaffá*, who died) on ... Rabí I., ... 2.

Thus it seems that he died in A. H. 912. Dr. Wise says—"No one here has heard of the name of this pious man. The neighbourhood of these mosques is very old. Qadam Rasúl (the 'Footprint of the Prophet'), a famous place of pilgrimage, on a mound some sixty feet high, is a little to the north-west. Gangakol Bandar is on the west, and across the Lak'hya River is Khizrpúr with the ruins of what I believe was the residence of 'Isá Khán, mentioned in the A'ín i Akbarí."

A third mosque built by Bába Sálîh is in 'Azimnagar, District Dháká.

No. 19. *The Bába Sálîh's Inscription of 'Azimnagar.*

قال النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَجَلُوا بِالصَّلَاةِ قَبْلَ الْفَوْتِ وَ عَجَلُوا بِالنُّبُوَّةِ
قَبْلَ الْمَوْتِ * بُنِيَ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْمُبَارَكُ الْمَلِكُ الْمُعْظَمُ الْمَكْرَمُ بَابَا صَالِحٌ وَ قَدْ
تَمَّ بِنَاءُ هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ فِي أَوَّلِ الْمُحَرَّمِ سَنَةِ ٩١٠

The Prophet—may God bless him!—says, 'Make quick the prayer before the end, and hasten the *naubat* before death. This blessed mosque was built by the exalted, liberal Malik, B á b á S á l í h, and the building was completed on the first Muharram 910 [or 901,—the numbers are unclear].

No. 20. *The Fath Sháh Inscription on A'dam Shahid's Mosque at Bikrampúr (Dháká District). A. H. 888.*

General Cunningham and Dr. J. Wise have each sent rubbings of this inscription.

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال النَّبِيُّ
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا فِي الدُّنْيَا بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ مِثْلَهُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ

بنى هذا المسجد الجامع الملك المعظم ملك كافر في زمان السلطان ابن السلطان
جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان في تاريخ
اوسط شهر رجب سنة ثمان و ثمانين و ثمانمائة ١١

God Almighty says, &c., [as above]. This Jami' Masjid was built by the great Malik, Malik Káfur, in the time of the king, the son of the king, Jáláluddunyáwaddín Abul Muza'far Fath Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king, in the middle of the month of Rájab, 888, A. H. (August, 1483, A. D.)

Dr. Wise writes as follows—

'The Masjid of A'dam Shahíd is in Bikrampur at a village called Qází Qaçbah, within two miles of Ballálbárá, the residence of Ballál Sen. Mr. Taylor, in his "Topography of Dacca" states that A'dam Shahíd, or Bábá A'dam, was a Qází, who ruled over Eastern Bengal. He gives no authority for this statement, and, at the present day, the residents of the village are ignorant of this fact. They relate that Bábá A'dam was a very powerful Darwish, who came to this part of the country with an army during the reign of Ballál Sen. Having encamped his army near 'Abdullahpúr, a village about three miles to the N. E., he caused pieces of cow's flesh to be thrown within the walls of the Hindú prince's fortress. Ballál Sen was very irate, and sent messengers throughout the country to find out by whom the cow had been slaughtered. One of the messengers shortly returned and informed him that a foreign army was at hand, and that the leader was then praying within a few miles of the palace. Ballál Sen at once galloped to the spot, found Bábá Ádam still praying, and at one blow cut off his head.

'Such is the story told by the Muhammadans of the present day, regardless of dates and well-authenticated facts.

'The Masjid of Bábá Ádam has been a very beautiful structure, but it is now fast falling to pieces. Originally, there were six domes, but three have fallen in. The walls are ornamented with bricks beautifully cut in the form of flowers and of intricate patterns. The arches of the domes spring from two sandstone pillars, 20 inches in diameter, evidently of Hindú workmanship. These pillars are eight-sided at the base, but about four feet from the ground they become sixteen-sided. The *mihrábs* are nicely ornamented with varied patterns of flowers, and in the centre of each is the representation of a chain supporting an oblong frame, in which a flower is cut.

'The style of this Masjid is very similar to that of the old Goáldih Masjid at Sunnargáon and to that of 'Isá Khán's Masjid at Khizrpúr.*

* Dr. Wise, in one of his letters addressed to the Society, makes the following remark on Sher Sháh's road from the Brahmaputra to the Indus.

No. 21. *The Fath Sháh Inscription of Sunnárghoṇ*. A. H. 889.

General Cunningham has sent a rubbing of the following inscription—

قال الله تعالى وان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا * وقال النبي
صلي الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له سبعين قسرا في الجنة * بنى
هذا لمسجد في عهد السلطان الاعظم المعظم جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فتح شاه
السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه * باني المسجد
مقرب الدولة ملك . . . الدين سلطاني جامدار غير محلي و سر لشكر
و وزير اقليم معظم آباد و نیز مشهور محمود آباد و سر لشكر تهانه الود و كان ذلك
في التاريخ من المحرم سنة تسع و ثمانين و ثمانماية ١١

God Almighty says, &c., (as before). And the Prophet says, &c., (as before).

This mosque was built during the reign of the great and exalted king, Jálálu d-dunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule ! The builder of the mosque is Muqarrab uddaulah, Malik . . . uddín, the Royal, keeper of the wardrobe outside the Palace, the commander and wazir of the territory of Mu'azzamábád, also known as Mahmúdábád, and commander of Thánah Láwúq. This took place during Muharram, 889. (A. D. 1484.)

The geographical names occurring in this inscription have been discussed above.

THE HABSHÍ KINGS

The pretorian band of Abyssinians, which Bárbak Sháh had introduced into Bengal, became from the protectors of the dynasty the masters of the kingdom, and eunuchs were the actual rulers of the country. The very names of the actors during the interregnum between the end of the Ilyás Sháh dynasty and the commencement of the house of Husain Sháh, proclaim them to have been Abyssinian eunuchs;* and what royalty at that time

"I see in the last volume of Elliot's 'History of India' that doubts are expressed of there ever having been a road made from Sunnárghoṇ to the Indus by Sher Sháh, as mentioned by Firishtah and others. In this district there are two very old bridges, which local tradition states were constructed by that monarch, and which lie exactly where such a road would have been. One is still used, the other has fallen in."

* Names as Káfúr (camphor), Qaranful (clove), Fírúz and Fírúzah (turquoise), Almás (diamond), Yáqút (cornelian), Habshí Khán, Indíl, Sí. Badr, &c. Camphor was looked upon as an anti-aphrodisiac (*vide* my Áin translation, p. 385); hence the name was appropriate. The Fath Sháh inscription No. 20 mentions a Malik Káfúr; and we are reminded of the Káfúr Hazárdínár. of 'Aláuddín's reign.

was in Bengal is well described by Abul Fazl, who says that, after the murder of Fath Sháh, low hirelings flourished;* and Firishtah sarcastically remarks that the people would only obey him who had killed a king and usurped the throne. Faria y Souza also says of the kings of that time:—

“They observe no rule of inheritance from father to son, but even slaves sometimes obtain it by killing their master, and whoever holds it three days they look upon as established by divine providence. Thus it fell out that in 40 years’ space they had 13 kings successively.”

The Habshí kings are Sultán Sháhzádah, Fírúz Sháh, and Muzaffar Sháh. Mahmúd Shah II appears to belong to the old dynasty.

XVII. Sultán Sháhzádah

(Bárbak, the Eunuch.)

The owner of this odd title reigned either two and a half months (Ṭabaqát and Firishtah), or perhaps eight months (Firishtah), or according to a pamphlet which the author of the Riyáz possessed, six months. He was murdered by

XVIII. Saifuddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh (II)

(Malik Indíl Habshí.)

He had been a distinguished commander under Fath Sháh, and proved a good king. According to the histories, he died a natural death after a reign of three years, in 899,—a wrong date. The Riyáz says that a mosque, a tower, and a reservoir, in Gaur were built by him.

The coin published by Marsden as belonging to this king, has been shewn by Mr. Thomas to belong to Fírúz Sháh Bahmaní.

The following passage from João de Barros refers to either this king or Husain Sháh:—

‘One hundred years before the Portuguese visited Chátgáon, a noble Arab arrived there from ’Adan (Aden), bringing with him 200 men. Seeing the state of the kingdom, he began to form ambitious projects of conquest. Dissimulating his intentions, he set himself up as a commercial agent, and on this pretext added to his followers a reinforcement of 300 Arabs, thus raising his total force to 500 men. Having succeeded through the influence of the *Mandarijs*, who were the governors of the place, in procuring an introduction to the king of Bengal, he assisted that monarch in subduing the king of Orísá, his hereditary foe. For this service he was promoted to the

* ‘The kings of Bengala, in times past, were chosen of the Abassine or Æthiopian slaves, as the Soldans of Cairo were some time of the Circassian Mamalukes.’ *Purchas*.

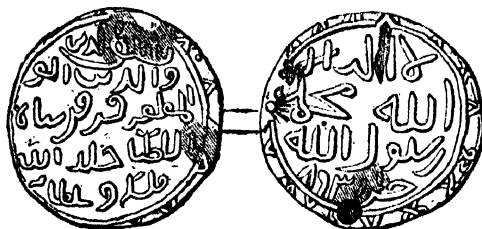
command of the King's body-guard. Soon afterwards he killed the king, and himself ascended the throne. The capital was at this time at Gaur.'

The chronology of Fírúz Sháh II.'s reign may be fixed with the help of the following, apparently unique, coin, the original of which is in the British Museum. Col. Guthrie kindly sent the Society a cast, from which the woodcut below has been made. The coin gives the year 893 (A. D., 1488). This year entirely agrees with the ascertained dates of Jaláluddín Fath Sháh's reign, and with the earliest ascertained year of Muzaffar Sháh. Fírúz Sháh II., therefore, reigned from 893 to 895, or 896. The former, 895, is perhaps preferable to 896, because both Mahmúd Sháh and Muzaffar Sháh reigned in 896.

I. Fírúz Sháh II. Silver. No mint town. A. H., 893 (A. D. 1488.) No margins.

OBVERSE.—سيف الدنيا و الدين ابر المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
و سلطانه

REVERSE.—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خزانه ٨٩٣



Saifuddunyá wadd.n Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is the Prophet of God. Treasury issue of 893.

XIX. Násiruddín Abul Mujáhid Mahmúd Sháh (II)

He was raised to the throne on Fírúz Sháh's death, though the government was in the hands of one Habshí Khán. After a short time, Habsh Khán and immediately after, Mahmúd Sháh, were killed by Sídí Badr Díwánah, who proclaimed himself king.

Though the histories call Mahmúd the son of Fírúz Sháh, there is little doubt that the statement of Hájí Muhammad Qandahárí, preserved by Firishtah, is correct—"In the history by Hájí Muhammad Qandahárí,* it

* The Lak'hnaú edition of Firishtah calls him 'Hájí Mahmád.' His historical work is not known at the present day.

is written that Sultán Mahmúd was the son of Fath Sháh, and that Habshí Khán was a eunuch of Bárbak Sháh, who by Fírúz Sháh's orders had brought up Mahmúd. After Fírúz Sháh's death, Mahmúd was placed on the throne; but when six months had passed, Habshí Khán shewed inclination to make himself king, and Sídí Badr killed him." These facts agree well with the following circumstances: *First*, all histories say that Fath Sháh, at his death, left a son two years old, and his mother, at Sultán Sháhzádah's death, declared herself willing to leave the throne to him, who had brought her husband's murderer to account. *Secondly*, according to Muhammadan custom, children often receive the names of the grandfather; hence Fath Sháh would call his son Náçiruddín Mahmúd; but as the *kunya* must be different, we have here 'Abul Mujáhid,' while the grandfather has 'Abul Muzaffar.'

General Cunningham found the following inscription of this king in Gaur; unfortunately, the date is illegible.

No. 22. *The Mahmúd Sháh (II) Inscription of Gaur.* (A.H. 896 ?)
(Pl VII, No. 3.)

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد الله بنى الله له قسراً
فى الجنة * بنى المسجد فى عهد سلطان الزمان بالعدل والحسان غوث الاسلام
والمسلمين ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
وسلطانه بنى المسجد الخان الاعظم المعظم الغ مجلس خان * * * فى التاريخ
الثلاث والعشرين من شهر ربيع الا [ول سنة ست وتسعين وثمانماية ؟]

The Prophet (may God bless him !) says, 'He who builds, &c., [as before]. This mosque was built in the reign of the king of the time, (who is endowed) with justice and liberality, the help of Islám and the Muslims, Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Mujáhid Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule !—by the great and exalted Khán Ulugh Majlis Khán... (Illegible). Dated, 23rd Rabi'....

Marsden has published a silver coin of this king, which has likewise no date (*vide* Numism., Pl. XXXVI, No. DCCXXIV); but as Laidley correctly observes, he ascribes it wrongly to Mahmúd Sháh of Dihlí. The legend of the coin is—

REVERSE—(؟) الموعيد بتأييد الرحمن خليفة الله بالعدل والحسان

OBVERSE—السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد محمود شاه
السلطان

The words *bil'adl wal-ihsán* are not clear, they may also be بالعصر والزمان

as elsewhere suggested by me; but the former coincides with the phrase used in the inscription. I cannot see the word **نَحَابَاد**, which Laidley gives.

According to the chronological remarks made by me regarding the reign of Fīrūz Sháh, we have to place Mahmūd Sháh's reign in 896, A. H.

XX. Shamsuddīn Abul-Nasr Muzaḥfar Sháh

(Sidi Badr Diwānah.)

The reign of this king, who is represented to have been a blood-thirsty monster, is said in all histories to have lasted three years and five months; but his death at the hands of the next king cannot have taken place in 903, because his coins and inscriptions mention the years 896 and 898. He must, therefore, have been killed in 899, the first year in which Hussain Sháh struck coins.

A Muzaḥfar Sháh inscription was published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 107, from an imperfect rubbing. Since then Mr. W. M. Bourke has sent me a clear rubbing with the date distinct. I, therefore, republish it with a corrected translation.

No. 23. *The Muzaḥfar Sháh Inscription of Gangarámpūr*

A. H. 896. (A.D. 1491)

بني هذه العمارة المسجد في عهد المخدوم المشهور قطب اوليا مخدوم
مولانا عطا طيب الله ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه في عهد شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابو النصر مظفر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في التاريخ ست و تسعين
ثمانماية ||

This mosque was built in the time (?) of the renowned saint, Mauláná 'Atá—may God render his grave pleasant and may He make Paradise his dwelling place!—during the reign of Shamsuddunyáwaddīn Abul-Nasr Muzaḥfar Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! Dated A. H. 896.

Mr. Bourke's rubbing shew that the word *samánmiah* is cut into the second bar, which separates the third line from the second. Below the last line there is another line cut into the lowest bar; but the letters are too small and partly broken to admit of a satisfactory reading. I can recognize the words 'Mullá Mubárah' and *mi'már*, 'builder.'

Laidley has published a silver coin of this king, the legend of which is (*vide* J. A. S. B., Vol. XV, for 1846, Pl. V, No. 19)—

OBVERSE.—شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
سلطانه

Margin.—Cut away.

REVERSE.—The Kalimah. Year, illegible.

Margin—the four Khalifahs.

The Honorable E. C. Bayley is about to publish a gold Muzaffar Sháhí, which seems to be of 896, A. H.

Muzaffar Sháh, according to the Riyáz, built a mosque in Gaur. General Cunningham has sent the Society a rubbing of another inscription from the Chhotá Dargáh (Núr Quṭb 'Alam's Dargáh) in Hazrat Panḍuah. It is, in point of execution, a very fine inscription.

No. 24. *The Muzaffar Sháh Inscription of Panḍuah.* A. H. 898.

Vide Pl. VI, No. 2.

قال الله تعالى ان اول بيت وضع للناس للذي ببكة مباركا وهدى للعالمين فيه آيات بيّنات مقام ابراهيم و من دخله كان آمنا و لله اعلى الناس حج البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا و من كفر فان الله غني عن العالمين * بني في البيت الصوفة الروضة قطب الاقطاب قتيل محبت وهاب شيخ المشايخ حضرت نور الحق و الشرع سيد قطب عالم قدس الله سره العزيز و نور الله قبره * بنى هذا البيت في عهد السلطان العادل الباذل الفاضل غوث الاسلام و المسلمين شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو النصر مظفر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و ساطانه و اعلى امره و شانه بني هذا لبيت في خلافة شيخ الاسلام و المسلمين شيخ المشايخ ابن شيخ المشايخ شيخ محمد غوث سلمه الله تعالى دائما مؤرخا فى السابع و العشر من شهر رمضان مبارك فى سنة ثمان تسعين ثمانماية //

God Almighty says, 'Verily, the first house that was founded for men, is the one in Bakkah [Makkah], blessed, and a guidance to all beings. In it are clear signs: the place of Abraham, and who entered into it, was safe, and God enjoined men to visit it, if they are able to go there; but whosoever disbelieves, verily God is independent of all beings. [Qor. III. 90 to 92.]

In this Sáfi building the tomb of the pole (*úṭb*) of poles was built, who was slain by the love of the All-Giver, the Shaikh of Shaikh's, Hazrat N á r u l H a q washshara', S a y y i d Q u ṭ b ' Á l a m—may God sanctify his beloved secret, and may God illuminate his grave? This house was built in the reign of the just, liberal, learned king, the help of Islám and the Muslims, Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul-Naṣr Muzaffar Sháh, the king, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and may He elevate his condition and dignity! This house was built during the *khiláfat** of the Shaikh ul-Islám, the Shaikh of Shaikh's, son of the Shaikh of Shaikh's, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus—may God Almighty ever protect him!

Dated, 17th Ramazán, 898. [2nd July, 1493.]

Núr Quṭb 'Alam was mentioned above among the Saints of Panḍuah.

* The reign, if I may say so, of a spiritual teacher.

THE HUSAÍNÍ DYNASTY

On Muzaffar Sháh's death in 899, 'Aláddín Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf, usurped the throne. Of the reign of no king of Bengal—perhaps of all Upper India before the middle of the 10th century—do we possess so many inscriptions. Whilst the names of other Bengal kings scarcely ever occur in legends and remain even unrecognized in the geographical names of the country, the the name of "Hussain Sháh, the good," is still remembered from the forntiers of Oṛisá to the Brahmaputra.

I have treated of the chronology of the reigns of Husain Sháh and his successors in my article, "On a new king of Bengal, &c.," published in the Journal, for 1872, Pt. I, pp. 331 to 340, and according to the paper, we have—

1. 'Aláddín Abul Muzuaffar Husain Sháh, 899 to 927 (929 ?).
2. Náçiruddín Abul Muzaffar Nuçrat Sháh, 927 (929 ?) to 939.
3. 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Firúz Sháh (III), 939.
4. Ghiyásuddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh (III), 940 to 944, (defeated by Sher Sháh).

I have now only to describe a few unpublished coins and to give several new inscriptions belonging to the reigns of these kings.

XXI. 'Aláuddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh

Marsden (Pl. XXXVIII, Nos. DCCLXXIX and DCCXCIII) has given two different Husain Sháhs, the former of Fathábád, 899, A. H., and the latter of Husainábád, 914, A. H.* Laidley has two new types, one struck at Husainábád, 912, A. H., and the other (*vide* his plate, No. 21) resembling that of Marsden, but with a different legend. The cabinet of the Asiatic Society contains a few new varieties, with and without dates.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 9. Silver. Weight, 163·57 grains. No mint-town. A. H. 900. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen). Circular areas; no margin.

* Marsden reads the latter date 917. On the former coin, the king's first name is spelt *علاء الدين*, instead of *علاء الدين*, with an intermediate *wáw*. This *wáw* should not be read: it arises from whimsical rule of a class of pedantic Kátibs who maintain that the vowel *u* after a long *á*, as in 'Aláu, requires "a support."

The obverse of the latter coin, to which I alluded in the note to p. 301 of the Journal for 1870, Pt. I, is still a puzzle to me, though I have wasted much time in looking at the coin, patiently waiting for a happy guess. I now believe that the second line is *القائم بسلطنته* *aláúim bisaltanatíhi*, the last word being written disconnected, as *sultánahu* on the reverse. But the third line is unclear. The weight of the coin is 162·64 grains.

OBVERSE.—السلطان العادل علا الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر

REVERSE.—حسين شاه سلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد ملكه و سلطانه ٩٠٠

Col. Guthrie in a MS. list of Bengal Coins in the British Museum quotes Husain Sháh's struck at Jannatábád (Husainábád ?) in 918 and 919.

The inscriptions belonging to Husain Sháh's reign are most numerous; the date of the latest two is 925, A.H. Those of which the Society has received rubbings from General Cunningham are marked [G. C.].

1. *Munger*, 903; mentions Prince Dányál. Published *Journal*, 1872, p. 335. [G. C.].

2. *Machain, Parganah Ballipúr, Dháká*, 22nd Jumáda I, 907, or 3rd December, 1501. Received from Dr. J. Wise.

3. *Bonhara*, in Bihár, 908. Published, *Proceedings* 1870, p. 112.

4. *Cheran*, in Bihár, 909. Published, *Proceedings* 1870, p. 297.*

5. *Silhat*, 911. From Dr. Wise.

6. *Máldah*, 911. [G. C.]

7. *Sunnárgáon*, 911. Given above, No. 17.

8. *Hazrat Panduah*, 915. [G. C.]. The rubbing is unclear.

9 to 11. *Gaur*, two of 916, and one of 918. [G. C.]

12. *Sunnárgáon*, 2nd Rabí II., 919, or 7th June, 1513. [G. C.] Published, *Journal*, 1872, p. 333.

13. *Birbhúm*, 922. Published, *Journal*, 1861, p. 390.

14. *Dhámraí*, 922. Published, *Journal*, 1872, p. 110.

15. *Sunnárgáon*, 15th Sha'bán, 925, or 12th August, 1519. [G. C.]

16. *Gaur*, 925, or A. D. 1519. Published with plate, *J. A. S. B.*, 1871, Pt. I, p. 256.

No. 25. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Machain.* (A. H. 907.)

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد لله بني الله له
بيتا مثله في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء
الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه في الثاني و العشرين من جمادي الاول سنة سبع
و تسعمائة ١١

The Prophet says, &c., &c. (as before). This Jami' mosque was built by the great and liberal king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule!

Dated, 22nd Jumáda I, 907. (3rd December, 1501).

* For a Gaur Inscription of 909, *vide* Glazier, Report on Rangpore, 1873, p. 108.

No. 26. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Silhat. A. H. 911.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * الأمر لهذه العمارة البتوعة المباركة المنصوبة بدار الحسن
 حرم الله تعالى من مخافة الزمان العابد العالى الكبير *** شيخ جلال مجرد
 كنيائي قدس الله تعالى سره العزيز في عهد السلطان علاء الدنيا و الدين
 ابر المظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد ملكه و سلطانه بهذا كرد خانا عظم و خاقان معظم
 خالصخان جامدار غير محلي و سر لشكر و وزير اقليم معظم آباد سنة احدى عشر
 و تسعمائة //

In the name of God, the merciful and the clement ! He who ordered the erection of this blessed building, attached to the house of benefit (Silhat)—may God protect it against the ravages of time !—is the devotee, the high, the great, *** Sh a i k h J a l á l, the hermit, of K a n y á—may God Almighty sanctify his dear secret ! It was built during the reign of Sultán 'A l á u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u z a f f a r H u s a i n Sh á h, the king, by the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, Kháliq Khán, keeper of the wardrobe outside the palace, commander and wazír of the District Mu'azzamábád. In the year 911 (A. D. 1505).

In this inscription Shaikh Jalál, whose biography was given under Yúsf Sháh, is called Kanyái, *i. e.* of Kanyá, which appears to be a place in Arabia.

He is said to have 'ordered' the erection of the building. This can only refer to an order given in a dream, as in the case of 'Alí Sháh and Jalál Tabrizí.

No. 27. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Máldah. A. H. 911.*

قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ
 بَيْتًا مِثْلَهُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ * بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْجَامِعَ السُّلْطَانُ الْمُعَظَّمُ الْمُكْرَّمُ علاء
 الدِّنيا و الدِّين ابر المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله
 ملكه و سلطانه في سنة احدى عشر و تسعمائة //

The Prophet says, &c., &c. This Jámí' mosque was built by the great and liberal king 'A l a u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u z a f f a r H u s a i n Sh á h, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule ! In the year 911. (A. D. 1505).

No. 28. *A Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 916.

قد بنى هذا الباب الروضة مخدوم شيخ اخي سراج الدين السلطان المعظم
المكرم علاء الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فى سنة ست عشر وتسعمائة ||

The door of the tomb of the venerated Shaikh Akhí Sirájuddín was built by the great and liberal king, 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule ! In the year 916. (A. D. 1510)

Shaikh Akhí was mentioned above among the saints of Gaur.

No. 29. *Another Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur,* A. H. 916.

بنى هذا الباب الروضة فى عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
على امره و شانه و اعز خياله و برهانه فى سنة ست عشر وتسعمائة ||

The door of this tomb was built during the reign of the exalted and liberal king, 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and elevate his condition and dignity, and may He render his benefits and evidence honorable ! In the year 916. (A. D. 1510)

No. 30. *A third Husain Sháh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 918.

بنى هذا الباب الحصن في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم علاء الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
فى سنة ثمان عشر وتسعمائة ||

This gate of the Fort was built during the reign of the exalted and liberal king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule ! In the year 918. (A. D. 1512)

No. 31. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of Sunnargáon.* A. H. 925.

قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و الله اعلم بالصواب
قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من بنى المسجد في الدنيا بنى الله له

سبعين قصرأ في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد في عهد سلطان السلاطين
 سلطان حسين شاه ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد ملكه و سلطانه * بني هذا
 المسجد ملا هزبر اكبر خان بتاريخ پانزدهم ماه شعبان سنة خمس وعشرين
 و تسعمائة ۱۱

God Almighty says, Surely the mosques, &c., (as before). And the Prophet says, &c., &c., (as before).

This mosque was built in the reign of the king of the kings, Sulṭān Husa'in Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule ! This mosque was built by Mullá Hizabr Akbar Khán, on the 15th Sha'bán, 925. (12th August, 1519)

XXII. Násiruddín Abul Muzaffar Nusrat Sháh

Of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of this king, I have published three, viz.—

1. *Sunnárgáon*, 929, or 1523. [G. C.] Published, Journal, 1872, p. 338.

2. *Sátgáon*, Ramazán, 936, or May, 1529. Published, Journal, 1870, p. 298.

3. *Gaur*, Qadam Rasúl, 937, or 1530-31. [G. C.] Published, Journal, 1872, p. 338. *Vide* Glazier, Rangpore Report, p. 108.

A few weeks ago I received a black basalt slab from the old mosque in Mangalkoṭ, Bardwán District, with the following inscription—

No. 32. *The Nuṣrat Sháh Inscription from Mangalkoṭ*. A. H. 930.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدا لله بني الله له بيتا مثله
 في الجنة بني هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان المعظم السلطان بن السلطان
 ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله
 ملكه و سلطانه و بانيه خان ميانمعظم بن مراد حيدر خان دام عزه في سنة
 ثلثين و تسعمائة ۱۱

The Prophet says, He who builds, &c., (as before). This Jámí' Mosque was built in the reign of the exalted king, who is the son of a king, Náṣiruddunyáwaddín Abul Muzaffar Nuṣrat Sháh, the king, son of Husa'in Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule ! Its builder is Khán Miyán Mua'zzam, son of Murád Haidar Khán—may his honor continue ! In the year 930, A. H. (A. D. 1524)

The following important inscription I owe to the kindness of J. R. Reid, Esq., C. S., A'zamgarh, N. W. Provinces, who sent me a rubbing. The slab was found on the right bank of the G'hágrá, near Sikandarpúr.

No. 33. *The Nuçrat Sháh Inscription of Sikandarpúr, A'zamgarh.*
A. H. 933.

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني
مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا في الجنة * المتأسس
لهذا المسجد في عهد الملك العادل ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه
بن حسين شاه السلطان جعل الله في زمرة عباده أكر المجيد و هو خاناظم
محسار خان سرلشكر دره خريد في شهر الرجب ٢٧ سنة ثلث و ثلثين
و تسعمائة ١١

There is no God, &c. He who builds a mosque, &c. The founder of the mosque, during the reign of the just king N á ç i r u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u z a f f a r N u ç r a t Sh á h, son of H u s a i n Sh á h, the king—may God place him among the number of his servants!—is the great Ulur [Ulugh], i. e. the great Khán...Khán, commander of the district of K h a r í d. On the 27th Rajab 933. (29th April, 1527)

The inscription confirms the histories, according to which Nuçrat Sháh extended his authority over the whole of Northern Bihár; and as Kharíd lies on the right bank of the G'hágrá, Nuçrat Sháh must have temporarily held sway in the A'zamgarh District.

The coinage of this king contains numerous varieties, among which there are several struck by him during the lifetime of his father. The latter coins are mostly of a rude type, and look debased; besides, they are restricted to the Sundarban mint town of Khalifatábád (Bágherhát) and to Fathábád. They either indicate an extraordinary delegation of power or point to a successful rebellion.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX., No. 10. Silver. Weight, 154·06 grains. *Khalifatábád*, 922, A. H. (As. Soc. of Bengal). Circular areas; no margin.

OBVERSE.—السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر

REVERSE.—نصرة شاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد ملكه

خليفاتاباد ٩٢٢

3. *Vide* Pl. IX., No. 11. New variety. Silver. Weight, 163·14 grains. *Mint town ?*. A. H., 927. (Cabinet, As. Soc. of Bengal.) Circular areas; no margin.

OBVERSE.—السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر

REVERSE.—نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه

و سلطنته ٩٢٧

3. *Vide* Pl. IX, No. 12. New variety. Silver. Weight, 162·952 grains. No mint town, or year. Circular areas, and scollops in the margin. The characters are neat. (As. Soc. Bengal.)

OBVERSE.—As in the preceding.

REVERSE.—[يد هرمزد ؟] نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد ملکه

I am doubtful as to the correctness of the last words *yad i Hurmuzd*, 'by the hand (engraved by) Hurmuzd.' The characters, though smaller, are clear, and yet it is difficult to suggest anything else.

The years of the three Nuçrat Sháhís published by Marsden and Laidley are not clear; they may be 924 (Marsden) and 927, or 934 and 927. The Cabinet of the As. Soc. of Bengal, besides the above, contains six different types, among which there is a silver coin struck at *Nucratábád*, 924 A. H., but it is not clear to what locality this new name was applied.

Nuçrat Sháh's name as prince seems to have been Naçib Khán; at last this would explain why the histories call him Naçib Sháh.

He was succeeded by his son

XXIII. 'Aláuddin Abul Muzffar Fírúz Sháh (III)

The Kalnah inscription (A. H. 939) of this king, which I published in the Journal, for 1872, Pt. I, p. 332, is of some importance, and I now give a plate of it (*vide* Pl. VII, No. 2). The name of this king is only mentioned in the Riyáz, and though we do not know his source, his statements have, in several instances, been proved to be correct. In the MS. of his work in the As. Soc. of Bengal—the only copy I know of at present—this king is said to have reigned three *years*, which is impossible;* but Stewart found three *months* in the copy which he consulted.

The Society's cabinet possesses a specimen of this king's coinage, struck in 939, A. H., the same year as mentioned in the Kalnah inscription.

1. *Vide* Pl. IX., No. 13. Silver. Weight, 163·215 grains. *Husainábád*, 939, A. H. Circular areas. The margins are divided into four quadrants, at the beginning of each of which there is the letter *nún*, and in each quadrant there is an arabesque, which looks like the word نصر. The same design is given on Marsden's Nuçrat Sháh.

OBVERSE.—السلطان بن السلطان علاؤالدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه

REVERSE.—بن نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

حسيناباد ۹۳۹

Fírúz Sháh III was murdered by his uncle

* The passage, however, is corrupt. *Vide* Journal for 1872, Pt. I, p. 339.

XXIV. Ghiyás-uddīn Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd Sháh (III)

General Cunningham's Gaur Inscription of this king, dated 941, was published by me in the Journal, for 1872, Pt. I., p. 339.

Our Society possesses a coin of Mahmūd Sháh of the same type as the one published by Laidley. He refers the coin to 933; but the Society's specimen has clearly 943 A. H. The concentric circles contain the words *badr i sháhi*, or 'royal moon.'

General Cunningham lately sent me the tracing of a Mahmūd Sháhí round copper coin, which has the same inscription on both sides, viz. *العبد غياث الدين محمود شاه البدر شاهي*. But though the phrase *badr i sháhi* seems to shew that the coin belongs to Mahmūd Sháh (III). of Bengal, it would be desirable to have specimens with dates or mint towns.

Mahmūd Sháh is mentioned in De Barros' work, from which the following facts are taken. Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese governor of Goa [گورہ] sent in 1534 Alfonso de Mello with two hundred men in five ships to Chátgáon, which then again belonged to Bengal, in order to effect a settlement. De Mello, on his arrival, thought it wise to send a few of his men with presents to Gaur, where Mahmūd Sháh, who tyrannically held the crown, kept his court, in great apprehension of being deposed, but with such state that only his women amounted to the number of 10,000; but though De Mello's men found in Alfá Khán* a friend, the king imprisoned them, and gave orders to seize De Mello in Chátgáon. The latter was shortly after treacherously captured with thirty of his men and was sent to Gaur,† where they were kept strictly confined, because Antony de Sylva Meneses had soon after taken reprisals and sacked Chátgáon. Now at that time Sher Khán and his brother' Ádil Khán had deserted from the Mughul to the king of Bengal. But Sher Khán wished to revenge the death of the youth whom Mahmūd had slain,—De Barros means Fírúz Sháh III—to procure the throne. Sher Khán, therefore, made war on Mahmūd, and the king asked his Portuguese prisoners to assist him* in the defence of Gaur. At the same time Rabelo arrived with three ships sent by the Goa Governor, to demand the release of the captives, and Mahmūd after securing their co-operation sent them to Gorij [Garhí] near K'halgáon, where they valiantly, though in vain, opposed Sher Sháh. Mahmūd, pleased with their prowess, applied

* This is, no doubt, the Alfá Husainí of Baghdád, mentioned by me in J. A. S. B., 1872, Pt. I., p. 337.

† The Portuguese describe Gaur as three leagues in length, well fortified, and with wide and straight streets, along which rows of trees were planted to shade the people, "which sometimes is in such numbers that some are trod to death."

to Nuno da Cunha for further assistance; but when Perez de Sampayo came with nine vessels, he found Gaur in the hands of Sher Khán and heard that Mahmúd had been killed.

III

I now conclude this essay with my readings and translations of the Bihár collection of rubbings from the time of Muhammad Taghluq to the year 1455 A. D.

The first inscription is taken from the vault of one Sayyid Ahmad Pír-Pahár, regarding whom nothing is at present known in Bihár; but it seems to refer to the building of a portico by a near relation of Muhammad Tughluq.

No. 34. *The Muhammad Tughluq Inscription of Bihár. A. H. 737.*

حمد گویم خدا را صد بار	مدح زافر باحمد مختار
شد بذا گنبد فلك آسا	...
گیتی ارا محمد صفدر	سایه ایزدی بهر کشور
بر المجاهد خلیفه با جاه	...
بانی این عمارة المقصود	هست بنده مبارک محمود
درده خسروی نبیره شاه	...
بوده این دولت از سرافرازی	یادگار سبکتگین غازی
چون مرتب شد این ***	هفصد و سی و هفت بد گفتم

1. I praise God a hundred times, and abundantly glorify Ahmad, the elect.
2. This heaven-touching portico was erected....
3. The world-adorning Muhammad, who breaks through the ranks, the shadow of God in every realm.
4. A b u l M u j á h i d, the Khalífah of high dignity,...
5. The builder of this desirable edifice is the slave Mubárah Mahmúd.
6. Of royal descent, the grandson of Sháh....
7. This dynasty, on account of its elevation, has obscured the memory of Subuktigin i Ghází.

When this... was erected, I said, it was 737, A. H. (A. D., 1336-37)

If the name in the sixth line were not broken away, we might fix the name of the builder with the help of p. 454 of Baraní's history.

Nos. 35 to 37. *The Malik Ibráhím Bayyú Inscriptions of Bihár.*

The next three inscriptions belong to the Dargáh of Ibráhím Abú Bakr Malik Bayyú, who is *par excellence* the saint of Bihár. The shrine lies on the hill to the north-west of the town.

Malik Bayyú was first mentioned by Buchanan, who supposed him to be a purely mythological personage. Mr. T. W. Beale next published in his valuable *Miftáh uttawárikh* (p. 90) the first of the following inscriptions. Col. E. T. Dalton also mentions him in his 'Ethnology of Bengal' (p. 211), and says that Jangrá, a Santál Rájah, destroyed himself and his family in the Fort of Chai Champá, Hazáribágh District, when he heard of Malik Bayyú's approach.

The 'Mujáwirs' or custodians, of the shrine claim to be descended from the Malik. According to traditions still preserved among them, Ibráhím Malik Bayyú was an inhabitant of Butnagar, and was sent by Muhammad Tughluq to chastise Háns Kumár, Rájah of Rohtásgarh. The Rájah frequently came to Bargáon, the great Buddihst monastery, to worship. He oppressed the poor Muhammadans of the country. Now it happened that an old woman, a Sayyidah, killed a cow, in order to celebrate the unptials of her grandson, when a kite snatched up one of the bones, and let it fall near the place where the Rájah worshipped. The Rájah was, of course, enraged, and put the Muhammadan bridegroom to death. At the advice of her friends, the old woman complained to Muhammad Tughluq. Being uncertain as to whom he should intrust with the command of an expedition against Háns Kumár, he consulted the astrologers. They told him, "This very night a strom will occur in the city, of such violence that all the lights will be extinguished. In whose house a lamp may be found burning, he is the man best fitted for the undertaking." Ibráhím Malik Bayyú was found reading the Qorán by lamp-light, and next morning he was appointed to command the expedition. He at once advanced to Bihár, and surprised Rájah Háns Kumár at the Súraj Pók'har, Bargáon. Although the Rájah escaped to Rohtásgarh, the number of the slain was so great, that Malik Bayyú returned with fifty sers weight of sacred threads. He now occupied himself in subduing the warlike tribes of the province, and unfortunately fell at the moment of victory, his enemy Rájah Háns Kumár having been killed in the same battle. Malik Bayyú's body was brought to Bihár; and the Rájah's head and the sacred threads were buried at the foot of the hill, which still bears the name of Múnḍ-málá.

According to the inscriptions on Malik Bayyú's shrine, he died, apparently peacefully, on the 13th Zil Hijjah, 753, or 20th January, 1353,

in the second year of Fīrūz Shāh's reign and about a year before his invasion of Bengal.

No. 35.

بعهد دولت شاه جهانگیر که بادا در بهار ملک نوروز
 شهنشاه جهان فیروز سلطان که بر شاهان گیتی گشت فیروز
 ملک سیرت ملک بیو براهیم که بد در دین چو ابراهیم کین تورز
 بهماه ذی الحجه یکشنبه از دهر بدست چون سیزده از مه درین سرز
 بهجرت هفصد و پنجه سه تاریخ مسافر شد ملک در جنت این روز
 خداوند بافضل خویش بروری کنی آسان حساب آخرین روز

1. In the time of the reign of the world-taking Shāh (may the *mulk i naurūz* be in Bihār !).

2. The king of the world, Sulān Fīrūz, who was victorious over the kings of the Universe,

3. The angelic Malik Bayyū Ibrāhīm, who in his faith was as zealous as Abraham.

4. In the month of Zil Hijjah, on a Sunday, of the time, when thirteen (days) of the month had been in grief,*

5. In the year 753 A. H., travelled on that day to Paradise.

6. O Lord, in Thy kindness, make the account of the last day light for him !

No. 36.

این مقطع بهار ملک سیف دولتست
 بت را همی شکست چو همدام خویش تا
 صفدار صف شک چو صف آراستی بحرب
 خورشید اگرچه لشکر سیاره را شکست
 تاریخ آفتاب که یکشنبه از جهان
 بود از مه معظم ذی الحجه سیزده
 کز سهم تیغ او سر افکندی آفتاب
 در عالم بفاش بود بت شکن خطاب
 رستم بتاب فتاده و بهمن شده زتاب
 آخر زکوه ساخت سرایر ده حجاب
 چون لعل رفت در دل سنگ از برای خواب
 روز سال بعد هفصد و پنجه سه در حساب

1. This Jāgirdār of Bihār is the Malik, the sword of the dynasty, from the point of whose sword the sun turns his head.

2. Like his namesake (Abraham), he broke idols, so that in the future world the title of 'Iconoclast' might be given him.

3. (He is) the warrior who breaks the ranks (of the enemies); when he arranged his ranks, Rustam fell into feverish restlessness, and Bahman lost his firmness.

4. Although the sun defeats the army of the planets, he makes at last for himself a screen of the mountains.†

* The poetry is bad enough, but metrical slips also occur. The metre is short *hazaj*; and the *t* in 'budast' has been elided.

† The light of the sun is so strong that the planets are not visible; but even the sun sets and loses himself behind the mountains. So also Malik Bayyū.

5. On the day of the sun it was, on a Sunday, when, like a ruby in a stone, he (Malik Bayyú) went away from the world, in order to sleep.

6. When thirteen days had passed away from the exalted month of Zil Hijjah, and 753 years of the era.

No. 37.

درین گنبد که هست از روی معنی بقدر از گنبد افلاک برتر
 بختست شیر مرده کز نپیش بخت شیر اندر بطن شیر
 مدار ملک ابراهیم بر بکر که تیغ از بهر حق میزد چو حیدر
 چنین لشکر کشی کشور کشائی نخیزد درم اندر هفت کشور
 کز چو بر درت افتاد یا رب ز راه لطف بکشی بر و در
 بمشک رحمت و کافور رافت کنی دیوار خاکش را معطر

1. In this dome, which in a spiritual sense has a higher value than the dome of heaven,

2. Sleeps a lion, from whose dread. . . (unintelligible),

3. The pivot of the realm, Ibráhim Abú Bakr, who wielded his sword for truth like Haidar ('Alí).

4. Such a warfare, such a conquest of realms, will not take place a second time in the seven realms.

5. O God, as he has now fallen down at Thy door, open in mercy Thy door to him !

6. Perfume the walls of his grave with the musk of Thy mercy and the camphor of Thy forgiveness !

No. 38. *The Firúz Sháh Inscription in the Chhoṭá Dargáh.* A. H. 761.

The Chhoṭá Dargáh of Bihár is the shrine of Badruddín Badr i 'Álam. This faqír came from Mírat'h, is said to have spent a long time at Chátgáon, and settled at last in Bihár, where he died in 844 A. H., or 1440 A. D., the *tárikh* of his death being بنور حق پیوست, 'he joined the glory of the Lord.' It is said that the famous Sharafuddín Munyarí had invited him, but Badr delayed in Chátgáon, and only arrived in Bihár forty days after Sharafuddín's death.

The slab stands in the northern enclosure, and curious to say, has on the other side Inscription No. 6, given above. It thus contains the name of the Bengal Firúz Sháh on one side and that of the Dihlí Firúz Sháh on the other. We often find slabs with Hindú carvings on one side and Muhammadan inscriptions on the other; but I have not heard of a Muhammadan inscription having been treated so; for it is repugnant to the feelings of a Muslim to have God's name walled up. The slab is now considered an infallible cure for evil spirits of all sorts.

مسجد گشت این میمون عمرت بعد پادشاه عدل پرور
 شهزاده جهان فیروز شاه آنک از آباد شد محراب و منبر
 بسعی و التماس بنده خاص برید خطه اندر در داور
 ملک سهرت ملک کافی کفایت فهم نامور در هفت کشور
 گذشته هفتاد از تاریخ هجرت فزوده بود یک بر شصت دیگر
 همیشه باد شه بر تخت دولت چو نام خویش فیروز و مظفر

1. This auspicious building was renewed in the reign of the justice-fostering king,
2. The lord of the world, F í r ú z S h á h, through whom niches and pulpits [*i. e.*, mosques] flourished,
3. Through the exertion and at the request of the special slave, (who is) the Reporter (*barid*) of the District, in the time of the just king,
4. An angelic man, a noble whose guarantee is sufficient, a wise man, renowned in the seven realms.
5. Seven Hundred years have passed away of the Era of the Hijrah, and sixty-one besides.
6. May the king on the throne of power remain for ever victorious and successful, as (indicated) by his name !

The following two inscriptions are of importance for the history of the Dihli empire.

No. 39. *The Muhammad Sháh Inscription of Bihár.* A. H. 792.

This inscription belongs to the ruined mosque in Kabír-uddínganj, the most northern Mahallah of the town of Bihár. The mosque has three cupolas, the centre one circular, the others octagonal. Two of its lofty minarets have fallen down.

Regarding the king, *vide* Mr. Thomas, 'Chronicles,' p. 306. The metre (long *ramal*) precludes the possibility of an error in the date.

شد بعد دولت شاه محمد نامدار اینچنین مسجد مروج فضل باری کردگار
 این بنا را چون خواجه ضیا ابن علا بدر هجرت هفتصد دیگر بود در شمار

1. In the time of the reign of Sh á h M u h a m m a d, the illustrious, this Masjid became generally used, (by) the grace of God, the Creator.
2. When Khwájah Ziyá, son of 'Alá, erected this edifice, it was 792 after the Hijrah. (A. D. 1390).

No. 40. *The Mahmúd Sháh (of Dihli) Inscription of Bihár.* A. H. 799.

This inscription belongs to the *Khánqáh*, or cell, of Ziyá ul Haq, governor of Bihár, who was mentioned in the preceding inscription. The slab was

found in the cluster of religious buildings known in Bihár as the Chhoṭá Takyah, 'the small cloister,' in which there is the tomb of Sháh Díwán' Abdul Wahháb, who is said to have died in 1096, A. H.

As the inscription mentions Mahmúd Sháh as the reigning king in 799, it follows that Nuṣrat Sháh was not acknowledged as opposition king by Malik Sarwar of Jaunpúr, to whom Bihár then belonged. *Vide* 'Chronicles,' pp. 312 to 317.

کرد اندر عهد سلطان جهان محمود شاه حاكم خطه ضياء الحق بنا اين خانقاه
هفتصد نه با نود از سال هجرت رفته بود شد تمم اين خانقاه بداد ضعيفان را پناه

1. During the reign of the king of the world, M a h m ú d S h á h, Ziyá ul Haq, governor of the province, built this *Khánqáh*.

2. Seven hundred and ninety-nine years had passed since the Hijrah, when this asylum was completed. May it be the refuge of the weak! (A. D. 1397)

Nos. 40 to 42. *The Mahmúd Sháh (of Jaunpúr) Inscription of Bihár.* (A. H., 847 and 859.)

From the preceding inscriptions we see that Bihár, in the 8th century of the Hijrah, belonged to the Dihlí empire. With the establishment, immediately afterwards of the Jaunpúr kingdom, it was separated from Dihlí. Bihár with Qanaúj, Audh, Karah, Dalamau, Sandelá, Bahráich, and Jaunpúr, had since 796 been in the hands of Malik Sarwar Khwájahsará, who had the title of 'Sultán ushsharq,' or 'king of the East'. He does not appear to have struck coins, and the fact that the preceding inscription does not mention his name, confirms the statement of the histories that he did not assume the ensigns of royalty. He was succeeded by his adopted son Malik Qaranful,* whose elder brother Ibráhím ascended the throne of Jaunpúr in 804, under the title of Sultán Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Ibráhím Sháh. After a reign of forty years, he was succeeded by Náṣiruddín Mahmud Sháh (844 to 862), to whose reign the following three inscriptions belong.

The inscriptions do not mention Mahmúd's *kunya*; the coins (Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 322) do not even give his first name. But as Náṣiruddín Mahmúd Sháh of Jaunpúr is the contemporary of, and has the same name

* This word is generally derived from the Greek *caryophyllum*, a clove; but the *Ghiyásullughát* derives it more correctly from the Hindi *karn*, 'ear,' and *phúl*, flower, because women and eunuchs often put a clove into the lobe of the ear. An earornament, resembling the head of a clove, has also the same name. It is possible that Malik Qaranful, like Malik Sarwar, was a eunuch.

as Nācīruddīn Mahmūd Shāh (I) of Bengal, care is to be taken not to confound the two.*

The first of the following three inscriptions belonged to a mosque which stood opposite to the Chhotá Takyah, on the opposite bank of the Adyānadī, in Bihār. The mosque has disappeared; only a large square stone platform is left, where the slab was found.

The second and third inscriptions belonged to the ruinous Pahārpūr Jāmi' Masjid.

No. 40.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له
بيتا في الجنة ۱۱

شد بتوفیق الهی و ز طفیل مصطفی مسجد جمعه بعهد شاه دین پرور بنا
شاه محمود ابن ابراهیم عادل شاه آنک کشور از شاهان ستاند باج بخشد برگدا
بانی این مسجد آن مسند شریعت هست کر ذات پاکش قره العین نبی و مرتضا
سرور و صدر جهان آن سید اجمل که شد ملک و ملت دین و دولت رادرار التجا
کرده فرمایشش بناء خیر ملک الشرق کان مقطع دارور دین خطه نصیر ابن بها
این بنا شد استوار از طاق کسری در بهار کعبه در عظمت برفعت بیت معمور علا
غره ماه رجب بد هشتصد و چل هفت سال کاذرین مسجد اقامت شد بتئید خدا

In the name of God, the merciful and the element. He upon whom be peace (the Prophet) says—"He who builds a mosque for God, for him will God build a house in Paradise.

1. By divine grace and for the sake of Muṭṭafā [the Prophet], the Jum'ah mosque was built in the reign of the faith-nourishing king.

2. Shāh Mahmūd, son of Ibrāhīm the Just, a king who takes realms from kings, (and) gives beggars tribute.

3. The builder of this mosque is the great lawyer, who is pure in nature, the beloved of the Prophet and of Murtazā ('Alī),

4. The chief and the centre of the world, the perfect Sayyid, with whom realm and faith, religion and the royal house, take refuge,

5. (Who) ordered this building (to be erected), he the best in the Eastern (Jaunpūr) kingdom, the Jāgīrdār (*muṭṭi*), the lord of this district, Naṣīr ibn i Bahā.

6. This building in Bihār is stronger than the portico of Kisrā; it is a Ka'bah in grandeur, and in loftiness the edifice of sublimity.†

7. It was on the 1st Rajab, of the year 847 A. H., [25th October, 1443, A. D.] when with the assistance of God the first prayer was read (*iqāmat shud*) in this mosque.

* The Jaunpur Mahmūd Shāhī coins generally have the word *sultānī*, and allude to the investiture by some Khalīfah.

† The phrase استوار از طاق کسری in line 6 is a Hindī construction for the Persian Comparative.

No. 41.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قال عليه السلام من بني مسجدا لله بنى الله له
بيتا في الجنة *

بارك الله در زمان ناصر دنیا و دین شاه محمود بن ابراهیم شاه راستین
صفدر گیهان پناه مملکت صدر کریم یافته توفیق خیر از فضل رب العالمین
مسجد جامع بنا کرد آنچنان کاندرجهان طاق بنیاد آمدش با ماه و ماهی همنشین
منبر و محرابش از فرط علو مرتبه یافت آن رونق که تحسین میکند روح الامین
رین ندا از عالم بالا همی آید فرود هذه جنات عدن فادخلوها خالدين
چارشنبه بیست هفتم مه ز ایام صیام هشتاد و پنجده بودست تاریخ از سنین ۸۵۹
در بقاء خیر او احمد همی خواهد بچان روح پاک شیخ شرف الدین را معین

In the name of God, &c., (as above).

1. Blessed be God, in the time of N á ç i r u d d u n y á w a d d í n Sh á h M a h m ú d, son of the righteous Sh á h I b r á h í m [of Jaunpúr],

2. The hero of the world, the refuge of the kingdom, the noble chief, who through the mercy of the Lord of the Universe has found grace to do good,

3. Built this Jámí' Masjid in such a way, that on earth the arch of its structure dwells together with the moon and the fish.*

4. Its pulpit and niche, from the excess of the loftiness of (their) dignity, have received such a lustre that even the *Rúh ul Amín* (the warden of Paradise) has approved (of them).

5. And from the upper world, the call comes continually down (to earth), 'This is the garden of Eden, enter it (and live in it) for ever.'

6. Wednesday, the 27th of the month of fasting (Ramazán) of the year 859 is the date of its erection (14th September, 1455, A. D.).

7. Ahmad (the Prophet) sincerely (*ba-ján*) desires to protect this religious building for the sake of the pure spirit of Sh a i k h Sh a r a f u l - h a q w a d d í n.†

No. 42.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * قال عليه السلام من بني مسجدا لله بنى الله له
بيتا في الجنة ا

مسجد جامع بتوفیق خداوند الهه و ز طافیل مصطفاء صاحب تمکین و جباه
شد بعد دولت شاهي که صیت عدل او مغرب و مشرق گرفت از پشت ماهی تا ماه
آنکه پور شاه ابراهیم عادل سرفراز آفتاب سلطنت شاه جهان محمود شاه

* I. e., the building is so high, that it touches the moon, and its foundation is so deep, that it touches the fish, upon which the earth is supposed to rest.

† The metre is as bad as the poetry. To get out the metre, we have to read *sharf* for *sharaf*—which is Hindústání, and have to scan *haqqa waddín*.

... ..
 نزهت بیت المقدس حرمت بیت الحرام
 بنده فضل الله نبشته بیست هفتم ز صیام هشتاد و پنجاه و نه تاریخ بود و سال و ماه

In the name of God, &c.

1. The Jāmi' Masjid, by the grace of God the Lord, and for the sake of Muṣṭafā, the Lord of power and dignity,

2. Was (erected) during the reign of a king, the fame of whose justice surrounds the west and the east, (extending) from the back of the fish to the moon.

3. Namely, the son of Sháh Ibráhím the Just, the exalted, the sun of Royalty, the king of the world, M a h m ú d S h á h (two distichs illegible).

6. The glory of the holy temple (in Jerusalem), the honor of the Haram (the temple in Makkah). . . .

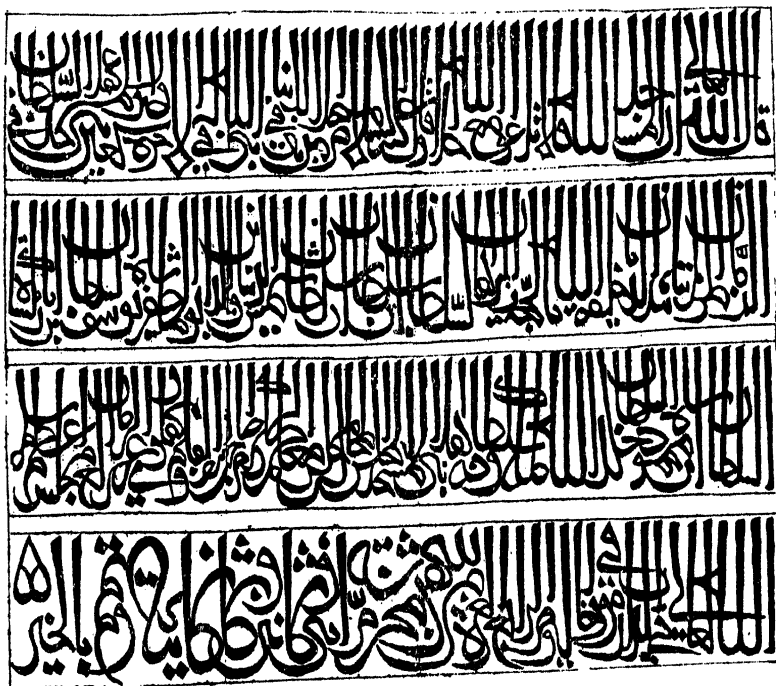
7. The slave Fazlullah wrote this on the 27th day of the Fast, A. H. 859 (10th September, 1455, A.D.).

Table of the Independent Muhammadan Kings of Bengal, from A. H. 739 to 944, or A. D. 1338 to 1538.

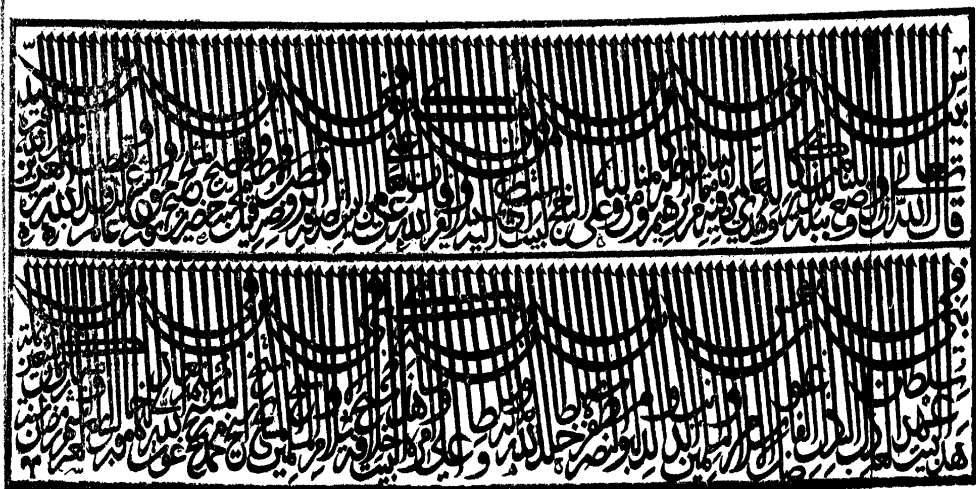
		Statements of the Histories		Ascertained Dates		Probable duration of reign	REMARKS
		Duration of reign	Dates	by Coins	by Inscriptions		
1	Fakhruddin Abul Muzaffar Mubārak Shāh,.....	2 years and some months	739 to 74	739, 741 to 750	none	739 to 750	Eastern Bengal.
2	Iktivāriddin Abul Muzaffar Ghāzi Shāh, (son).....	not mentioned		753	none	751 to 753	Do.
3	'Alauddin Abul Muzaffar 'Al Shāh,.....	1 y. and 5 m.	none	742, 744 to 746	none	740 to 746	Western Bengal.
4	A. The House of Ilyās Shāh Shamsuddin Abul Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh,.....	16 y. and some m.	none	Western Bengal, 740, 744, 746 to 758; Eastern Bengal, 753 to 758.	none	740 to 759	
5	Abul Mujāhid Sikandar Shāh, (son).....	9 y. and some m.	none	As prince, 750 to 754; 759 to 761; 763 to 766; 770 to 773; 776; 779 to 783, 784 to 792	Rajab, 770	759 to 792	
6	Ghiyāsuddin Abul Muzaffar A'zam Shāh, (son).....	7 y. and some m., or 16 y. 5 m. 3 d.	to 775	772; 775; 776; 790 to 799	none	792 to 799	
7	Saifuddin Abul Mujāhid Hamzah Shāh, (son).....	10 y., or 7 y., or 3 y. 7 m. 5 d.	to 785	804	none	800 to 804	
8	Shamsuddin,.....(?) (son ?) ..	3 y. and some m., or 3 y. 4 m. 6 d.	to 788	none	none	804 to 808	

<i>B. The House of Rājāh Kīns</i>					
9	Rājāh]Kāns,.....	7 years	none	none	808 to 817
	Shihābuddin Abul Muzaffar Bāyashāh,.....	not mentioned	812, 816	none	
10	Jalāluddin Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh, (son).....	17 years	818, 821, 831	none	817 to 834
11	Shamsuddin Abul Mujaḥhid Ahmad Shāh,] (son).....	16 or 18 years	836	none	834 to 850 [or to 846 ?]
<i>C. The House of Ilyās Shāh restored</i>					
12	Nāṣiruddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh (I),.....	32 or 27 years	846	861; Sha'ban, 863; 28 Zil Hujjah 863	846 to 864
13	Ruknuddin Abul Mujaḥhid Bārbak Shāh,] (son).....	17 or 16 years	873	860 (as prince); Safar, 865	864 to 879
14	Shamsuddin Abul Muzaffar Yusuf Shāh,] (son).....	7 y. 6 m.	883, 884	882, 884, 885	879 to 886
15	Sikandar Shāh (II), (son ?).....	2½ days, or ½ day	none	none	886
16	Jalāluddin Abul Muzaffar Fath Shāh, (son of No. 12).....	7 y. 5 m.	886	886, 887, 888, 889, beginning of 892	886 to 892

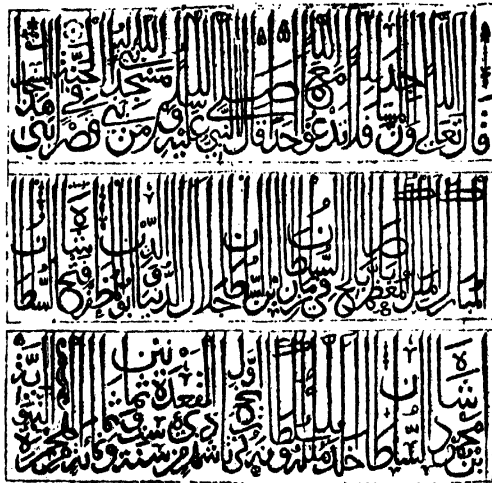
		Statements of the Histories		Ascertained Dates		Probable duration reign	REMARKS
		Duration of reign	Dates	by Coins	by Inscriptions		
<i>D. The Habshi Kings</i>							
17	Sultán Sháhzádah Bárbak, the Enunch,.....	8 or 6 or 2½ m.	none	none	none	893	
18	Saifuddin Abul Muzaffar Firúz Sháh](II),.....	3 years	to 899	893	none	893 to 895	
19	Náçiruddin Abul Mujáhid Mahmúd Sháh (II), (son of No. 16 ?)	1 year	none	illegible	23rd Rabi' .. (?)	896	
20	Shamsuddin Abul-Nçr Muzaffar Sháh,.....	3 y. 5 m.	to 903	896	898	896 to 899	
<i>E. The House of Husain Sháh</i>							
21	'Aláuddin Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh,.....	27 y., or 29 y., or 29 y. 5 m.	to 927* (929 ?)	899, 900, 912, 914	903, 907, 908, 909, 911, 915, 916, 918, 919, 922, 925]	899 to 927 (929 ?)	*mentioned in Badoni as reigning in 901.
22	Náçiruddin Abul Muzaffar Nuçrat Sháh,](son),.....	13 y., or less, or 16 y.	to 939	922, 924, 927	929, 930, 933, 936, 937	927 (929 ?) to 939	
23	'Aláuddin Abul Muzaffar Firúz Sháh (III), (son),.....	3 months	none	939	939	939	
24	Ghiyásuddin Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh (III), (son of No. 21) —defeated by Sher Sháh,.....	none	to 944, dies 945	943	941	940 to 944	



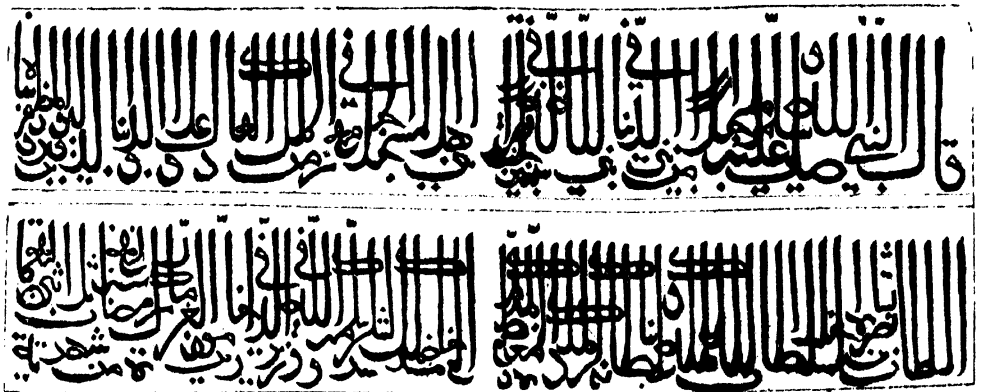
No. 1. The Yusuf Shah Inscription, of Panduah (Hugli District), A. H. 682



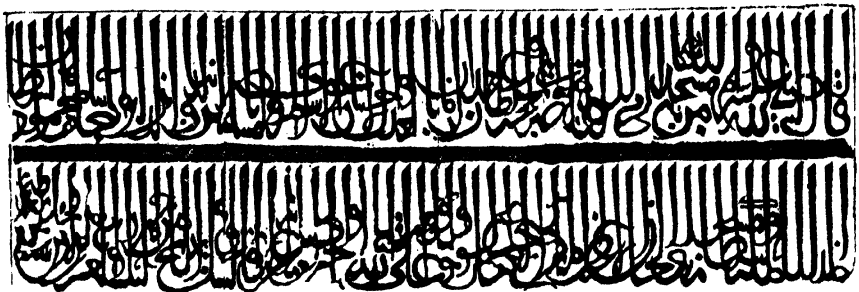
No. 2. The Muzaffar Shah Inscription, of Hazrat Panduah, A. H. 696



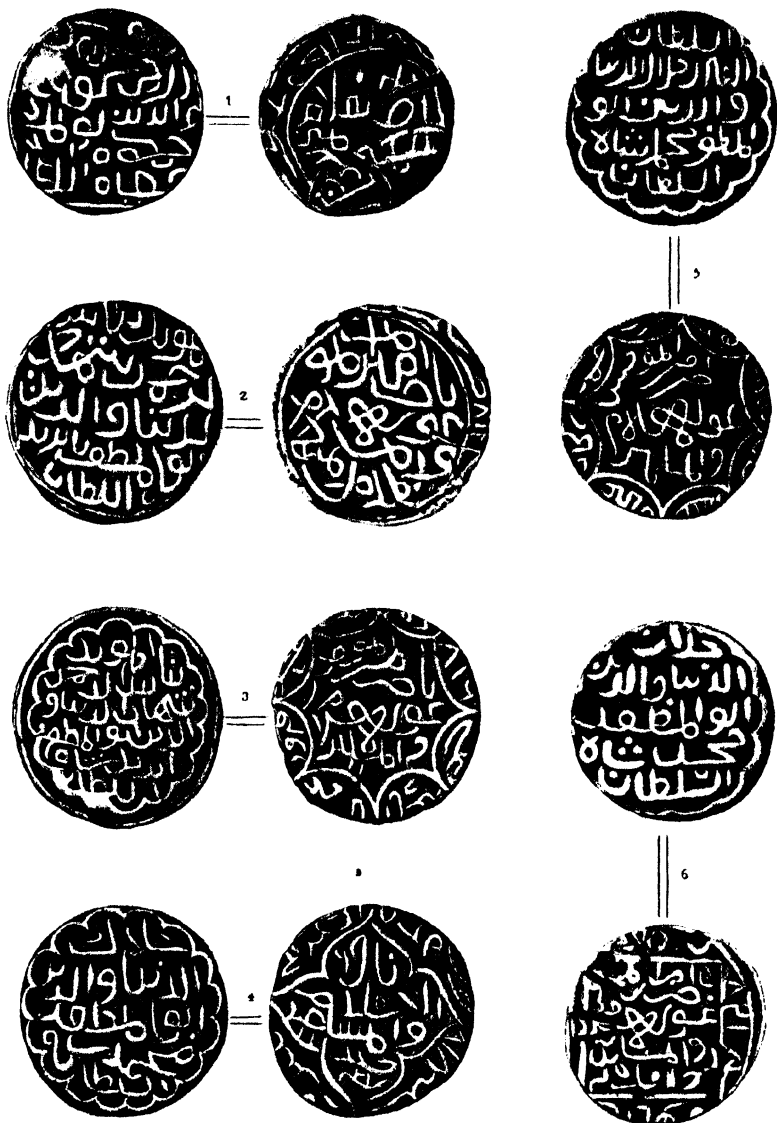
No. 1. The Fath Shah Inscription of Dhaka, A. H. 1



No. 2. The Firus Shah (III.) Inscription of Kalnah, A. H. 939.

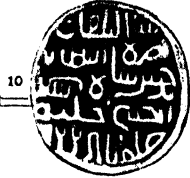


No. 3. The Nagiruddin Mahmud Shah (II.) Inscription of Hazrat Panduah.





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11



MUHAMMADAN PERIOD, No. II

(Continued from Journal, Pt. I, 1873, p. 310.)

When putting together the notes for my 'Contributions to Bengal Geography and History' in last year's Journal, I did not think that I would have so soon to add a sequel to that portion which referred to the history of the Independent Sultáns of Bengal. The old seats of Muhammadan governors and the Dargáhs of Moslem Saints at Bihár, Debkoṭ, Gaur, Sunárgáon, Silhaṭ, and Sátgáon had before been visited by General Cunningham, Dr. Wise, Mr. Westmacott, and myself, and the result was the discovery of more than fifty inscriptions belonging to the reigns of the Independent Kings. But many places of antiquity remained, and still remain, to be examined, especially G'horág'háṭ, Tájpúr, Púrniah, Hazrat Panḍuah, Ekdálah, Máldah, and Maimansingh. In the beginning of this year, Mr. Westmacott had occasion to visit Máldah, and on examining the immediate neighbourhood of the station, he found no less than seventeen new Arabic inscriptions, which he very kindly placed at the disposal of the Society. They belong to the regins of six kings and bear the following dates:

1. Mahmúd Sháh (I), one of 859 A.H.
2. Bárbak Sháh, one of 868 A.H.
3. Yúsuf Sháh, two, date uncertain.
4. Fírúz Sháh (II), two, one of 894 A.H.
5. Husain Sháh, seven, of 899, 900, 907, 910, 914, 918, 923, A.H.
6. Nuṣrat Sháh, four, of 930, 935, 938 A.H.

The first of these inscriptions is the earliest of Mahmúd Sháh that has hitherto been discovered; and the Fírúz Sháh (II) inscription of 894 is very valuable as the first clearly dated record of this king.

Of the remaining, the Husain Sháh inscriptions of 899, 900, and 907 deserve special mention. The first two, of 899 and 900 A. H., are the earliest now known, though we have coins of the same years.*

In my former essay, I took on thě testimony of coins the year 899 as the first year of Husian Sháh's reign. But as the coins of 899 seem all to belong to Fathábád, *i. e.* Eastern Bengal, the Hon'ble E. C. Bayley, in his note on a gold coin of Muzaffar Sháh,† concluded that Muzaffar Sháh was still alive in 901, but besieged by Husian Sháh in Gaur. Mr. Westmacott's inscriptions of 899 and 900, coming as they do from places almost

* Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1873, Pt. I, p. 292.

† Journal, 1873, Pt. I, p. 313.

under the walls of Gaur, render it likely that the conquest of Gaur and Muzaffar Sháh's death took place before the middle of 899, unless we suppose that the manner of the warfare, as carried on in those times, did not prevent people from erecting mosques in the immediate neighbourhood of the camp of a besieging army.

The inscription of 907 (A. D. 1501-2) belongs to a Madrasah, built by Husain Sháh in commemoration, as it appears, of his conquest of Kámatá and Kámrúp. The inscription is, therefore, a contemporaneous record of Husain Sháh's conquests, and confirms the *Ásám Búranjí*, which refers the conquest of Kámrúp to 1498, *i. e.* 903-4 A.H. The particulars given in the *Álamgírnámah* and the *Riyáz-ussaláṭín* regarding this expedition, the result of which was the temporary annexation of Kámrúp to Bengal, have been given in former numbers of the Journal.* The *Ásám* chronicle mentions 'Dalál Ghází, son of Husain Sháh', as the first governor of Kámrúp. He is, no doubt, Dányál, Husain Sháh's eldest son, whom Delhi historians mention as having been delegated in 901 by his father to meet Sikandar Lodí in Bihár, and who built, immediately before the *Ásám* expedition, the dome of Sháh Náfeh's shrine in Munger.† Dányál, or Dalál, perished, according to the *Álamgírnámah*, soon after in *Ásám*. According to the *Ásám Búranjí*, he was succeeded by 'Musundar Ghází, whose name has not yet been identified. Musundar, in his turn, was succeeded by Sultán Ghiyásuddín. His name is the same as that of Husain's son who in 939, as we shall see below, succeeded his nephew under the name of Ghiyásuddín Mahmúd Sháh (III). But they may be different persons, as is in fact implied in the following extract from an essay, entitled 'Ancient Assam,' in the 'Calcutta Review',‡ the author of which has not specified his source. "Aláuddín Husain's march into *Ásám* does not seem to have extended beyond Tezpúr; and though he succeeded in demolishing the capital, he was ultimately repulsed by the *Bárah Bhúiyas*,§ and was obliged to content himself with his possessions in Kámrúp. He returned to his capital, after having appointed his son-in-law, Nawáb Dalál Ghází to the government of

* Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1872, pp. 79, 335; do., 1873, p. 240.

† Journal, A. S. B., 1872, p. 335.

‡ Calcutta Review, 1867, Vol. XLV, p. 528.

§ Dr. J. Wise has now defined the status of the *Bárah Bhúiyas* in Bengal. What their position in *Ásám* was is not yet quite clear.

In Benaudha, too, (Gorák'hpúr and surrounding districts) we find "twelve Rájás (one Muhammadan inclusive) who comprised one Paut, and were considered to have common interests;" *vide* Elliot's Races, by Beames, II, 39.

Elliot's list includes the Ujjainiyah Rájás of Dumráon in South-Western Bihár.

the province. On Dalál's death, his imbecile son [Musundar?] was superseded by Sulṭán Ghiyásuddín, *who received his commission from the court of Gaur*. This prince introduced a colony of Muhammadans into the country, and made large consignments of land for the maintenance of the Moslem religion. Most of the land is, by permission of the British Government, still retained for this purpose. Extreme measures were also adopted for making proselytes, and temples were indiscriminately plundered and demolished. The stone temples of Kámikha on the Nilachol and of Moha Muni at Hájo were sacrificed to Moslem fanaticism. Ghiyásuddín resolved to build a grand mosque, which was to stand on the top of a high hill, known as the Gaurachol. There is a tradition that, in order to give it peculiar sanctity, it was to have been built upon a stratum of earth that had been brought for this purpose from the holy city of Mecca. The hill is known to this day as the 'Páo-Makkah,' and the Muhammadans of the country believe that four pilgrimages to it are equal in meritorious efficacy to one made to the tomb of the Prophet. But Ghiyásuddín died before he could complete the arrangements for the erection of the mosque. He was interred beneath the holy earth, and the materials he had collected were used in raising a monument over his remains, which also serves the purpose of a mosque."

"We have already said that, previous to the last Muhammadan invasion, western Kámrúp had been overrun by mountain tribes, of which the Koch were one of the most important. On the death of Ghiyásuddín, Hájo, the leading chieftain of the tribe, succeeded in uniting all the little principalities of the country under his authority, and so constituting himself master of Kámrúp. His successor, in 1581,* transferred all the western portion of his kingdom to his nephew, from whom are descended the kings of Koch Bihar."

Besides the seventeen inscriptions received from Mr. Westmacott, I obtained two from Sárán, which Mr. J. R. Reid, C. S., kindly sent me, and two from Scrampore, near Calcutta, where they had been lying for more than half a century in the College and Press compounds. One of the latter belongs to the reign of Bárbak Sháh, and the other to that of Nuṣrat Sháh; they bear the dates 865 and 933, respectively. Dr. G. Smith, late Editor of the 'Friend of India,' very kindly drew my attention to these slabs,† and after consulting with the Principal of the College, permitted me to transfer them to the Museum in Calcutta, where they are now preserved.

* *Vide Journal*, A. S. B., 1872, pp. 52, 100.

† A third has been used as a mantlepiece; it only contains the *Āyat ul-Kursí*, (the 256th verse of the second chapter of the *Qorán*) and the year 993 A. H., or A. D. 1585.

Lastly, I have given an imperfect reading of an inscription of Fírúz Sháh II. (A. D. 1488 to 1490), the slab of which was some years ago presented to the Society by Bábu Hara Chandra Chaudhuri, of Sherpúr, Maimansingh, author of the excellent 'Sherpúr Bivarana.'* The slab is of granite; but the letters are very unclear and nearly one-fourth of the inscription is hopelessly illegible. The inscription was found at Gaṛh Jaripá, north of Sherpúr Town not far from the Karibári hills and about 16 miles south of the old frontier between Bengal and Ásám (Zil'ah Goálpárá). It was at first attached to iron rings at the gate of the mud fort of Gaṛh Jaripá, from where it had been removed to a place inside the fort, called by the people 'the tomb.' It seems to have belonged to a Mausoleum and to an 'Idgáh. The inscription confirms the legend of the foundation of Gaṛh Jaripá by the Muhammadans, and also shews that Perganah Sherpúr belonged to the Bengali Sultáns.

Parganah Sherpúr itself was formerly called Daskahániá Bázú, under which name it occurs as a Mahall of Sirkár Bázúhá in Todar Mall's Bengal rent-roll of 1582. In Ja'far Khán's rent-roll of 1722, the old division into Sirkárs was abolished, and Daskahániá Bázú appears under the name of Sherpúr-Daskahániá† as a parganah of Chaklá Karibári; but not long after, Sherpúr was for the greater part annexed to Dháká, in which position it is given in Rennel's Atlas.‡

The name 'Daskahániá,' or Daskaháoniá, is said to be derived from *das káhan*, or *das kaháwan*, i. e. 10×1280 cowries. I cannot say whether this etymology refers to the waste condition of the parganah in former times; but Bábu Hara Chandra Chaudhuri says that the people had to pay ten *káhans* of cowries for crossing the Brahmaputra below Sherpúr, because the river was so very wide. It is more likely that the *khalsa* portion of the land revenue only amounted to 10 *káhans*;§ at least Grant says that in 1728

* সেরপুর বিবরণ Pt. I, Descriptive Geography. Calcutta, 1872. Pt. II is to contain a historical account of Sherpúr Parganah.

† The three principal Sherpúrs in Bengal are—Sherpúr 'Aṭál, east of Barhampúr in Murshidábád; Sherpúr Múrchah, south of Bográ; and Sherpúr Daskahániá, east of the Brahmaputra.

‡ He spells the name Shearpoor Duskownya.

§ Indian Atlas Sheet No. 119 shews north-west of Sherpúr and Gaṛh Jaripá a place of the name of Báde Chálís Kahániá, or 'Báde of 40 Káhans,' and the term therefore has a reference to the revenue of the parganah.

Besides, we know that the net málguzárf of Silhaṭ, for example, was, even at the time when the Company acquired the Dívání, paid in cowries. Thus in 1172 B. S., or 1765, the total *Aṭl* and *Izáfah* of Silhaṭ was 1,070,120 káhans, at 2½ káhans per rupee; but about the same time, according to Grant (Vth Report, p. 382), the importation of cowries from

the *khalsa* portion only amounted to Rs. 33, whilst Rs. 19,799 were *jágir* lands.*

The original Muhammadan proprietors of Mahall Daskahániá, according to Bábu Hara Chandra Chaudhurí, were the Ghází family, of which Dr. J. Wise has given a biographical account; and it is believed that Sherpúr was so called after Sher 'Alí Ghází, the last of the Ghází family, a tyrant, who caused one Rám Ballabh Mazumdár, a 'muharrir' of the Qánúngo Daftar to be brutally murdered. Sher 'Alí in consequence of this crime forfeited his estate, which was made over to Rámnáth Chaudhurí, the youthful son of Sher 'Alí's victim† and the first of the Nandi Zamindárs of Sherpúr.

Tradition ascribes the first settlement of Muhammadans in Sherpúr to 'Majlis Shámuá,' or 'Húmáýún Sháh,' a nephew of 'the king.' Majlis Shámuá seems to have gone to Daskahániá to reclaim waste lands; for he was to receive as many cowries as would fill two baskets for every basket load of earth he removed. Majlis Shámuá settled at a place where a man of the name of Jaripá resided. Some time after, the king heard that his nephew did not act according to his command, and called him to account. Instead of replying, Majlis Shámuá, who was skilled in magic, had his head cut off and sent in a wallet to the king. The bearer, against orders, opened the wallet on the road; and when the head was brought to the king, it said nothing, but only laughed.

According to another version, the king's nephew came with troops and workmen. On arrival at Gaṛh Jaripá, which was then dense jungle, they found a man of the name of Jaripá half buried in the ground. The man would only leave his place on being assured that the fort which was to be erected, should be called after him, and the spot has ever since borne the name of Gaṛh Jaripá, or Garjaripá. Some time after, the king sent an army to Gaṛh Jaripá to capture his rebellious nephew. Despairing of his life, he committed suicide, and the head was sent to the king.

I take this opportunity to mention the Dargáh of Sháh Kamál. West of Sherpúr Town, across the Brahmaputra and north-west of the rising station of Jamálpúr, lies Durmut, and near it, the shrine of a holy man the Máldív Islands was so great, that he expected a fall to 4½ káhans per rupee. He also mentions (*loc. cit.*, p. 363) a parganah in the Niyábat of Dháká the revenue of which was paid in cowries.

For Orísá, which is more accessible than Silhat, Abulfazl gives the rate of 10 kaháwans per rupee. *Vide* Thomas, 'Chronicles,' p. 110 n.

* Grant, Vth Report, p. 365. He mentions Benodnarain zamindár.

† Sherpúr Bivaran, I, p. 155. Rám Náth's son, Srigopál Chaudhurí was alive in 1071 B.S., or 1664 A.D.

of the name of Sháh Kamál.* I mentioned the Dargáh to Dr. J. Wise, who soon after sent me an English translation by Mr. Donough, Dep. Magistrate of Jamálpúr, of a historical pamphlet in Bengali, which contains Sháh Kamál's history and an account of the miracles he wrought. From Mr. Donough's sketch it appears that Sháh Kamál came in 910 B. S., or 1503 A. D., from Multán to Bengal, and settled at Durmut, where he forced the devils to give up the spades with which they had been undermining the bank of the river. Sháh Kamál thus saved Durmut from destruction: the current turned towards the east, but the old bed of the river lying close to the village is still visible.

As an acknowledgment of his services, Kamál received from Isfandiyár† Khán Ghází, who is also called Isfandiyár Manohar Khán, and from Rájá Mahindra Náráyan a jágir. Kamál died in 952 B. S., or A. D. 1545, and his body was interred in the village on the bank of the Brahmaputra, where his tomb still exists. Mr. Donough says there is no inscription on it.

On his way from Multán to Bengal, Sháh Kamál was accompanied by his nephew Sháh Ni'mat. They met a travelling Sayyid, whose son Ismá'il had just died. Sháh Kamál restored him to life, and Ismá'il from gratitude followed him and settled at Rahmátpúr, parganah Sherpúr, where his descendants still live. Sháh Ni'mat remained in Durmut; and when his uncle died without issue, the jágir and Kamál's tomb remained in his possession. The present owner is Sháh Qiyámatullah, son of Sháh Samí'ullah, *alias* La'l. Miyán, son of Sháh Khairullah, son of Sháh Háfizullah, son of Sháh Tayyib, son of Sháh Ni'mat, Kamál's nephew.

Of Sháh Kamál's four wives, Bároi Bibí is still known. She was the daughter of a Hindú of the Bároi, or *pán* seller, caste, who resided in the village of Sharáliá. She married Sháh Kamál, because his miracles had inspired her with veneration. The burial place of Bároi Bibí is esteemed as a dargáh, and still exists in the village of Bároikándhí. Another of Sháh Kamál's wives lies buried by his side in Durmut.

Sháh Kamál passed some days with his numerous followers in the exercise of worship at a place called Bakloi in Thánah Karibári, zil'ah Goálpára. The village is situated on a hill, on the east bank of the Brahmaputra, where there is a dargáh of Sháh Kamál. The zamíndár also conferred Bakloi on him. Sháh Kamál's *chhurá*, or large knife, is still preserved. It is kept with great care on a throne, or *chauki*, and is once a year carried away in procession and washed. Only Sháh Kamál's descendants may look on it with immunity from misfortunes.

* *Vide* Sheet No. 119 of the Indian Atlas.

† Corrupted by the people to Ishpinjír Khán.

The dates given in this legend cannot be correct; for the present owner of Sháh Kamál's Dargáh is, according to his own pedigree, the sixth descendant of Ni'mat Sháh. Hence we would be nearer the truth, if we took 1052 B. S., or 1644 A. D., as the year of his death, instead of 952 B. S. The incidental mention, however, of Rájá Mahindra Náráyan and Isfandiyár Ghází helps us to test and fix the chronology of the Sháh Kamál legend. Rájá Mahindra Náráyan is the son of Báldeo Náráyan (or Balit Náráyan, as he is often called), who succeeded his brother, the well known Paríchhat of Koch Hájo, in 1022 A. H., or A. D. 1613, and reigned till the beginning of 1638. Báldeo was succeeded by Mahindra Náráyan,* "a pacific prince, who employed his time in improving the condition of his subjects, and among other good deeds, conferred large grants on Bráhmans." He died, "after a reign of nineteen years," in 1657.

Isfandiyár Beg—later he was permitted to call himself Isfandiyár Khán—is the son of Allah Yár Khán, son of Iftikhár Khán Turkmán. Iftikhár had served in the beginning of Jahángír's reign in Eastern Bengal, and was killed in the last fight with the Patháns under 'Usmán Lohání.† Allah Yár Khán received a *mançab* from Jahángír in Eastern Bengal, reached the high rank of Commander of Three Thousand under Sháhjahán, and distinguished himself in the sack of Húglí and the defeat of the Portuguese and in the war with Báldeo Náráyan. It is no wonder, therefore, that the family called themselves 'Gházís.' Allah Yár died in Bengal in 1650. His son, Isfandiyár Khán received a *mançab* from Jahángír and served with his father in Koch Hájo. He accompanied, in 1661, Mír Jumlah on his march to Koch Bihár, of which he was appointed Faujdár, and is specially mentioned in the 'Álamgírnámah‡ for his topographical knowledge of Eastern Bengal and Bhútan.

Sháh Kamál, therefore, must have died about the middle of the 17th century.

The twenty inscriptions given below are followed by several unpublished coins which throw new light on several points connected with Bengal History and Geography.

* Parichhat succumbed to Jahángír, and Báldeo to Sháhjahán; hence Mahindra Náráyan had every reason not to renew opposition; *vide* the account of the conquest of Koch Hájo (zil'ah Goálpará) in Journal, A. S. B., 1872, pp. 54, 62, and Áin Translation, Vol. I, 493. These passages adjust the chronology followed by Robinson in his 'Assam,' p. 156. Báldeo is the ancestor of the present Rájás of Bijni.

† *Vide* the account of his death given by the Dutch traveller DeLaet in Áin Translation, Vol. I, p. 521.

‡ Page 688.

In my former essay (Journal, 1873, Pt. I, p. 250) I mentioned that our Society contains a dated silver coin of Shihábuddín Bughrá Sháh, son of Fírúz Sháh (I) of Bengal. The coin, which bears the year 718 A. H. (A. D. 1318), has now been figured (*vide* Pl. XIII, No. 1), and is one of the most valuable Bengal coins of the Society's cabinet. It has led me to examine the history of the Balbaní kings, who ruled over Bengal from 681 to 731 A. H. (1282 to 1331 A. D.)

The only historical authority that we possess for this period is Ibn Baṭúṭah, whose account, meagre as it is, agrees with the evidence of coins and inscriptions, as far as they are known at present. The extraordinary error into which all Indian historians, whether Native or European, have fallen in describing the events of this period is this, that they have confounded Náçiruddín Bughrá Khán, Balban's son, upon whom the emperor conferred the government of Bengal, with Náçiruddín, second son of Fírúz I and grandson of Náçiruddín Bughrá Khán, and have extended the reign of Bughrá Khán from 681 to 726 (A. D. 1282 to 1326), whereas in reality he disappears from historical records as early as 691 (A. D. 1292). I have, therefore, thought it desirable to give a connected account of this period.

The Balbani Kings of Bengal

(A. D. 1282 to 1331.)

In the beginning of Balban's reign (A. D. 1266), the governor of Bengal was Muhammad Tátár Khán.* On his death, which seems to have taken place soon after Balban's accession, Sher Khán was appointed imperial commander of Lak'hnautí. He was succeeded by Amín Khán, whose *náib* was Ṭughril.† When Balban rebuilt the town and fort of Láhor, which during the reign of Mu'izzuddín Bahrám Sháh had been destroyed by the Mughuls, he got dangerously ill. Ṭughril heard of it, and thinking that Balban, who was advanced in age, would not survive the attack, made war on Amín Khán,‡ defeated him, and took him prisoner. Ṭughril then pro-

* According to Firishtah, he struck coins in his own name at Lak'hnautí.

† Badáoní I, 129.

‡ This differs considerably from Baraní; *vide* Dowson III, 112.

I must vindicate the honor of Balban's army, "whose legions daily traversed the earth, in the east to the confluence of the Ganges with the sea (*Gangásagar*), and in the west to the confluence of the Indus with the ocean" (J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 106). In his fights with the Mew tribe (*mewán*, pl. of *mew*, = *mewáit*), Dowson (III, 104, note) translates '*Taklak'hí bandah i kháç i Sultán az mewán shahíd shud*,' "in this campaign one hundred thousand of the royal army were slain;" but it should be "*Yaklak'hí*, the private servant of the Sultán, was slain." *Tak-lak hí* is a name like Hazár-dínári; and Yak-lak'hí was very likely Balban's *safarchi*. The same name occurs again in Dowson, III, 218.

claimed himself king of Bengal under the title of Sultán Mughisuddín (A. D. 1279). The course of his revolt, his pursuit by Balban, and his miserable end are known from other sources. Before leaving Bengal, Balban in 681 (A. D. 1282) appointed his son Náçiruddín Bughrá Khán governor of Bengal in its then circumscribed limits. As the son of the reigning emperor, he was allowed all the insignia of royalty; but it seems as if he had struck no coins.* He is represented as an aimiable man of neither talents nor judgment, and fond of the pleasures of wine. Of his rule in Bengal nothing is known. He again visited Dihlí a few months before Balban's death (686 A. H., 1287 A. D.); but "people shut their eyes at him," and he shrank from the cares and anxieties with which he saw the proffered crown surrounded. If Amír Khusrau had not immortalized him in his 'Qirán-ussa'dain,' which describes the meeting between Bughrá Khán and his son and emperor Kai Qubád at the banks of the Sarjú, the then frontier between Bengal and Dihlí, he would have sunk immediately after his appointment as governor of Lak'hnautí into utter oblivion. Even the death of his son Kai Qubád and the accession in 689 (A. D. 1290) of Sultán Jaláluddín Firúz Sháh, when the Turks went out and the Khiljis came in, did not rouse Bughrá Khán to assert the hereditary rights of his family; and nothing shews better the contempt in which the king of Bengal was held at Dihlí than Jaláluddín's mode of disposing of the dacoits captured in the Dihlí territory.†

Náçiruddín Bughrá Khán appears to have died in 690 or 691 (A. D. 1291 or 1292); for in 691 we find that his son Ruknuddín reigned as king of Bengal under the name of Sultán Kai Káuś. He is the first independent Muhammadan king of Bengal, whose authority was not disputed. From inscriptions found in Gangarámpúr, near Dinájpúr, and Kágol, near Lak'hí Sarái in Bihár, we know that he was still alive in 697 (A. D. 1297), but the year of his death is not known.‡ For the four years from 698 to 701 (A. D. 1298 to 1301) we possess neither medallie nor mural evidence. In 702 (A. D. 1302-3), however, we find the brother of Kai Káuś reigning in Bengal under the name of Shamsuddín Firúz Sháh I.§ His reign appears

* Baraní says that he did. Dowson III, 129.

† He sent them by shiploads into Bengal, where he let them loose. Baraní, p. 189.

That Bengal was completely severed from the Dihlí empire is clear from the omission of the Bengal Balbanis from the lists of imperial commanders which Baraní gives in the beginning of the reigns of the Khiljis.

‡ It was during his reign that Prince 'Aláuddín meditated a descent on Lak'hnautí; but he ultimately directed his plundering expedition to the Dak'hin.

§ Ibn Baçúah calls him merely Shamsuddín. *Vide* the extract from the French translation in Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 147; and Lee's translation, p. 128.

to have been a prosperous one. He had several sons, of whom we know the names of five, *viz.*, Búghrá Khán (so called according to Muhammadan custom after his grandfather), Náçiruddín, Ghiyásuddín or Bahádur Khán, Qutlú Khán, and Hátim Khán. The third son, Ghiyásuddín, appears to have made conquests in Eastern Bengal. He established himself at Sunárgáon under the name of Bahádur Sháh, and struck coins with his name from 1311, if not earlier. There may be some truth in the ill attested statement of a later historian that Bahádur Sháh had the moral support of 'Aláuddín Khiljí, whose interest it was to have neighbours divided against themselves. The fifth son, Hátim Khán, was in 1309 and 1315, and very likely also during the intermediate years, governor of Bihár. The ruins of his palace in the town of Bihár still exist. Several families claim descent from him, and he seems to be the only Balbaní prince whose name is remembered at the present day.

Fírúz Sháh (I) died in 717 or 718 A. H. (A. D. 1317 or 1318),* and was succeeded by his eldest son, who took the title of Shihábuddín Bughrá Sháh. His coinage shews that he was king and held Lak'hnautí in 1318-19. Soon after his accession, Bughrá Sháh was attacked and defeated by Bahádur Sháh.† Bughrá Sháh and his brother Náçiruddín managed to escape, and took refuge with Tughluq Sháh, who in 1320 had mounted the throne of Dihlí. Qutlú Khán was killed by Bahádur Sháh; Hátim Khán's fate is not known.

From Bahádur Sháh's coinage we see that he was in undisturbed possession of Lak'hnautí during 1321.

After 1321, however, the fugitive Náçiruddín appears to have gained influence in Lak'hnautí; but it is quite possible that the precarious nature of his tenure caused him again to join his brother Bughrá Sháh as supplicant in Dihlí. Ibn Baţúţah at least says that it was at their instigation that Tughluq Sháh invaded Bengal. When the imperial army left Dihlí, Bahádur Sháh retreated to Sunárgáon, and Náçiruddín left Lak'hnautí, joined the emperor at Tirhut, and accompanied him to Lak'hnautí, where Tughluq Sháh confirmed him as governor of the province, and allowed him the use of the

* Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, pp. 194, 199) extends the reign of Fírúz Sháh to 722; but there are no coins for 719 and 721; Col. Bush's specimen of 720 is very doubtful, to judge from the figure, and for 722 no figure has been given.

† Bahadur Khán had the nickname of 'Bourah (ce not signifie dans la langue indienne *le noir*)'—evidently the Hind. **بھورا**, brownish. The Bibl. Indica edition of Badáoní (I, p. 224, middle) has **تورده**, evidently a mistake for Ibn Baţúţah's **بورة**.

Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, p. 197) calls Bughrá Sháh **شهاب الدين** instead of **شمس الدين**—a typographical error.

royal umbrella and the jewelled staff (which is carried before kings), because "by his humility and submission he had established a preferential claim to the office."* Of Bughrá Sháh's fate nothing is known. Tughluq now despatched his adopted son† Tátár Khán, governor of Zafarábád (near Jaunpúr) with an army against Bahádur Sháh, who was captured and sent to Dihlí with a rope round his neck.

The provinces of Sunárgáoṇ and Sátgáoṇ were placed under separate military commanders, Sunárgáoṇ being given to Tátár Khán.‡

Tughluq Sháh then returned to Dihlí, and died on his arrival, crushed to death by the accidental or designed fall of a pavilion that had been erected for his reception. His successor, Muhammad Sháh Tughluq, left Náçiruddín in possession of Lak'hnautí. He released, however, immediately after his accession, Bahádur Sháh, gave him a large sum of money, and allowed him under certain conditions to return to Sunárgáoṇ, where Tátár Khán, the imperial commander was stationed. The province of Sátgáoṇ was placed under 'Izzuddín Yahyá A'zam ul-Mulk.§ Tátár Khán received at the same time the title of Bahrám Khán,|| as also a large sum of money, elephants, and horses, and was ordered to accompany Bahádur Sháh to Sunárgáoṇ. They were to share the kingdom; the coinage was to bear the name of Bahádur Sháh and Muhammad Sháh Tughluq, and their names were to be read out jointly in the *khutbah*; and lastly, Bahádur Sháh was to give up his son Muhammad Barbát as hostage.

* This, I daresay, is the meaning of Baraní's phrase (p. 451), *kih dar ifá'at o bandagí subúat namúdah búd*; i. e. Bughrá Sháh, if still alive, was passed over. This explanation shews that the emendation of the texts of Baraní and Firishtah proposed by Mr. Thomas (*Chronicles*, pp. 188, 197) is not required.

Firishtah, of course, confounds this Náçiruddín with Bughrá Khán, and calls him "the son of Balban." But Balban was born about 605 (A. D. 1208); and supposing that Bughrá Khán was born in 635—a moderate estimate—he would have been about ninety years old, when Tughluq was in Lak'hnautí, and his advanced age would certainly have been remarked. Further, Náçiruddín only received the province of Lak'hnautí, while Bughrá Khán had ruled over the whole of Bengal; Bughrá Khán's reinstatement, therefore, would have been a disgrace for an old man of illustrious descent.

† *Pisar-khwándah*, پسر خرونده. This word is pronounced without the *Izáfat*, and means 'an adopted son,' not 'a foster son.'

‡ Firishtah says that Náçiruddín got the whole of Bengal (in the passage quoted by Mr. Thomas, *Chron.*, p. 197); but further on, Firishtah corrects himself, and limits Náçiruddín's power to the province of Lak'hnautí.

§ *Bad.* I, 226, 230.

|| The French translation of Ibn Baṭúṭah has "II (Muhammad Sháh Tughluq) expédia avec lui le fils de son frere, Ibrahim Khán," which seems to be a mistake for "Bahrám Khán, his adoptive brother." ابراهيم is often confounded with بهرام.

In 726 A. H. (1326 A. D.), Náçiruddín died,* and Muhammad Sháh Tughluq appointed Malik Bedár Khilji,—many MSS. have Malik Pindár—governor of Lak'hnautí with the title of Qadar Khán. Bahádur Sháh for some time remained faithful to his engagement, and acknowledged on his coinage Muhammad Sháh as his suzerain; but at last he attempted to throw off all outward signs of allegiance—Ibn Baţúţah says he would not give up his son—, and thus brought Muhammad Sháh's vengeance on himself. The emperor sent a corps to Bahrám's assistance, and Bahádur Sháh was defeated, captured, and put to death. His skin was stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire (about 731 A. H., or A. H. 1331).†

Thus ended the line of the Balbaní kings of Bengal. The tragic end of this Bengali dynasty was not in the eyes of the Dihlí historians of sufficient importance to be recorded, and it was left to an African traveller to furnish another example of the vicissitudes of illustrious families.

Bengal remained imperial till 739 (A. D. 1338), when the death of Bahrám Khán‡ led to the successful revolt of Fakhruddín Mubárák Sháh, the chronology of whose reign was discussed in my former essay.

Summarizing these results and continuing the table of Bengal governors on p. 246 of last year's Journal, we have—

M u h a m m a d A r s a l á n T á t á r K h á n. He was governor of Bengal in the beginning of Balban's reign.

S h e r K h á n.

A m í n K h á n.

T u g h r í l (II), Amín Khán's *Náib*. He rebels in A. D. 1279, and proclaims himself king of Bengal under the name of Mughísuddín.

N á ç i r u d d í n B u g h r á K h á n, son of the emperor Balban, A. H. 681 to 691, or A. D. 1282 to 1292.

Ruknuddín Abul Muzaffar Kai Káuś, son of Bughrá Khán, the first acknowledged Muhammadan king of Bengal, 691 to 697 A. H., A. D. 1292 to 1297, or perhaps a few years later.

Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar^c Firuz Sháh (I), brother of Kai-Káuś, who reigned from 702 (if not earlier) to 717 or 718, A. D. 1302 to 1317 or 1318.

* Firishtah mentions his death before relating the events of 727 A. H.

† There is a confusion of names in Badáoní (Bibl. Indica Edit., I, 227; Lucknow Edition, p. 59), who calls the rebellious governor of Multan "Malik Bahrám Aibah, adoptive brother of Sultán Tughluq."

‡ Mr. Thomas gives a coin struck by Bahádur Sháh at 'Ghiyáspúr' without Muhammad Tughluq's name on it. Its date may be 730 A. H. If the name of the mint-town is at all capable of identification, it seems that we should look for it to the neighbourhood of Sunárgáon.

Shihabuddin Abul Muzaffar Bughra Sháh, son of Fírúz Sháh (I). He reigned in 718, or 1318, over Western Bengal.

Ghiyásuddin Abul Muzaffar Bahadur Sháh, brother of Bughrá Sháh. He ruled over Eastern Bengal from 711 (if not earlier) to 719, and over the whole of Bengal during 720, 721, 722, and perhaps 723.

Náçiruddin, brother of Bughrá Sháh, governor of Lakhnautí, from 723 to 726.

Ghiyásuddin Abul Muzaffar Bahádur Sháh, restored in 725 to the government of Eastern Bengal, jointly with

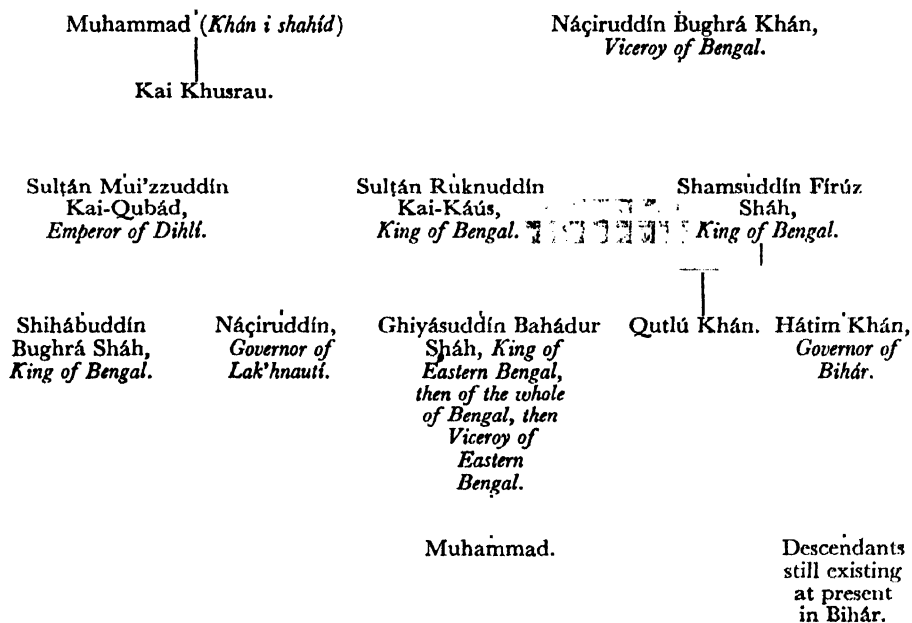
Bahrám Khán, 725 to 739. Bahádur Sháh rebels and is killed, about 731.

Qadar Khán, governor of Lak'hnautí, 726 to 740, when he is killed.

'Izzuddin Yahyá A'zam ul-Mulk, governor of Sátgáon, 724 to 740.

We have, therefore, the following genealogical tree of the Balban Dynasty:*

Sultán Balban, *Emperor of Dihlí*



* Completed from Chronicles, p. 148.

Of the other new Bengal coins given below, I may mention—

(1) A specimen of Jaláluddín Muhammad Sháh's coinage, of 831 A. H. (A. D. 1427-28), belonging to the Society; *vide* Plate XIII, No. 2. In my former Essay, I published coins of Muhammad Sháh of 818 and 821.*

(2) A unique Gold Husain Sháh of 907 (A. D. 1501-2), struck at Muzaffarábád.

Husain Sháh's mint towns, as far as known at present, are Fathábád, Muzaffarábád, and Husainábád. Fathábád was in my former Essay identified with the modern station of Farídpúr. Muzaffarábád occurs in an inscription of Husain Sháh's reign, published by me in the Journal for 1872, p. 106.† The inscription mentions that Rukn Khán, "Vazír of Muzaffarabád and Kotwál of Panđuah," built a mosque at Gangarámpúr. We may therefore conclude that Muzaffarábád was the (now unknown) name of a place or district in the neighbourhood of Panđuah.

Husainábád is mentioned on Husain Sháh's later coins, as also on those of his grandson and son Firúz Sháh (III) and Mahmúd Sháh (III). There are several Husainábáds near Gaur, and it is probable that Husainábád stands for 'Gaur.' Mr. Westmacott‡ is inclined to identify it with the Husainábád which lies eleven miles east by south from English Bázár, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles south by west from Chatra.

I may mention that Marsden and Laidley read "Janatábád," instead of "Husainábád;" but on careful examination it will be found that 'Husainábád' is the correct reading; nor is there any historical evidence to shew that Gaur had the euphemistic name of Jannatábád before Humáyún's time.

(3) Several new varieties of Nuçrat Sháh's coinage, one struck in 930 A. H. at Nuçratábád, a mint town which only appears on Nuçrat Sháh's coins. Unless the name stands, like Husainábád, for some place near Gaur, it may refer to the Nuçratábád, which Abulfazl gives under Sirkár G'horág'hát. In fact, it seems as if Nuçratábád stood for G'horág'hát itself; for Abulfazl does not mention the town and *Haweli* of G'horág'hát, but gives only *Baldah* Nuçratábád.

(4) A silver coin of Mahmúd Sháh (III), unique as far as the date is concerned, the property of Col. Hyde. Its date, 939 A. H., or 1533,

* Mr. Laidley's Muhammad Sháh given on p. Pl. IV, No. 8, Journal, A. S. B., 1846, resembles the specimen of the Society's cabinet.

† The legend as given there mentions Zafarábád; but the mistake was corrected in the Errata for 1872.

‡ Calcutta Review, 1874, p. 430. The Áin given a parganah Husainábád in Sirkár Audambar (Tándah); *vide* also Journal, A. S. B., for 1870, Pt. I, p. 295.

shews that the death of Nuçrat Sháh, the accession and murder of Fírúz Sháh (III),* and Mahmúd Sháh's accession all took place in 939. We have, therefore, to fix Mahmúd Sháh's reign from 939 (end) to 944, instead of 940 to 944, as given in my former Essay.

I now give my readings and translations of the above named inscriptions and coins.

Shihábuddin Abul Muzaffar Bughrá Sháh

(Great-Grandson of the Emperor Balban.)

For the reign of this king I have only to give the coin mentioned above.

1. *Vide* Pl. XIII, No. 1, and Thomas, 'Chronicles,' Pl. VI, No. 4. Silver. Weight, 166·97 grains. Lak'hnauti. A. H. 718. As. Socy. Bengal.

OBSERVE—الإمام المستعصم أمير المؤمنين

Margin—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة لكهنوتي في سنة ثمان عشر و سبعمائة

RESERVE—السلطان الأعظم شهاب الدنيا والدين أبوالمظفر بغده شاه السلطان بن السلطان

OBVERSE—The Imám al-Musta'çim, Commander of the Faithful.

Margin—This silver piece was struck in Lak'hnauti, the capital, in 718.

REVERSE—The great Sultán, Shiháb uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Bughrá Sháh.

Vide also Journal, As. Socy. Bengal, Pt. I, 1873, p. 250.

Jaláluddin Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh

(Tenth king.)

In my former Essay, I published three coins of this king, dated 818 and 821. The Hon'ble E. C. Bayley has since found specimens dated from 818 onwards to 824*.

1. *Vide* Pl. XIII, No. 2. Silver. Weight, 161·53 grains. A. H. 831. Tughrá characters. As. Socy. Bengal, one specimen.

OBVERSE—..... خليفة الله بالحجة والبرهان

Margin—محلك (٩) ٨٣١

REVERSE—جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

OBVERSE—The Khalifah of God by evidence and proof.

Margin—.....831.

REVERSE—Jalál uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh, the king.

Specimens of this coin do not appear to be very rare. I only lately saw three with a Calcutta *podár*; but they were entirely defaced and therefore useless.

* Journal, A. S. B., 1873, p. 298.

Násiruddīn Abul Muzaffar Mahmūdsháh (I)

(Twelfth king.)

The following inscription belonging to the reign of this king was found by Mr. Westmacott laid in a tomb near the Fort at Máldah. The stone is not *in situ*; it must have been taken from a mosque built by one Hilál in A. H. 859.

No. 1. *The Mahmūd Sháh Inscription of A. H. 859.*

قال عليه السلام من بنى مسجدا بنى الله له قسرا في الجنة *
 فى العهد السلطان الاعظم المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه

* *Vide* Proceedings, A. S. B., August, 1874, p. 157. The legend of the curious A'zam Sháhi, exhibited by the Honorable E. C. Bayley, is as follows:

OBVERSE—السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر اعظمشاه ابن سكندر شاه ابن
 الياس شاه

REVERSE—ناصر امير المومنين غوث الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه

Margin—ضرب هذه السكة بكسرة فيروز آباد سنة ٨١٢

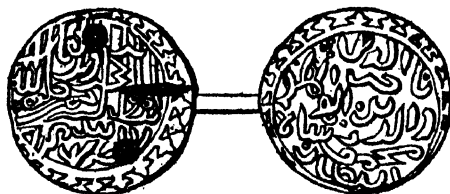
The coin is, no doubt, posthumous; and the reason assigned, namely, Timur's invasion, is the only satisfactory explanation that can be given. The Jaunpúr coinage offers another example; for the earliest dated coin given by Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, p. 321) is of 818, and the first two Jaunpúr kings (796 to 804) struck no coins. Besides, this posthumous A'zam Sháhi of 812 helps us perhaps to fix the reign of Báyzid Sháh; for as Báyzid's coins commence with 812, it seems as if his reign lasted from 812 to 817.

السلطان بنى هذا المسجد بذه درگاه هلال تحرير فى التاسع عشر من
 شعبان عمّت ميا منه سنة تسع وخمسين وثمانماية

He upon whom be peace said, 'He who builds a mosque will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.' In the reign of the great and exalted king N á ç r u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u z a f f a r M a h m ú d S h á h, the king, this mosque was built by the slave of the throne [of God], H i l á l. Written on the 19th Shábán—may the blessings of this month be general!—of the year 859 [4th August, 1455.]

The three Mahmūd Sháh inscriptions published in my former essay belong to 861 and 863; hence this one is the earliest hitherto found.

I take this opportunity of giving a slightly improved reading of Col. Hyde's unique Mahmúd Sháh silver coin, published by me in Journal, Pt. I, for 1873, p. 269.



OBVERSE—المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن خليفة الله بالحق والبرهان ضرب ٨٤٦

REVERSE—ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان

OBVERSE—Assisted by the assistance of the Merciful, the vicegerent of God by proof and evidence, struck 846.

REVERSE—Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh.

Ruknuddín Abul Mujáhid Bárbak Sháh

(Thirteenth king.)

Of this king only two inscriptions had hitherto been known. One of little importance was found by me at Tribeni; the other, dated Çafar 865, fixed the beginning of Bárbak's reign, and was discovered by Mr. Westmacott near the tomb of the Pír i Chihilgazi, 'the Saint forty yards high,' near Dinájpúr.*

The following Bárbak Inscription, which is only two months later than that of Mr. Westmacott, was brought about fifty years ago by Mr. Marshman from Gaur to Serampore. As mentioned above (p. 282), it is now in the Museum in Calcutta.

No. 2. *The Bárbak Sháh Inscription of A. H. 865.*

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله تعالى له سبعين قصرا في الجنة * بني المسجد في زمن الملك العادل ... وهو السلطان بن السلطان ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المجاهد باربكشاه سلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان و بانيه العاشر من جماد الاول سنة خمس و ستين و ثمانماية ١١

* *Vide* Mr. Westmacott's note in Journal, Pt. I, 1873, p. 273.

The Prophet (upon whom be peace !) has said, 'He who builds a mosque in the world will have seventy castles built for him by God in Paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the just, . . . king, namely the Sultán who is the son of a Sultán, R u k n u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u j á h í d B á r b a k Sh á h S u l t á n, son of Mahmúd Sháh Sultán, and the builder is on the 10th Junáda I, 865 [24th December, 1460].

The other Bárbak Sháh Inscription was discovered by Mr. Westmacott in the village of Deotaláo, on the road from Old Máldah to Dínájpur and 22 miles from the former. The slab is on the entrance of a mosque.

No. 3. *The Bárbak Sháh Inscription of Deotaláo. A. H. 868.*

قال الله تعالى أجعلتم سقاية الحاج وعمارة المسجد الحرام كمن آمن بالله
واليوم الآخر وجاهد في سبيل الله لا يسترون عند الله و الله لا يهدي القوم
الظالمين * قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا
بني الله تعالى [له] سبعين قصرا في الجنة * بنا هذه المسجد الجامع
بقصبة تيرواباد خان الاعظم و خاقان المعظم ناصح الملوك و السلاطين كافي العصر والزمان
الغ مرابطخان دامت معاليه في زمن الملك العادل البادل الفاضل العالم ركن الدنيا
و الدين ابر المظفر باربكشاه السلطان بن محمود شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه
و سلطانه و اعلى امره و شانه في الخامس من رجب رجب قدره سنة ثمان
و ستين و ثمانماية ١١

God Almighty says [Qorán IX, 9], 'Do you take the giving drink to the pilgrims and the frequenting of the Holy Masjid in value to be equal to him who believes in God and the last day and exerts himself on the road of God ? They are not equal in value in the eyes of God; for God does not direct unrighteous people.' The Prophet (blessings on him !) has said, 'He who builds, &c., (as above). This Jámí' mosque in the town of T í r ú á b á d was built by the great Khán, the exalted Kháqán, the adviser of kings and rulers, who is a sufficient protection against the [evils of the] age, U l u g h M u r á b í t Kh á n,—may his high qualities endure !—in the time of the just, liberal, learned, and wise king R u k n u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u z a f f a r * B á r b a k Sh á h, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate &c., !—on the 5th Rajab (may its honor increase !) of the year 868 [4th March, 1464].

On the mosque itself is a smaller inscription in four compartments. I have not deciphered the whole.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله
تعالى له سبعين قصورا في الجنة * . . المسجد في القصبة المباركة تيرواباد

عرف ديوتلا في العهد * * * * * كشاه خلد الله ملكه راعلي امرة و شانه
 سلمه الله تعالى في الدارين

The Prophet (blessings on him !) says, 'He who builds, &c., [as above]. This mosque (was built) in the blessed town of Tírúábád, generally known (*'urf*) as Deotlá o, in the reign of. k Sháh,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule and elevate his condition and dignity !—by [Ulugh Murábis Khán]. . . , may God protect him in both worlds !.

The wanting portions seem to contain the name of Ulugh Murábiṭ Khán, and at the end the words—

الى شهر سنة ثمان سبعين تسعمائة up to the year 978 (?)

'Murábiṭ' means 'guarding the frontiers.' The name 'Tírúábád' appears to be no longer known.

Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Sháh

(Fourteenth king)

According to the histories, Bárbak Sháh died in 879 A. H. The latest hitherto ascertained date is 873; but the Persian MS. on Sháh Ismá'il Gházi of Rangpúr discovered by Mr. Damant, furnishes some evidence of the correctness of the histories, inasmuch as the MS. states that Ismá'il was in 878 beheaded by Bárbak Sháh.

The following inscription of Yúsuf Sháh seems to be of 870 A. H. If the date is correct, the inscription can only refer to Yúsuf as prince or governor; and this supposition is strengthened by the absence of the formula *khallada alláhu mulkahu*, &c., which is due to the reigning king.

* This seems to be a mistake for *Abul Mujáhid*. The old Persian Dictionary, entitled 'Sharafnámah i Ibráhímí,' which is dedicated to Bárbak Sháh, has also 'Abul Muzaffar'; but as we know nothing regarding the author or his native town, and nothing definite regarding the year in which he completed his dictionary, it is possible that the Bárbak Sháh, to whom he dedicated his dictionary, is the Bárbak Sháh of Jaunpúr, who ruled in Jaunpúr from 879 (the year when the Bengal Bárbak Sháh is said to have died) to 881. Later, he was restored by Sikandar Lodi. Mr. Thomas (Chronicles, p. 877) has coins of 892 and 894; but they contain no *julús*-name. *Vide* Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1868, p. 8.

The *kunya*h of Muzaffar Sháh of Bengal, I believe, to be Abul-Naṣr, as given on inscriptions; and I believe the coin published in Journal, 1873, p. 312, gives this name likewise.

A similar confusion may be noticed in the *kunya*h of Aurangzib, which is *Abul-Zafar*, for, ابو الظفر, as given in the histories and on coins; but many inscriptions of his reign have the more common Abul Muzaffar.

The most common *kunya*hs of Indian kings are Abul-Muzaffar, Abul-Mujáhid, Abul-Fath, Abul-Zafar, Abul-Naṣr, Abul-Mahámí, Abul-Ma'áli, and Abul-Barakát; but there are not many more.

No. 4. *The Yûsuf Shâh Inscriptions of Old Mâldah*, A. H. 870.

Mr. Westmacott says, "I went to a mosque at Shânk Mohân in Old "Mâldah, and saw there two inscriptions; but the slabs had been washed "over and over again with pitch and oil, doubtless with most laudable motives, but to such an extent that to take a good rubbing is out of the question". "One of the inscriptions is 2 ft. 6 in. by 11 inch., in one line, and the date appears to be *sab'in wa samânmiâh*, 870."

The word *sanah* before the date is certainly doubtful; and the date may therefore be 876, or even 879.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجداً بنى الله له قسراً في
الجنة * في زمن الملك شمس الدنيا ر الدين ابو المظفر يوسف شاه
السلطان بن باربكساہ السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان . . المسجد الملك . . .
التاريخ . . جہادی اول من سنة سبعين و ثمانمائة ۱۱

The Prophet (upon whom be peace!) has said, 'He who builds, &c., [as above]. In the time of the...king Shamsuddunyâ waddûn Abul Muzaffar Yûsuf Shâh, the king, son of Mahmûd Shâh, the king...this mosque the Malik...dated Jumâda I, of the year 870.

The other inscription is a long narrow slab and contains two lines—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله * يقول العبد في بدو الامال
ر موصوف باوصاف الكمال . . . هو الحي والقيوم . . جناب مجلس الشرف . .
عين عنايات . . . بنى هذا المسجد مجلس الشرف . . الرجل شهر
مبارك . . .

The first line belongs to an Arabic *lamiyah* ode (metre, *hazaj*). Unfortunately, Mr. Westmacott had to leave Mâldah, before the stones could be thoroughly cleaned.

Saifuddin Abdul Muzaffar Firûz Shâh (II)

(Eighteenth king.)

Mr. Westmacott found two inscriptions of this king, for whose reign we had hitherto no mural evidence.

The first inscription is dated 15th Çafar, 894, and is from Goâmâlti Factory, within the precincts of Gaur. The letters are beautiful.

No. 5. *The Firúz Sháh (II) Inscription of Goámálti. A. H. 894.*

Mr. Westmacott says—"I think it most probable that the slab belonged originally to a mosque of which the ruins lie a couple of a hundred yards S. E. of the Factory. A row of four granite pillars, ten feet apart, and a corresponding pillaster; the northern wall built of brick with a course of granite, some of which is cut into a moulding; and a pinnacle at the south-western angle, still remain to shew that it was a fine building, with probably ten domes, in two rows, the length of the building from N. to S. being divided by the row of pillars. It has been deeply trenched, probably for the bricks. It is about a hundred yards to the eastward of an embankment which extends northwards, past Sa'dullahpúr to the tomb of Shaikh Akhi Sirájuddín, commonly called Jhunjhuniyah, at Komolabárá, at the N. W. angle of Ságardig'hí. Southwards I do not know the line of the embankment. It is called 'garh,' or 'fort.' Goámáltí lies about 5 miles S. of the station of English Bazar, and was the residence of the archaeologist Mr. Creighton, who has written a monograph on Gaur. Three of Mr. Creighton's children are buried at Goámáltí, A. D. 1800 and 1802."

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله تعالى
له سبعين قصرا في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد الغ اعظم و خاقان معظم
پهلوي عصر مخلص خان في عهد سلطان الاعظم المعظم العدل
سيف الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلي امره
و شانه في الخامس عشر من شهر صفر سنة اربع و تسعين و ثمانمائة ١١

The Prophet (blessings on him) says, 'He who builds, &c. &c.,' This...mosque was built by the great Ulugh, the exalted lord,...Mukhlis Khán,...in the reign of the great, exalted, liberal, and just king Saifuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and dignity!—on the 15th Safar, 894 [18th January, 1489].

I have also since found in the coin cabinet of our Society a rather defaced specimen of a Fírúz Sháhí of 893, as figured on p. 288 of last year's Journal. It weighs 163·37 grains.

No. 6. *Another Firúz Sháh Inscription from Máldah.*

Mr. Westmacott's second inscription of this king is from the Kaṭrah, or the old Fort, of Old Máldah. Buchanan says, it was a sarái, but it seems to be fortified. The date of the inscription is illegible.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجدا بني الله له سبعين قسرا
 فى الجنة * و قد بني هذا المسجد السلطان العادل سيف الدنيا و الدين
 ابو المظفر فيروز شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانى هذا المسجد مجلس
 و هو سعيد . . مؤرخا سنه ثمانماية ||

The Prophet, upon whom be peace, has said, 'He who builds, &c. This mosque was built [in the time of?] of the just king Saifuddin yá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! And the builder of this mosque is Majlis...namely Sa'id...dated anno 8.

No. 7. *The Fírúz Sháh Inscription from Garh Jaripá, Sherpúr,
 Maimansingh District*

The slab of this inscription is now in the Museum of the Society, and was received, as I stated above (p.282) from Bábu Hara Chandra Chaudhurí, of Sherpúr. It is of granite and measures 4 ft. by 2 ft.; but the letters are very unclear, and many are hopelessly broken away. The inscription seems to have belonged to a vault. In each corner of the slab is a square, containing the name of one of the first four Khalífahs; the two squares on the left and those on the right are joined by vertical lines, but the letters between each set of quares are illegible. The slab was entire; but an elephant put his foot on it, and the right side of the stone broke in two. The inscription itself consists of four lines. I have deciphered the following—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله . . لا اله الا الله . .
 محمد رسول الله اللهم صل علي محمد المصطفى و علي المرتضى
 و الفاطمة الزهراء و الحسن و الحسين بني . . سلطان العهد
 و الزمان سيف الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
 تم هذه (مقبرة) ؟ رمضان . . مبارك سنه ثمانماية ||

In the name of God, the merciful, the clement! There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is Allah's prophet...there is no God but Allah,...Muhammad is Allah's prophet...O God, bless Muhammad, the elected, and 'Alí, the chosen, and Fátimah, the pure, and Hasan...and Husain...built...the king of the age and the period Saifuddin yá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! This [vault]? was completed in the blessed...Ramazán, 8**.

'Aláuddin Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh

(Twenty-first king.)

Of this king no less than seventeen inscriptions have been published in this Journal.* They give the years 903, 907, 908, 909, 911, 915, 916, 918

* *Vide* Journal, 1873, Pt. I, p. 292, and Journal 1872, p. 106.

922, 925. Mr. Westmacott found in Máldah six new ones of 899, 900, 907, 910, 914, 918, 923; and Mr. J. R. Reid, C. S., has sent me two of 906 and 909 from Sárán.

Husain Sháh's coins, as far as hitherto known, give the years 899, 900, 912, 914, 918, 919. Of coins, I can give two new ones, *viz.*, a small silver coin of 899, from the cabinet of our Society, and a unique gold coin of 907, which Col. Hyde and I lately purchased at a podár's shop in Calcutta for the cabinet of the Society.

1. *Vide* Pl. XIII, No. 3. Silver, Weight, 166.89 grains. No mint-town. A. H. 899. (As. Soc. Bengal, one specimen.) Circular areas. No margin.

OBVERSE—علاء الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و ساطانه

REVERSE—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله خراج ٨٩٩

'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!

There is no God but Allah; Muhammad is Allah's prophet. Land Revenue (*kharaj*), 899.

2. *Vide* Pl. XIII. No. 4. Gold. Unique. Weight, 164.33 grains. Muzaffarbád, 907. (As. Soc. Bengal.) Circular areas. In the margin, twelve spearheads.

OBSERVE—علاء الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه سلطان ابن سيد اشرف
حسيني خلد الله ملكه

REVERSE—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله مظفر باد ٩٠٧

'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf the Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom!

There is no God but Allah; Muhammad is Allah's prophet. Muzaffarbád [Muzaffar-ábád], 907.

No. 8. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of 899.*

Mr. Westmacott found this inscription on the premises of one Pat'hú Khán at Máldah, not *in situ*, at the tomb he calls the "Dargáh i Aulád Sultán Ádam Balkhí," or 'the shrine of the descendants of Sultán Ádam of Balkh.' Sultán Ádam's name is not given in biographical works of Saints in my possession.

قال النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنِي مَسْجِدِ اللَّهِ بَنِي اللَّهِ لَهُ قَصْرًا مِثْلَهُ
فِي الْجَنَّةِ * بَنِي فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ عَلَاءِ الدُّنْيَا وَ الدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظَفَّرِ حُسَيْنِ شَاه

السَّالْطَانُ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ ر سَاطَانَهُ بَنِي هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ مَجْلِسَ رَاحَتٍ فِي الْعِشْرِ
ذِي الْقَعْدَةِ مِنْ سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَتِسْعِينَ وَثَمَانِيَةَ ۥ

The Prophet says (God's blessings on him!), 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a castle like it built for him by God in Paradise.' It was built in the reign of Sultán 'Alá uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom! This mosque was built By Majlis Ráhat [ullah], on the 10th Zí Qa'dah, 899 [13th August, 1494].

The inscription seems to have been carved by the same hand as the Muzaffar Sháh inscription of 898, of which I gave a facsimile in my former essay.

No. 9. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of 900.*

This inscription was found by Mr. Westmacott on a neat little mosque, utterly ruined, just outside the Máldah *Kaṭrah*. The Mosque is called 'Fauti Masjid,' or 'Burial Mosque.' "The *Kaṭrah*," Mr. Westmacott says, "is called by the people a Sarái for travellers; but from its strength, "and the depth of the gateways, I still think it must have been a fort, perhaps used as a Sarái latterly. It is just opposite a curious tower on the "Nimah Sarái side of the Mahánandá River, stuck all round with slabs of "stone, which look as if they been intended to support the builder's scaffold- "ing, and have never been removed."

قَالَ النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ بَنِيَ مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ قَصْرًا مِثْلَهُ
فِي الْجَنَّةِ * بَنَى فِي عَهْدِ السَّالْطَانِ الْمُؤَيَّدِ بِتَأْيِيدِ الدِّينِ الْمَجَاهِدِ فِي
سَبِيلِ الرَّحْمَنِ خَلِيفَةِ اللَّهِ بِالْحِجَّةِ وَ الْبَرْهَانَ عَلَاؤُ الدِّينِ وَ الدِّينِ ابْنِ الْمُظْفَرِ
حُسَيْنِ شَاهِ السَّالْطَانِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ ر سَاطَانَهُ بَنِي هَذَا الْمَسْجِدِ خَانَمَعْظَمَ
بْنِ الْغَشِيرِ فِي الْعَشْرِ شَوَّالِ مِنْ سَنَةِ تِسْعِمِائَةٍ ۥ

The Prophet (God's blessings on him!) says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a castle built for him by God in Paradise.' It was built in the time of the king who is assisted by the assistance of the Judge, and exerts himself on the road of the Merciful, the Khalífah of God by proof and evidence, 'Alá uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! This mosque was built by Khán Mu'azzam, son of Ulguh Sher, on the 11th Shawwál, 900 [5th July, 1495].

No. 10.* *The Inscription of Husain Sháh's Madrasah at Gaur.*

A. H. 907.

Mr. Westmacott found this interesting inscription on a little mosque near the Thánah at English Bázár. The stone is, therefore, not *in situ*, and may have belonged to the Madrasah, the ruins of which he states to exist in Gaur.†

The beginning of this inscription, 'Search after knowledge even as far as China,' is a well known saying of the Prophet, and is often in modern times quoted by Muhammadans in connexion with the spread of English education in the East.

The inscription is free from grammatical mistakes.

قال النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم اطلبوا العلم ولو بالصين * امر بذا
هذه المدرسة الشريفة السلطان الاعظم الاكرم سيد السادات مذهب السعادات المجاهد
في سبيل الله المذنب الفاتح للكامرور الكامنة بعون الرحمن علاء الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر حسين شاه السلطان الحسينى. خلد الله ملكه لتدريس علوم الدين
وتعليم احكام اليقين راجيا من الله الاجر العظيم و سائلا منه رضوانه القديم فى
غرة شهر رمضان سنة سبع وتسعمائة ١١

The Prophet (God's blessings on him!) has said, 'Search after knowledge, and if it were in China.' This excellent Madrasah was ordered to be built by the great and generous king, the Sayyid of the Sayyids, the source of auspiciousness, who exerts himself on the road of God the All-giver, the conqueror of K á m r ú and K á m t a h with the help of the Merciful, 'Alá uddunyá wa'dín Abul Muza'ffar Husain Sháh, the king, the Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—for the teaching of the sciences of religion and instruction in those orders which alone are true, because he hopes to obtain from God the great reward and asks Him for His everlasting mercy, on the 1st Ramazán, 907 [10th March, 1502].

* Mr. Westmacott also sent me rubbings of several inscriptions from Hemtábád, Western Dínájpúr. Among them was an incomplete Húsain Sháhl of A. H. 906; a large circular inscription, containing Qor. 48, 27; and a tomb inscription of one Shaikh Jamál-uddín bin Makhdúm Shaikh.

† The removal of inscriptions from Gaur may have been the cause of their preservation. We know from Grant's Essay (Vth Report, p. 285) that the *Nizamat Daftar* contained an entry of Rs. 8000 under the head of *qimat khishtkar*, which was annually levied from a few landholders in the neighbourhood of Gaur, who had the exclusive right of "dismantling the venerable remains of the ancient city of Gaur or Lak'hnauti, and conveying from thence a particular species of enamelled bricks, surpassing in composition the imitative skill of the present race of native inhabitants."

No. 11. *The Husain Sháh Inscription from Sâran. A. H. 909.*

This inscription was sent me by Mr. J. R. Reid, C. S., A'zamgarh, N. W. Provinces.*

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجدا لله بنى الله له بيتا مثله
فى الجنة * بنى هذا المسجد الجُمع السَّاطن المعظَّم المكرم علاء الدُّنيا والدين
ابو المظفر حسين شاه السَّاطن ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
فى سنة تسع وتسعمائة ١١

The Prophet, &c., &c., (as above). This Jâmi' mosque was built by the exalted and honoured king, 'Alâuddunyâ waddîn Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, Al-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!--in the year 909 [1503-4].

No. 12. *The Husain Sháh Inscription of 910 A. H. from Máldah.*

Mr. Westmacott found this inscription preserved in the mosque of Muṣṭafá Khán at Gilábári, Máldah. Gilábári is about five miles below English Bázár, on the western bank of the Mahánandá. The mosque is built from materials taken from the ruins of Gaur, and the people say that the slab, too, which must have belonged to a gate, came from there.

قد بنى هذا الباب فى عهد السَّاطن المعظَّم المكرم علاء الدُّنيا والدين
ابو المظفر حسين شاه السَّاطن ابن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
فى سنة عشر وتسعمائة ١١

This door was built in the time of the exalted and honored king, 'Alâuddunyâ waddîn Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf Al-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!--in the year 910 [A. D. 1504-5].

* Mr. Reid also sent me a rubbing of a Hosain Sháh inscription from Ismáilpúr in Sâran. The right hand half of the slab is wanting. The left portion is—

... وهو السلطان الاعظم المعظم والامام الغالب المكرم المجاهد على اعداء الله
المظهر لكلمة الله المنسوب الى حضرت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
مجلس المجالس الملقب بسحابدل لا زالت سخاوتة باقية الى يوم الدين
و ثابتة الى ان ياتيه اليقين فى شهر النبي الشعبان سنة ست وتسعمائة ١١

...namely the great and exalted king, and the victorious, liberal Imám, who exerts himself against the enemies of God, who professes the true faith, who traces his descent from the Prophet of God...the Majlis ul-Majális who is known as the "Shower-heart" [*i. e.* the liberal]—may his generosity last to the day of judgment and endure till the truth comes to him! In the month of the Prophet, Sha'bán, 906 [March, 1501].

The month of Sha'bán is often called 'the month of the Prophet,' just as Rajab is called *shahr ullah*, 'the month of God.'

No. 13. *The Inscription from Husain Sháh's Mosque in Máldah.*
A. H. 914.

The reading of this inscription is by Mr. Westmacott, who found the slab attached to a modern mosque in Máldah.

قال النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا مِثْلَهُ
فِي الْجَنَّةِ * بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ الْجَامِعَ السَّلْطَانُ الْمُعَظَّمُ الْمُكْرَمُ علاؤُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ
ابنُ الْمُظَفَّرِ حُسَيْنِ شَاهِ السَّلْطَانِ ابْنِ سَيِّدِ أَشْرَفِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَرِسَالَتُهُ
سَنَةِ أَرْبَعٍ وَعَشَرَ وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ ۥ

The Prophet, &c., &c., (as above). This Jāmi' mosque was built by the exalted and honored king, 'Alá uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, Al-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—in the year 914 [A. D. 1508].

No. 14. *Inscription from Husain Sháh's Mosque at Molnatalí, Máldah.*
A. H. 918.

Mr. Westmacott found this inscription together with one of Nuçrat Sháh (*vide* below No. 16) at Molnatalí [Maulánatalí?], about a mile south of old Máldah, in a little mud hut. "Both inscriptions," he says, "are placed side by side face upwards, on the ground, and are said to cover the grave of a Pir, called Sulţán Shihábuddín, at which a lamp is kept burning. The people say, he left the throne and became a Faqír. Could this be your Shihábuddín Báyazid Sháh?"

قال النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنَى مَسْجِدًا لِلَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا مِثْلَهُ
فِي الْجَنَّةِ * بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ السَّلْطَانُ الْمُعَظَّمُ الْمُكْرَمُ علاؤُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ
ابنُ الْمُظَفَّرِ حُسَيْنِ شَاهِ السَّلْطَانِ ابْنِ سَيِّدِ أَشْرَفِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ خَلَدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكُهُ وَرِسَالَتُهُ
سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَعَشَرَ وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ ۥ

The Prophet, &c., &c., (as above). This mosque was built by the exalted and honored king 'Alá uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, Al-Husaini—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!—in the year 918 [A. D. 1512].

No. 15. *Inscription from Daulat Názir's Mosque at Bholáhát.* A. H. 923.

The builder of this mosque, to judge from his name, was a Eunuch.

Mr. Westmacott found the inscription at Bholáhát, which lies near Gilábárí, mentioned on p. 304, on the western bank of the Mahánandá, below English Bázár.

قال النَّبِيُّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مِنْ بَنِي مَسْجِدِ اللَّهِ بَنَى اللَّهُ لَهُ بَيْتًا مِثْلَهُ
 فِي الْجَنَّةِ * بَنَى هَذَا الْمَسْجِدَ فِي عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ الْمُعَظَّمِ الْمَكْرُمِ علاؤُ الدِّنِ
 وَالدينِ اَبِو الْمُظَفَّرِ حُسَيْنِ شَاهِ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ سَيِّدِ اَشْرَفِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ
 مُلْكَهُ وَ سُلْطَانَهُ وَ اَعْلَى اَمْرَهُ وَ شَانَهُ وَ بَانِيَهُ دَوْلَتِ نَازِرِ دَامَ عِزُّهُ فِي سُدَّةِ ثَلَاثِ
 عَشْرِينَ وَ تِسْعِمِائَةٍ ۥ

The Prophet, &c., &c., (as before). This mosque was built in the reign of the exalted and honored king 'A l á u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u z a f f a r H u s a i n Sh á h, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, Al-Husainí—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and dignity! Its builder is D a u l a t N á z i r,—may his honor continue!—in the year 923 [A. D. 1517.]

Násiruddín Abul Muzaffar Nusrat Sháh.

(Twenty-second king.)

The year of Nuçrat Sháh's* accession still remains doubtful; but it is now certain that his death took place in the middle of 939 A. H., or about January, 1533.

The histories state that Husain Sháh died in 927; but the last ascertained date is 925. The Nuçrat Sháh inscriptions hitherto published, including those given below, are of 929, 930, 933, 935, 936, 937, 938. For the year 939, we have (1) the coins of his son Fírúz Sháh (III), who is said to have reigned three months; (2) a Fírúz Sháh inscription of *Ramazán*, 939; and (3) the coins of his uncle Mahmúd Sháh (*vide* pl. XIII, No. 10); hence Nuçrat Sháh must have died in the middle of 939.

As explained by me in Journal for 1873, p. 297, Nuçrat Sháh's coinage shews the early dates 922, 924, 927, and I shall enumerate below new varieties of his coinage from the specimens preserved in the Society's cabinet.

No. 16. *The Nuçrat Sháh Inscription from Fath Khán's Mosque, Máldah, A. H. 930.*

The following inscription was found by Mr. Westmacott together with No. 14, given above, at Molnatalí, over the grave of 'Sultán Shilábuddín.' It refers to a mosque entrance built by one Fath Khán.

* I find that Bábar calls this king by his correct royal name, not Naçíb Sháh. *Vide* Dowson, IV, 260; also Akbarnámah, I, 160.

Bábar was Nuçrat Sháh's contemporary. Another renowned contemporary was Chaitanya, the son of a Silhat bráhmán, who founded the sect of the Vaishnavis (Boishtobs). According to Bengali accounts, Chaitanya was born in Nadiyá, to which place his father had removed, in 1485, *i. e.* during the reign of Fath Sháh.

بني هذا الباب المسجد في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امره و شانه و بانيه خانم معظم فتحخان دام علوه في سنة ثلاثين و تسعمائة ا

The door of this mosque was built in the reign of the exalted and honored king, son of a king, Nāṣir uddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaḥḥar Nuṣrat Shāh, the king, son of Husain Shāh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and may He elevate his condition and dignity! Its builder is Khān Mu'azzam Faṭḥ Kḥān—may his exalted position last!—in the year 930 [A. D. 1524].

No. 17. *The Nuṣrat Shāh Inscription from Gaur.* A. H. 933.

The slab of this inscription is now in the Society. It was received together with the Bārbak Shāh Inscription of 865, given above, from Dr. G. Smith, late of Serampore.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد الله بني الله له بيتا مثله في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان العالم السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و بانيه المجلس سعد دام علوه في سنة ثلث و ثلاثين و تسعمائة ا

The Prophet, &c., &c., (as before). This Jāmi' mosque was built in the reign of the learned king, the king who is the son of a king, Nāṣir uddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaḥḥar Nuṣrat Shāh the king, son of Husain Shāh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom! Its quilder is Majlis Sa'd,—may his exaltation endure! In the year 933 [A. D. 1527].

No. 18. *The Nuṣrat Shāh Inscription of Māldah.* A. H. 935.

Mr. Westmacott found this inscription let into the tomb of a saint, called Nankāpatī Sāhib, about a mile south of Māldah; but it commemorates the building of a mosque entrance by one Khalf Khān, son of Majlis Qarāra Turk, to judge from his name.

بني هذا الباب المسجد الجامع في عهد الملك العادل السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانيه خانم معظم خلفخان بن مجلس قرا في سنة خمس و ثلاثين و تسعمائة ا

The door of this Jāmi' Mosque was built in the time of the just king, the Sultān, son of Sultān, Nāṣir uddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaḥḥar Nuṣrat Shāh, the king son of Husain Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! Its builder is Khān Mu'azzam Khān, son of Majlis Qarā. In the year 935 [A. D. 1528-29].

No. 19. *The Nuṣrat Shāh Inscription of Māldah.* A. H. 938.

This inscription, which is of importance on account of its date, commemorates the building of a well by one Bonāmāltī. The slab is small and was found by Mr. Westmacott lying on the grave of a widow in Cholsapārā, Old Māldah.

The name Bonāmāltī is doubtful: the first two syllables have no diacritical points in the inscription.

قال الله تعالى من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها * بني هذه السقاية
في عهد السلطان السلطان بن ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه
السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانيه بونامالتي في
سنة ثمان و ثلثين و تسعمائة ॥

God Almighty has said, 'He who comes with a good deed, to him (will be) ten similar ones.' This well was built in the reign of the king, the king who is the son of a king, Nāṣir uddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaḥḥar Nuṣrat Shāh, the king, son of Husain Shāh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! Its builder is Bonāmāltī. In the year 938 [A. D. 1531-32.]

No. 20. *The Nuṣrat Shāh Inscription from Majlis Sirāj's Mosque, Māldah.*

This is a mere fragment of an inscription. Mr. Westmacott found it in the Chillah, or prayer-cell, of the Saint Quṭb 'Alam, on the northern bank of the Kalindrī River, at Solpūr Nagrai, nearly opposite Gangarāmpūr Factory, 6 miles above Old Māldah.

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد الله بني الله له بيتا
مثله في الجنة * بني هذا المسجد الجامع في عهد السلطان بن السلطان * * *
و الدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
و بانيه مجلس سراج * * * *

The Prophet, &c., &c., (as above). This Jāmi' mosque was built in the time of the king, the son of the king [Nāṣiruddunyā] waddīn Abul Muzaḥḥar Nuṣrat Shāh, the king, son of Husain Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! Its builder is Majlis Sirāj*****

Of Nuçrat Sháh's coinage I have given on Pl. XIII five new varieties from the Cabinet of the As. Society. The legend is the same on all of them, dates and mint towns excepted.

OBVERSE—السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر

REVERSE—نصرتشاه سلطان بن حسين شاه سلطان الحسيني خلد الله ملكه نصرتاباد ۹۳۵

OBVERSE—The king, son of a king, Nāçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar

REVERSE—Nuçrat Sháh, the king, son of Husain Sháh, the king, the Husaini, —may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule!

No. 5, Pl. XIII, weighs only 160·06 grains, and resembles No. 6, which weighs 164·32 grains. Both specimens are struck at Nuçratábád, and No. 6 bears the date 930 A. H. Nos. 7, 8, 9 are of rude manufacture, and weigh 163·97, 163·8, 163·72 grains, respectively. They belong to the time before the death of Nuçrat Sháh's father; for they bear the dates 923 (No. 9) and 924 (Nos. 7, 8). In all of them the figure 2 is inverted, and has therefore the same shape as a 6 (1). No 7 seems to bear on the obverse the mint-town of Khalifatábád.

On comparing the artistic skill displayed by the die-cutters with that of the engravers of Bengal inscriptions of the same period, one cannot help being surprised at the deficiency and absolute want of the former and the high perfection of the latter.

Ghiyásuddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh (III).

(Twenty-fourth king.)

I mentioned above that the reign of this king commenced in the end of 939. This is proved by the following coin—

Vide Pl. XIII, No. 10. Silver. Weight, 167·53 grains. (Col. H. Hyde). A. H. 939. Husainábád.

OBVERSE—السلطان بن السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه

REVERSE—السلطان بن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانة حسيناباد ۹۳۹

*Circular Area in the middle of Obverse and Reverse—*بدر شاهي

OBVERSE—The king, son of a king, Ghiyás uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh.

REVERSE—The king, son of Sultán Husain Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule! Husainábád, 939.

Circular area on Obverse and Reverse.—The royal moon.

A daughter of Mahmúd Sháh was married to Khizr Khán,* Sher Khán's governor of Bengal.

* *Vide* Dowson IV, 390, where he is called 'Bairak,' and V, 115, where he is called 'Surk.'

MUHAMMADAN PERIOD, No III

(With a plate.)

Major Raverty's copiously annotated translation of the *Ṭabaqāt i Nā-giri* furnishes in its chapters on the Mu'izzī Sultāns of Bengal a few items of local interest and raises some points for discussion. First of all, as far as chronology is concerned, the necessity of dating back a few years the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyār Khilji* has become clear. Major Raverty fixes upon the year 589 H., or A. D. 1193, as the year when Qutbuddīn established himself in Dihli. Several sources give 588; some give 587, or 1191 A. D., which last date Mr. E. Thomas looks upon as "consistent with the best authorities." The conquest of Bengal, again, is referred by Major Raverty to the year 590 H. (A. D. 1194), or one year after the occupation of Dihlī as computed by him. A MS. history of Gaur, made by Munshī Syām Prasād for Major Franklin, appears also to fix upon 590 as the year in which Bengal was conquered, because it states that the life and the reign of Lakshman Sen extended from 510 to 590. Mr. Thomas refers the conquest of Bengal to the year 599 H., or A. D. 1202-3, his authority being, I believe, the *Tāj ul-Maāṣir*, which states that the fort of Kálinjar was conquered by Qutbuddīn in 599, and that he afterwards went to the neighbouring Mahobá, where Muhammad Bakhtyār paid his respects and offered presents from the Bengal spoils. Major Raverty disposes of this statement of the *Tāj ul-Maāṣir* by saying, "but this certainly took place ten years before 599 H."†

Major Raverty is mistaken, however, on his own authorities, when he asserts that the conquest of Bengal took place in 590 H., or A. D. 1194. According to his translation of Muhammad Bakhtyār's biography and the *Biblistheca. Indica* text, we see—

* The *Burhan i Qāṭi*, gives the spelling 'Khalaj', and the Tahrán edition of the *Farhang* gives "Khalaj, a tribe in the desert near Sāwah." Major Raverty writes 'Khalj', and thus follows the older Indian dictionaries as the *Ibrāhīmī*, *Kashful-lughāt*, and *Madārul-afāzil*; but the common Indian pronunciation of the adjective, whether right or wrong, is Khilji. The coins of the Málwá kings, on which 'Khilji' is made to rhyme with 'multaji', favour the pronunciation 'Khalaji'. But in forming adjectives of proper nouns, vowels are often changed. Thus in Arabic 'Biṣri' from 'Baṣrah'. Or forms are shortened, as 'Káshī' from 'Káshán'. Hence 'Khilji' from 'Khalaj, or 'Khalj' would not be unusual. That 'Khilji', with an i, is old, may be seen from the pronunciation of the towns of Khiljipúr, of which one belongs to Sárangpúr, the other to Rantanbhúr.

† Raverty's translation of the *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 524.

(1) That Muhammad Bakhtyár appeared before Quṭbuddín in Dihlí, and was rejected by reason of his humble condition.

According to Major Raverty, Dihlí was occupied in 589; hence Muhammad Bakhtyár must have been rejected in or after 589 H.

(2) After his rejection, Muhammad Bakhtyár goes to Badáon, where Hizabr gives him a fixed salary.

(3) *After some time*, Muhammad Bakhtyár goes to Audh, where he obtains certain fiefs near the Bihár frontier. He now undertakes plundering expeditions, which continue, according to the printed text, *for one or two years*.*

(4) He invades Southern Bihár and takes the town of Bihár. He then goes to Dihlí, where he remains for some time at Quṭb's court.

(5) *The second year after his conquest of Bihár*, he sets out for Bengal, and takes Nadiyá.

Now, how is it possible, with these five chronological particulars, that Muhammad Bakhtyár could have left Bihár, as Major Raverty says, in 589 H., to invade Lakhanuṭi, if Quṭb occupied Dihlí in 589?† It would, indeed, be a close computation if we allowed but five years for the above events, i. e., if we fixed the conquest of Bengal as having taken place in 594, or A. D. 1198.

To continue. We further find—

(6) That Muhammad Bakhtyár, after the taking of Nadiyá, selects Lakhanuṭi as his capital,‡ brings “the different parts of that territory under his sway, and institutes therein, in every part, the reading of the *khuṭbah*, and the coining of money; and through his praiseworthy endeavours, and those of his Amírs, *masjids*, colleges, and monasteries, were founded in those parts.” (Raverty, p. 559).

(7) *After some years had passed away*, Muhammad Bakhtyár invades Tibbat.

* Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 147, l. 12. Major Raverty has left this out.

The conquest of Bihár, in the list of Mu'izzuddín Muhammad's victories, is styled the conquest of Adwand Bihár (ادوند بهار), for which the printed text has 'Awand Bihár' (اوند بهار). I dare say the word intended is دانق 'High-ground Bihár,' i. e., South Bihár. Thus a parganah of Sirkár Munger in South Bihár is called دانق سكهواره Dánq Sik'hwárah. The plain of Bihár north of the Ganges was not conquered by Muhammad Bakhtyár.

† Raverty, p. 553. In note 6 to p. 550, Major Raverty says that Muhammad Bakhtyár first presented himself to the Sulṭán at *Lahor*, but the text has Dihlí (p. 549).

‡ It is a curious coincidence that Lakhanuṭi near the Jamuná, S. W. of Saháranpúr was a Turkmán colony. *Vide* my A'in text, Vol. I, p. 525, and Atkinson's N. W. P. Gazetteer, II, 298.

(8) He returns discomfited, and is assassinated, immediately on his return, at Deokoṭ in 602 H.

The invasion of Tibbat may have taken place in 601, as Major Raverty says; but as Muhammad Bakhtyār had before been *for some years* engaged in settling his Lakhnaufī territory, it is clear that Nadiyā must have been taken about 594 or 595, *i. e.*, in A. D. 1198 or 1199. Thus, on the authority of the Ṭabaqāt—the only authority which we possess for this period—the year (599) chosen by Mr. Thomas for the conquest of Bengal is a little too late; but the year 590, fixed upon by Major Raverty, is impossible as being too early.

The conquest of Mahobá by Quṭb and the arrival of Muhammad Bakhtyār's presents, which according to the *Tāj ul-Madāʾir* and *Firishtah* took place in 599, involve therefore no contradiction as far as chronology is concerned.

We may now safely assume that the conquest of Bengal by Muhammad Bakhtyār took place about 1198-9 A. D.

Before proceeding to the next point, I have to make a remark on the name of Quṭbuddīn Aibak, of the Paralyzed Hand, though I had thought that Mr. Thomas had set this question at rest. The text of the Bibl. Indica Edition of the Ṭabaqāt (p. 13) Major Raverty's MSS. have clearly the same words—has the following—

بظاہر جمالی نداشت و انگشت خنصر او از دست شکستگی داشت بدان
سبب اورا ایبک شل گفتند *

If the editor had given more diacritical marks, he would have written *shikastagī* or still better *shikastagī*, with the *yā i tankīr*, as in *jamāle*. The literal translation is—

Outwardly he had no comeliness, and his little finger [of one hand] possessed an infirmity. For this reason they called him *Aibak i sahl* [Aibak with the paralyzed hand].

Major Raverty translates—

He possessed no outward comeliness; and the little finger [of one hand?] had a fracture, and on that account he used to be styled *Ibak i Shil*. [The powerless-fingered.]

In a footnote he says that the words *از دست* in the printed text are not correct and spoil the sense.

But, *firstly*, 'shikastagī' is an abstract noun, and does not mean 'a fracture', but 'weakness, infirmity'; 'a fracture' would be the noun 'shikast.*' There is no evidence that his finger was actually broken; for

* Cf. *رنجیدگی* and *رنج* a wash, and *شکستگی* the state following a wash, *i. e.*, cleanness; and many others.

Aibak is not called "Aibak of the broken finger." *Secondly*, the words *az dast*, which Major Raverty condemns, are absolutely necessary; for if left out, *خنصر* might refer to his little toe [خنصر از پا]. *Thirdly*, there is no Persian word *shil*, meaning 'soft, paralyzed', and an Arabic word *shal*, meaning 'withered'; but the Persians use the Arabic *shal*, or rather *shall*, 'having a withered hand'. *Fourthly*, Major Raverty says that *ibak* in Turkish means 'finger'; hence 'Ibak' alone cannot be the real name of Qutbuddín, but '*Ibak-i-shil*'. Supposing this name to be correct, the *izáfat* must be cancelled, and the words should be inverted, '*shil-ibak*.* But in all Turkish dictionaries that I have been able to consult, *ibak* is stated to mean 'a crest', 'a comb', not 'a finger'; nor is *aibak*, or *ebak*, given with the meaning 'finger-cut' as stated by Major Lees in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,† but in the sense of 'idol', and the *Shams-ullu-ghât* gives the etymology *أي بك*, *i. e.*, *میر ماه*, 'Lord of the moon'.

Mr. Thomas, therefore, is quite correct in looking upon Aibak as the original name, and this is confirmed by mural testimony. It moreover agrees with Aibak's history. As he was captured *and sold*, when a child, he must have been a heathen; for Musalmáns cannot be sold, least of all to a Qází who administers justice. Hence Aibak's name must have been a heathenish (Turkish) name; and neither 'Qutbuddín', nor 'Ibak-shil' which contains a rare *Arabic* word, can possibly have been his name.

If we could attach the lightest weight to the legend on Qutbuddín Aibak's coinage as given by Major Raverty on p. 525 of his translation, Major Raverty would be refuted by his own remarks; for in the legend Qutbuddín is merely called 'Aibak', as on inscriptions and in several places of the *Ṭabaqát*. I, too, have a work in my possession on the 'Coins of the Saláṭín i Hind', a modern demi-quarto Dihlí lithograph, based on Sayyid Ahmad's *Āṣār uṣṣanádíd*, and I dare say I have discovered the source of Major Raverty's information. But any one that has worked for six months among Indian coins, will reject the legend as unnumismatic. The same must be said of Major Raverty's inscription on the coinage of Áráṃ Sháh, Aibak's son.‡

* This is required by the Persian idiom; for you say *shikastah-pá*, 'a man whose foot is broken'; *ranjidah-dil*; *shash-angusht* 'a man who has six fingers'; hence at least *shal-ibak*.

† J. R. A. S., Vol. III, 1868, p. 438. He has transferred to *aibak* the meaning of *shall*.

‡ It is odd that the printer's devil should have left his mark on Major Raverty's legend of Áráṃ Sháh *pseudo*-coin; the devil has *haza la dirham*, &c., and I agree with him.

I take this opportunity to justify Abul-Fazl. Major Raverty says (p. 529)—"Abul-Fazl makes the astonishing statement that Áráṃ Sháh was Qutbuddín's *brother*!" Abul-

The Turkish word *آی* *ai*, 'a moon', occurs also in other names of Indian history; but the oldest dictionaries give the pronunciation *ē*. Thus in *Ai-tigín* or *Ē-tigín*, and *Ai-lititimish*, the emperor "Altamsh", the shortened Indian spelling and pronunciation of whose name has been proved by metrical passages, inscriptions, and *good MSS.*, to be *Ēltimish*, *Ititimish*, *Ēltimish*, and *Ēlītmish*. I look upon Major Raverty's spelling 'I-yal-timish' as behind modern research.*

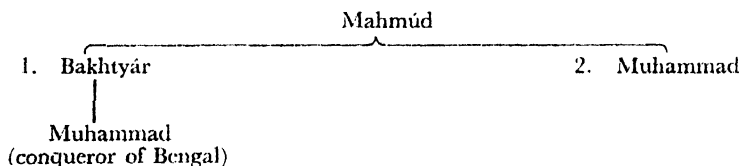
The next point which claims our attention is the name of the Muhammadan conqueror of Bengal. The only thing we knew hitherto (and I believe it is all we know now) is that the conqueror of Bengal was called

Muhammad Bakhtyár,

and that the name of his paternal uncle was

Muhammad Mahmúd.

The names of these two persons Major Raverty breaks up, by introducing an artificial *izáfat*, or sign of the genitive, into four names, *viz.* Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, and Muhammad-i-Mahmúd. This would give, if correct, the following genealogical tree—



Major Raverty says in explanation that "in his older MSS." the word *bin*, or son, is inserted between the words Muhammad and Bakhtyár in the heading of Chapter V, which contains the biography of the conqueror of Bengal; hence the conqueror of Bengal was Muhammad, and "the father's

Fazl states twice and distinctly that Á'rámeSháh was Aibak's son; *vide* my Áin text, pp. ৩৩০ and ৩৩৩.

* Major Raverty introduces dangerous innovations in other names. I only speak of names that occur in pp. 500 to 600. On page 577, he speaks of a "Sálár (a leader, chief) Zaffir." This should be 'Sálár Zafár' where Sálár belongs to the name. "Zaffir" is *not* used in names. He calls the town of Kálpi "Kálbī"; Guhrám, "Kuhṛám"; Badáon, "Budá'un"; Sarsutí, "Sursutí"; Síwistán, "Síwastán"; Jumáda, "Jamádí"; Shaikh-ul-Á'rífín, "Shaikh-ul-Á'rífain"; Tazkirah, "Tazkarah"; Abú Bakr, "Abú Bīkr"; shajarah, "shajirah"; Siráj, "Saráj"; Dinájpúr, "Dinjájpúr"; Wainá-Ganga, "Wana-Gangá"; Godáwari, "Gúdáwúrí"; Ráísín, "Rásín"; Chutiyá Nágpúr, "Chhotah Nágpúr"; Á'çaf, "A'çif"; Jhárkhand, "Jhár-kunçah"; Karamnása, "Karmahnásah"; Bikrampúr, "Bikrámpúr"; Dak'hin, "Dak'han".

name, it appears, was Bakhtyár, the son of Mahmúd.”* It is not stated in how many MSS. this *bin* occurs; but though it occur in the heading, it never occurs in the text.† Nor does the word *bin* occur in the MSS. of the *Táj ul-Maâsir*, in *Firishtah*, the *Tabaqât i Akbari*, *Baddâni*, and later writers, though the authors of these histories must have had very good MSS. of the *Tabaqât i Náçiri*, some of which in all probability were older than those in Major Raverty’s possession. Hence I look upon the correctness of the solitary *bin* in the heading of some of Major Raverty’s MSS. as doubtful. Further, supposing *bin* to be correct, is it not strange, nay totally un-Persian, to speak continually of Muhammad-*bin*-Bakhtyár, or Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, instead of using the single name of Muhammad. This would be Arabic usage. Thirdly, if Mahmúd were the grandfather, it would have been extraordinary on the part of the author to have left out the grandfather in the heading and in the beginning of the chapter, when Muhammad Bakhtyár’s descent is spoken of, and merely incidentally to mention it in connection with the paternal uncle. Lastly, the use of the *Izáfát*, instead of *bin* or *pisar* (son), is restricted to poetry, and does not occur in prose.‡ I see,

* Page 539, of his translation.

† The name of Muhammad Bakhtyár occurs more than thirty times in Major Raverty’s chapters V and VI (pp. 548 to 576); but in every case Major Raverty gives Muhammad-i-Bakhtyár, *i.e.*, the *Izáfát*. Hence his MSS. have no *bins* in the text. In the heading of Chapter VI, there is no *bin*, though Major Raverty puts it in; he tries even to do so in the heading to Chapter VIII, in the name of Husámuddin Iwaz, and “one or two authors” get the credit of it.

‡ In fact, it is rare in poetry, and poets do not even like to use this *Izáfát*, unless it is long *ob metrum*, or unless it stand in syllables where it cannot be mistaken for what Prosodians call the *nim-fathah*. I have also met with it in the prose legends of coins, where *ibn* was left out to save space.

Major Raverty writes several other names in the same chapters with this impossible *Izáfát*. Thus he gives the murderer of Muhammad Bakhtyár the name of ‘Ali-i-Mardán, *i. e.*, ‘Ali, the son of Mardán. But Mardán, by itself, is no Muhammadan name, nor is Sherán by itself. We cannot write Muhammad-i-Sherán, Ahmad-i-Sherán, making Sherán the father. ‘Ali Mardán means ‘Ali (who is as valiant as) many men; Muhammad Sherán = Muhammad (who is equal to) many lions. The distinguished ‘Ali Mardán, for example, under Sháhjahán, cannot be called ‘Ali-i-Mardán, *i. e.*, ‘Ali, son of Mardán, because his father’s name was Ganj ‘Ali (I have purposely written “Ganj ‘Ali” without *Izáfát*). Would Major Raverty write the name of Jámí’s patron Mir ‘Ali-i-Sher; or Muhammad Humáyún’s name, Muhammad-i-Humáyún; or Muhammad Akbar’s name, Muhammad-i-Akbar? The form of the name of Muhammad-i-Súri, on whose name Major Raverty has built a hypothesis (Journal, A. S. Bengal, for 1875, p. 31) is doubtful for this *Izáfát*. On p. 573, two brothers are mentioned, Muhammad Sherán and Ahmad Sherán, and Major Raverty looks upon this as a proof that the *Izáfát* must be read, “as two brothers would not be so entitled.” A glance at a Muhammadan school register would show that Major Raverty’s opinion is against facts. Supposing a father’s name is ‘Ali Sherán, he would call his son

therefore, no reason to change the name of the conqueror of Bengal, as proposed by Major Raverty.

A point of some importance is the fact prominently noticed by Major Raverty that the establishment of Muhammadan rule in Bihár and Bengal has nothing to do with the Muhammadan kingdom established at Dihlí. Muhammad Bakhtyár is an independent conqueror, though he acknowledged the suzerainty of Ghaznín, of which he was a subject. The presents which he occasionally sent to Dihlí, do not alter the case: a similar interchange took place between the kings of the Dak'hin and the later kings of Dihlí. Bihár and Bengal were conquered without help from Qutbuddín, and in all probability without his instigation or knowledge. This view entirely agrees with the way which Minháj-i-Siráj speaks of the Mu'izzí Sultáns and their co-ordinate position.

Major Raverty's identification of Muhammad Bakhtyár's jágir lands with the parganahs of B h a g w a t and B h o i l í, south of Banáras and east of Chanárgarh, is very satisfactory. B h o i l í, (بهريلى) I find, is mentioned in the Áin i Akbarí, where it is spelt 'Bholí' (بهولي). It belonged to Sirkár Chanár (Chanádh), the chieftown of which was the well known fort of Chanár. Under Akbar, Bhoilí measured 18,975 bighahs 10 biswas, and was assessed at 1,112,656 *dáms*, of which 33,605 *dáms* were *sayurghál* or rent-free land. Regarding B h a g w a t, Elliot says—"This parganah, previous to the conquest effected by the Gautams, was held by Jamí 'at Khán Gaharwár, whose defence of the fort of Patítah is a favorite theme with the people. The old name of this parganah is H a n o a, which was extinct before the time of Jamí'at Khán, when it was known only as Bhagwat."*

Muhammad Sherán, Ahmad Sherán, Mahunud Sherán; or it Bazl i Haq, the sons would be called Fazl i Haq, Lutf i Haq, &c.

Of course, it is different with the *takhalluq*, or *nom-de-plume*, of Persian writers. Thus we may say Minháj-i-Siráj, just as we say Muqlihuddín-i-Sa'dí. But even in such instances the *izáfat* is not *de rigueur*. But "Minháj-i-Siráj" does not mean in prose "Minháj, the son of Siráj", but 'Minháj, who writes under the name of Siráj.' That the father's name was Siráj has nothing to do with it: many poets chose the name of the father as *takhalluq*.

How ill-placed some of Major Raverty's *Izáfats* are may be seen from the name of the Bengal Sultán Firúz Sháh (II) in note 6, on p. 582, where besides Sháh-i-Jahán is a wrong reading. Nor has *he* ever been called a 'Pathán'.

* Beames, Elliot's *Races of the N. W. P.*, II, p. 119. The name of Bhagwat, therefore, occurs already in the *Tabaqát i Nájiri*. Neither Bhagwat nor Hanoa is given in the Áin. I have not found Major Raverty's Kuntilah on the maps. Its longitude and latitude, as given by him on p. 550, almost coincide with those of the town of Kuntit (كنذت), which up to the time of the Mughul (Chaghtái) Dynasty was a sort of frontier town, and is therefore occasionally mentioned by historians. But Major Raverty's Kuntilah (Lat. 25°7'; Long. 82°35') lies too far to the west.

The narrative of Muhammad Bakhtyár's expedition to 'Tibbat involves one or two geographical difficulties, which neither the restored text nor Major Raverty's copious notes have entirely removed. The traffic between Bengal and Tibbat in those days, and even up to the reign of Akbar, seems to have been very considerable. Minháj speaks of no less than thirty-five roads into Tibbat between the bend of the Brahmaputra and Tirhut. To one of these Major Raverty's MSS. give the (slightly doubtful) name of 'Mahamháí Pass.' The traffic consisted chiefly in gold, copper, lead, musk, yak tails, honey, borax, falcons, and hill ponies (*táng'han*). Ralph Fitch* mentions Chichákoṭ as the principal emporium in the (now British) Dúárs.

The whole tract south of Bhútan frequently changed rulers. The Rájás of Kámrúp, the Ahoms, the Kámatá, and after them the Koch Rájás, seem to have in turn held the Dúárs and lost them to the Bhúts.

It is difficult to say what motives Muhammad Bakhtyár had to invade Tibbat. It was perhaps, as Minháj says, ambition; but if we consider how small a part of Bengal was really in his power, his expedition to Tibbat borders on foolhardiness. He seems to have set out from Lakhnauṭi or Deokoṭ under the guidance of one 'Alí, who is said to have been a chief of the Mech tribe, and marched to B a r d h a n k o ṭ (Vardhanakúti). From the way in which Minháj mentions this town, it looks as if it had lain beyond the frontier of Muhammad Bakhtyár's possessions, though there is no doubt as to its identity. The ruins of B a r d h a n k o ṭ lie due north of Bagurá (Bogra), in Long. 89° 28', Lat. 25° 8' 25", close to Govindganj, on the Karataya River.† According to Minháj, a large river flows in front (*dar pesh*) of the town. This can only refer to the Karataya, which formed so long the boundary of ancient Muhammadan Bengal and the Kámrúp, and later of the Koch and Koch-Hájo, dominions; in fact it was the bound-

The fact that some MSS. of the Tabaqát give Bhagwat and Bhoili, and others Patitah and Kuntilah (?), is curious.

* *Vide* Journal, A. S. Bengal, 1873, Pt. I, p. 240. In 1861, Major Sherwill estimated the number of hill-ponies brought for sale to the 'air at Nek-Mardán, 40 miles north-west of Dinájpúr, at 3000.

† Not far from Ghorághát. Sheet 119 of the Indian Atlas shews the "Rájbári" of the Bardhankot Rájás. *Vide* Westmacott in J. A. S. B., 1875, Pt. I, p. 188.

Major Raverty has not identified Bardhankot, and has therefore been misled to place it *north of Sikkim* (p. 562, note); hence it is no wonder that he finds discrepancies in Minháj's statements respecting the river and the bridge mentioned further on. But there are none. Col. Dalton's attempt at identifying the bridge with that of Sil Háko (J. A. S. B., XX, p. 291), and the river with the Brahmaputra, is now likewise disposed of. The only difficulty that is left to be solved is the identification of the Tibbatan town of Karbatan (?), for which each MS. almost has a different *lectio*.

ary between Bengal and Kámrúp at the time of the Mahábhárat. Though the river in front of Bardhankoṭ is said to have had the name of 'Bagmati', no other river than the Karataya can possibly be meant.* Along the Karataya, then, Muhammad Bakhtyár marched northward, under the guidance of 'Alí the Mech, for ten days. We have to bear in mind that the Karataya in former times was connected by branches with the Tístá, (Trisrota) and that the Tístá before 1784 flowed *west* of the Karataya, joined the Atrai, and fell into the main branch of the Ganges (Padma). Thus even as late as last century, as a glance on Map V of Rannell's Atlas will show. The ten days' march, therefore, extended along the Karataya and the Tístá, which of all Bengal rivers extends farthest into Tibbat. There is little doubt that this was along the frontier of the territory of the Rájá of Kámrúp. Before the tenth day, they were among the mountains, and on the tenth they reached a bridge of hewn stone, consisting of twenty-odd arches. This bridge must have been in the neighbourhood of Dorzheling, or, as we spell it, Darjeeling.† 'Alí the Mech seems to have here taken leave of Muhammad Bakhtyár. Even at the present day, the boundary separating the Meches from the hill tribes, is about twelve miles due south of Darjeeling, near Pankabárá. From here we have insufficient particulars regarding Muhammad Bakhtyár's march. All that is said is, that after passing the bridge the troops wended their way, unmolested apparently, stages and journeys through defiles and passes, ascending and descending among lofty mountains. On the sixteenth day the open country of Tibbat was reached. Everywhere they had passed through populous villages. After plundering the country and defeating with heavy losses a hostile army near a fort in the neighbourhood of a town (called Karbatan?), Muhammad Bakhtyár resolved to return. Since he returns by the way he had come, the direction of his march from Darjeeling must have been northward‡; for if he had

* Regarding the changes in the courses of the Karataya and Tístá, *vide* Buchanan, and Glazier's Rungpore Report, p. 2.

† The Muhammadans write دارجلنگ Dárjiling. Major Mainwaring tells me that the correct pronunciation is Dorzheling, درژلنگ, with a short o and a short accented e. The straight distance from Bardhankoṭ to Darjeeling itself would be nearly 160 miles.

I find that Sayyid Ahmad in his edition of the Tuzuk i Jahángirí (p. 115) gives Dárjiling in connexion with Pegú, in the sentence

مردم مگه که ملک ایشان متصل پیکر دارجلنگ است

"the Maghs whose country is adjacent to Pegú-Dárjiling." But I conjecture that this is a mistake for پیکر و ارخانگ Pegú and Arkhang, 'Pegu and Arrakan'.

‡ Major Raverty suggests the route which Turner went in 1783, through Sikkim to-

deviated to the west into Nepal, he would certainly have retreated southward into Tirhut. The retreat was disastrous, as the people had removed from the line of march and had burnt everything. After fifteen days of privation, Muhammad Bakhtyár issued *from the mountains into the country of Kámrup*, and reached the head of the bridge. The guards which he had left there, had deserted their post; the Hindús of Kámrup had come and destroyed the bridge, and Muhammad Bakhtyár occupied a strong temple near the bridge. He was now besieged by crowds of Kámrup Hindús. With difficulty did the thinned army cut through the besiegers and hasten to the river. Most of the Musalmáns perished; only Muhammad Bakhtyár with a few horsemen reached the other bank. There they were again assisted by Meches, the kinsmen of 'Alí, who rendered him great assistance until he reached Deokoṭ, or Damdamah, south of Dinájpúr.

Muhammad Bakhtyár from anguish became ill and took to his bed, when 'Alí Mardán assassinated him (602 A. H.) at Deokoṭ.*

Major Raverty is inclined to place Deokoṭ north of Dinájpúr; but the position is well known. Parganah Deokoṭ still exists, and the old Muhammadan ruins at Gangarámpúr, near Damdamah, the large tanks, and the discovery there of the oldest Bengal inscriptions, fix the site of the ancient Deokoṭ.

The additional *lectiones* of geographical names which Major Raverty gives, enable me to identify three more places mentioned in the *Ṭabaqát*, viz., S a n t o s h, M a s í d h á, and K a n g o r,† of which the last was the fief of Husám-uddín 'Iwaz. S a n t o s h, which lower down is identified with M a h í g a n j on the eastern bank of the Atrai River, contained, according to the *Ṭabaqát*, the tomb of Muhammad Sherán, the successor of wards the Sangpú, and I agree with him, though I do not believe that Muhammad Bakhtyár reached that river.

* Regarding the regins of Muhammad Bakhtyár's immediate successors, I would refer Major Raverty to Mr. Thomas's "Initial Coinage of Bengal, No. II," in J.A.S.B., 1873, p. 348, and Proc., A. S. B., 1872, p. 202.

† The MSS. have سنطوس, منطوس, and مسكده, مكسده, مكسيده, and كنگوري, and several other *lectiones*; vide J. A. S. B., 1873, p. 212, note‡. The *kūf* in مسكده must be wrong; it arose very likely from the sign of *fathah* above the initial *mim*, and the correct name is مسده or مسيده or مسدها, Masídhá or Masidhá, *Bengalice* Mosidhá, which is mentioned as an old place in the *Ā'in* and in Buchanan's Dinajepoor. Major Raverty identifies 'Maksidah' with the "Maxadabad" of the old travellers; but Maxadabad is Maqqúddábád (مقصود آباد), the earlier name of Murshidábád. Maqqúddábád, however, is itself not older than the 16th century.

I prefer the text reading بنگارن Bangáon, a wellknown place near Deokoṭ, to

Bakhtyár Khiljí. The three places lie in *adjacent* parganahs, and lie all south-east of parganah Deokot, as shewn on Sheet 119 of the Indian Atlas. The correctness of my conjecture regarding the name of S a n t o s h has thus been verified by Major Raverty's MSS., and its identification shews that M a s í d h á, which is mentioned with it, is likewise correct. The situation of these parganahs agrees with the small extent of the Lakhanuṭí territory under the first Muhammadan rulers; for they lie between Deokot and the Karataya, which was the frontier. In fact Husám-uddín 'Iwaz was the first that brought *the whole territory* of Gaur under control.

The places that are still doubtful in the Bengal geography of the 'Tabaqát, are N á r a n k o í or N á r k o t í, for which other works have 'B á r s ú l'; and S a n k n á t, which is very likely the name of a region east of the Karataya.

Major Raverty's assertion* (pp. 582, 559) that Lakhnauṭí was called by the emperor Humáyún 'Bakhtábád', and the whole district 'Jannatábád', is untenable. The Akbarnámah only mentions 'Jannatábád'.

Regarding Jáj Nagar and its identification with the eastern parts of the Central Provinces, Chutiya Nágpúr,† and the Tributary Mahalls in Western Orísá, Major Raverty has come to the same conclusion as I had. His identification of the frontier district K a t á s í n or K a t á s i n with a place of the name of Katásingh on the northern bank of the Mahánadí in the Tributary

Major Raverty's 'Bekánwah'. The spelling 'Kons' for 'Kosí', the river Kosi (Raverty, p. 578), may also be an error of the copyists, the final *yá* having been mistaken for the tail (*dārah*) of the *sín*.

* His source is a MS. of the *Khulāṣat-ut-tawárikh* (a modern work). I have a suspicion that 'Bakhtábád' is a copyist's error, and that the initial *b* is the Persian preposition *ba*, as in *Gaur rá mausúm ba-Jannatábád sákh*t, where بختآباد has been drawn together to بختآباد.

Major Raverty's 'Arkhnák' (p. 539) is a wrong reading for 'Arkhang' or 'Rakhang'. "Parganah Jasúḍah" (p. 593)—said to have been turned by European into 'Jessore'—is a copyist's error for 'Parganah Chittúah', (200 miles from Jessore) which was the frontier between Bengal and Orísá; *vide* Áin translation, Index. Besides, where does the Persian author of the *Haft Iqlim* get the Hindi ङ from? and how can he give the revenue of Bengal under Jahángír, when the book was written in 1002 (*vide* Áin translation, I, p. 508)? Again, the word بهابان 'uncultivated tract' of Sirkár Madáran (p. 592, last line) is a mistake for پایان confines, frontier; but *páyán* does not mean 'lower parts', as translated on p. 568, note.

† Major Raverty's spelling Chhotah Nágpúr has often been shewn to be erroneous, as the correct name is Chutiya Nágpúr (چٹیا), from the old capital Chutiya, near Ráncí. The spellings Chhár-kunḍ and Jhár-kunḍah involve a wrong etymology, the correct name being Jhár-khand, 'bush-district', as Bundel-khand, 'the Bundelá district', from खंड, a district, not from कुंड, a well.

Mahall of Angul is not yet quite clear to me. I cannot find the place on the map, and the narrative of the Ṭabaqát implies a place nearer to Western Bengal. The capital of Jájnapar, which in the MSS. is called Ūmardan (اورمدن) remains to be identified. Major Raverty hints at the possibility of Ūmardan being Amakanṭak, the highest point and watershed of the eastern parts of the Central Provinces. That rocky, wild, and inaccessible region is scarcely a fit place for the capital of what must have been a large state.*

As the border land to the west of Jájnapar Major Raverty mentions Gaṛha-Katanga; and then he says (p. 587), quoting the *Ma'dan-i-Akhbar i Ahmadi*, that "on the N. it is close to the Bhāṭah territory [the Bhāṭī of the Áin i Akbarī], and S. is close to the Dakhan." But this is an extraordinary confusion of names, partly due to the author of the *Ma'dan*, especially if he wrote Bhāṭah with a long ā. He means Bhāt'h, or Bhat-ghorá, the mountainous tract south of Allahábád, whilst Bhāṭī is the name of the Sundarban region along the Bay of Bengal. The Ṭabaqát is, indeed, the oldest work in which Bhatghorá mentioned. The district was plundered by Qamaruddin Timur Khán, who had also been fighting with the aboriginal tribe of the Múásís.† In Major Raverty's quotation from the *Jamī'-ullawarikh* (a modern compilation without value), the Bhāṭī-Sundarban is placed *West* of Bengal;‡ and in the quotation a little further on (which like the preceding is taken from the Áin i Akbarī),—"In the *sarkar* of Mangír, "from the river Gang to the Koh i Sangín [the Stony Mountains], they "have drawn a wall, and account it the boundary of Bengal", a wrong *izafat* spoils the sense: Abul Fazl says that in Sirkár Munger, from the Ganges to the mountains [Rájmahall Hills], they have drawn a *stone* wall, &c. He means the stone wall near Gaḍhí or Gaṛhí (Teliágaṛhí).§

We now turn to the middle period of the Muhammadan history of Bengal, for the elucidation of which a few new and interesting particulars have come to hand. They throw further light on the reigns of Rájá Káns and Mahmúd Sháh I.

* The name of Hill Gundamardan, in Long. 83° and Lat. 20° 55', in Borásambhar, has the same ending as Ūmardan.

† *Vide* Ṭabaqát, Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 247; Beames, Elliot's Races of the N. W. Provinces, II, 164; J. A. S. B., 1874, Pt. I, p. 240, note.

‡ Regarding the 'Mánik,' *vide* J. A. S. B., 1874, Pt. I, p. 204.

§ Major Raverty, on p. 592, mentions the Afghán Zamindár of Bírghúm and *Játnagar*—the italics, I daresay, imply a reference to Jájnapar. The Zamindár's family the descendants of a real Paṭhán for once, are well-known; but *Játnagar* is a mistake of 'Rájnapar'.

Rájá Káns.

(A. H. 808 to 817; A. D. 1405 to 1414.)

It was mentioned before that Mr. Westmacott identified Rájá Káns with the well known, but hitherto legendary, Rájá, or Hákím, Ganesh of Dinájpúr. I look upon this identification as open to doubt. 'Ganesh' is a very common name, and the god with the elephant's trunk is so generally known throughout India, that even Muhammadans may be fairly assumed to be acquainted with his name. But all MSS. spell the Rájá's name كانس *Káns*, not گنیش *Ganés*; and I am inclined to adhere to the spelling of the MSS. and read the name as Káns or Kánsa. This would indeed be the name which Krishna's enemy, the tyrant of Mathurá, bore. I do not think that the name is now in use, or has been in use in Bengal since the spread of Chaitanya's Krishna-cultus. But Rájá Káns lived just a hundred years before Chaitanya, and the name might not then have been so unusual as it would now be. Further, Rájá Káns is styled 'Rájá of Bhatúriah', and Rájá Ganes 'Rájá of Dinájpúr'. But Bhatúriah does not include Dinájpúr; for 'Parganah' Bhatúriah lies far to the south of Dinájpúr District, in Rájsháhí proper, between Amrúl and Bagurá. But the name 'Bhatúriah' is also used in a more extensive sense, and signifies Northern Rájsháhí proper. It thus formed part of Barendra, whilst Dinájpúr with the northern districts formed the old division of Nivritti. Now the Barendra Bráhmans, as Dr. Wise tells me, say that their social classification was made by one Rájá Káns Náráyana of Táhírpúr Rájsháhí; and as Táhírpúr belongs to Bhatúriah (*vide* Map VI of Rennell's Atlas), there is just a possibility that the statement of the Barendra Bráhmans may give us a clue and help us to identify the historical Rájá Káns.

I have no doubt that the name of the district of R á j s h á h í is connected with Rájá Káns; for just as Mahmúdsháhí, Bárbaksháhí, and other names in the neighbourhood of Rájsháhí refer to the Bengal kings Mahmúd Sháh and Bárbak Sháh, so can Rájsháhí, *i.e.*, Rájá-sháhí, only refer to the Rájá who was 'the Sháh', *i.e.*, to a Hindú Rájá who ascended a Musalmán throne. In its shortened form, 'Rájsháhí' is certainly a most extraordinary hybrid; for the Hindi *rāj* is the same as the Persian *sháhi*.

It was remarked in the first part of these 'Contributions to Bengal Geography and History' that Rájá Káns did probably not issue coins in his own name. We know, however, that coins were issued during his reign, *viz.*, posthumous coins of A'zam Sháh, during whose reign Rájá Káns rose to influence, and coins in the name of one Báyzid Sháh. The latter issue was described by me before, and bears, as far as is now known, the years 812 and 816; the former was brought to the notice of the Society by the

Hon'ble E. C. Bayley (*vide* J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 294, note). I can now give a figure of the posthumous coinage: two specimens were lately brought for the Society's cabinet,* clearly dated 812 (*vide* Pl. XI, Fig. 1). They weigh 164·69 and 165·7 grains respectively.

Mahmūd Sháh I.

(A. H. 846 to 864; A. D. 1442 to 1459)

The chronology of the reign of this king, which was hitherto one of the obscurest portions of Bengal History, has been further cleared up by a small but important *trouvaille* of eight silver coins struck by him. The coins were found by Major W. W. Hume at Mahásthán (Mostán) Garh, seven miles north of Bagurá: four of them were sent to the Society by Mr. C. J. O'Donnell, C. S., who in the last number of the Journal gave a description of the place, and the other four were received from Mr. E. Vesey Westmacott, C. S. The eight coins have been figured on Pl. XI, Nos. 2 to 9. Five of them have years, so that the ascertained dates of Mahmūd Sháh's reign are now—846, 84*, 852, 858, 859, 861, 862, 863, 28th Zil Hajjah 863.

Nos. 2, 3, and 9 of the coins are very rude specimens of engraving; and if the last had not been found together with the others, I would be inclined to attribute it to Mahmūd Sháh II., as the *kunyah* looks more like 'Abul Mujáhid' than like 'Abul Mujaffar'. All the coins bear numerous shroffmarks.†

1. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 2. New variety. Silver. A. H. 84* No mint-town. Weight, 164·97 grains.

OBVERSE—..... المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن حجت

Margin—..... ضرب سنة ٨٤*

REVERSE—ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه سلطان

* Together with five silver coins of Muhammad Sháh, son of Rájá Káns, dated 818, 819, 822, 823, 826. The hitherto ascertained years of his reign were 818, 821, and 831. Mr. W. L. Martin also sent me lately a Muhammad Sháh of the same type as published by me. It was dug up near Madhúpúrah, Northern Bhágalpúr, which belonged to Bengal.

† The object of these marks, which are common even on early Bengal coins, was to depreciate the coins. The real commerce of the country was carried on in cowries, as no copper was issued; and it suited the bankers and money-changers, when coins bearing the new year were issued, arbitrarily to declare that the coins of the past year, and those of all previous years, were no longer *kuldár* (كلدار, from the Arabic *kull*, all), i. e., all-having, of full value. Hence they disfigured the coins, to the great loss of the public, by small circular stamps, or longitudinal notches, so that it is a wonder that so many coins have come down to us with clear dates. Coins of former years, or coins thus marked by shroffs (صراف), were often called *sandt*, pl. of *sanah*, a year. *Vide* also Buchanan (Martin's Edition), II, p. 1006.

The legend is the same as on Col. Hyde's unique **Mahmúd Sháh** of 846, published by me in J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 295.

2. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 3. Obverse as reverse of No. 1; Reverse illegible, probably the same as in Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9. Weight, 165·65 grains.

3. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 4. A. H. 852. Weight, 164·41 grains.

OBVERSE—as in No. 3.

Margin—ضرب في ٨٥٢

REVERSE—خدا الله ملكه و سلطانه

4. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 5. Weight, 164·49 grains. A. H. 858. Struck at **M a h m ú d á b á d**.

OBVERSE—As in No. 3.

REVERSE—نائب غوث الاسلام و المسلمين خدا ملكه ٨٥٨ محمود اباد

5. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 6. Weight, 165·68 grains. **Mahmúdábád** ?

The legend of both faces as on Col. Hyde's coin.

6. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 7. Weight, 166·2 grains. A. H. 862. The obverse contains the lozenge and square, and the empty spaces of the corners are filled with little crosses, as on Col. Hyde's coin. The reverse contains nine scollops along the margin.

Obverse and reverse as in coin No. 5, but no mint town.

7. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 8. Weight, 164·28 grains. A. H. 862. The obverse and reverse have each ten scollops along the margin. Legend as in coin No. 5. The year is expressedly في سنة ٨٦٢.

8. *Vide* Pl. XI, No. 9. Weight, 164·77 grains. Legend as in proceeding, but no year.

The Mint town of **M a h m ú d á b á d** on coin No. 5 is new. If it does not refer to some place within the extensive walls of Gaur, it may have reference to **Sirkár Mahmúdábád** (Western Farídpúr and Northern Nadiyá).

General Cunningham has sent me a rubbing of the following inscription belonging to **Mahmúd's** reign. The rubbing is taken from inside the **Koṭwálí Gate**, in Gaur, and refers in all probability to the bridge of five arches near it.

بناء هذه القنطرة في زمن سلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمود
شاه السلطان في الخامس من الصفر ختمه الله بالخير و الظفر سنة اثني و ستمين
و ثمانماية *

The building of this bridge (took place) in the time of the just king, **Náṣirud-dunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Mhmúd Sháh**, the king. On the 5th day

of Çafar (may God allow the mouth to end with success and victory !) 862 [23rd December, 1457].

The inscription measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. by 13 in.* The usual phrase 'May God perpetuate his rule and kingdom !' is left out.

Bárbak Sháh.

(A. H. 864 to 879; A. D. 1460 to 1474.)

Mr. Westmacott sent me rubbings of two new inscriptions belonging to the reign of this king. He says regarding them—"The two Bárbak Sháh inscriptions are taken from the tomb of the Muhammadan Pír, or saint, known by the name of Mahí Santosh, mentioned by Dr. Buchanan (*apud* Martin's Eastern India, II, 667) as being at Mahíganj, on the eastern bank of the Atrai, in Tháná Potnitalá, District Dinájpúr. He says that the saint has communicated his name to Parganah Santosh, and that the most remarkable thing was that his name is said to be Sanskrit.

"Mr. J. P. Sneyd, who was good enough to take the rubbings for me, says that the city among the remains of which the tomb is situate, is known as Santosh, and that the tombs are said to be those of a lady, named Mahí Santosh, and her daughter.

"The larger inscription is over the inner door of the entrance to the tomb; the smaller one is outside the building. There are quantities of brick and blocks of stone all about, and the remains of a stone wall, and a brick building, said to have been the 'cutcherry'. The local tradition I look upon as almost worthless. Doctor Buchanan and Mr. Sneyd, an interval of sixty-six years having elapsed, heard quite different stories about the name.

"I do not think the name Mahí Santosh has anything to do with the Muhammadan occupants of the tomb. Santosh is the name of the Parganah, and Mahí is clearly connected with Mahíganj, 'the mart of Mahí,' and I cannot but connect that with the Buddhist king of the 9th or 10th century, Mahí Pál."

If, as Mr. Sneyd says, the ruins round about Mahíganj are called 'Santosh', we would have to look for the tomb of Muhammad Sherán, Bakhtyár's successor, among them.

The name 'Mahíganj' cannot be very old, though 'Mahí' may be an allusion to Mahí Pál. All names ending with the Persian *ganj* are modern, and I cannot point to a single place ending in *ganj* that existed, or had received that name, before the 15th and 16th centuries.

* This is the missing inscription No. 37, alluded to on p. 19, Proceedings, A. S. B., January, 1873.

The two inscriptions, as is so often the case, have nothing to do with the tomb. In all probability, the tomb is older than the inscriptions. Tombs have always been store places for inscriptions of ruined mosques of the neighbourhood. They add to the sanctity of the tomb, because their characters are generally *ughrá*, and therefore unintelligible to the common people; they are poured over with milk and oil by votaries who look upon them as powerful amulets, or by the sick who catch the dripping liquid and get cured.

The larger inscription of the two, which measures 3 ft. by 11 in., is as follows:

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني المسجد في الدنيا بني الله
سبعين قصرا في الجنة * بني المسجد في زمن الملك العادل السلطان
ابن السلطان ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المجدد باربكشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه
السلطان الباني خان المعظم الغ اقرار خان بواسى (؟) خان معظم اشرفخان
خمس ستين وثمانماية ا

'The prophet (upon whom be blessings !) said, 'He who builds the mosque in the world, will have seventy castles built by God in paradise.' This mosque was built in the time of the just prince, the king who is the son of a king, Rukn uddunyá waddín Abul Mujáhid Bárbak Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh the king. The builder is the great Khán Ulu gh Iqr ár Khán (one word unintelligible*) the great Khán Ashraf Khán. 865 [A. D. 1460-61.]

The builder of the mosque, Ulu gh Iqr ár Khán, is clearly the same as the one mentioned in Mr. Westmacott's Bárbak Sháh inscription from Dinájpúr, published in J. A. S. B., 1873, p. 272, and no doubt is now left regarding the correct reading of the name. The characters of this inscription are well formed.

The smaller inscription measures 1 ft. 5 inch. by 8½ inch., and consists like the preceding of two lines. Of the first line only the beginning قال عليه السلام 'the Prophet says', is legible. Of the second line I can with some difficulty decipher the following:—

بني المسجد خان الاعظم والمعظم الغ..... وزير شهر مشهور
باربك آباد مكن ست وسبعين ثمانماية ا

The Mosque was built by the great and exalted Khán Ulu gh....., Vazir of the town known as B á r b a k á b á d M a k a n, 876 (A. D. 1471-72].

* The doubtful word *bawastí* is legible enough, but I do not understand the meaning. It must be a word expressing relationship. Could it be نواسى for نواسه, daughter's son ?

The date is clear in one of Mr. Westmacott's rubbings.

The inscription, incomplete as it is, is so far valuable as it is the latest of Bárbak Sháh's reign hitherto discovered. I am not quite sure about the correctness of the word 'Makan' (مكن): there is a long stroke between the *mim* and the *káf*, and the reading *Maskan* (مسكن) is possible. Nor can I say with certainty that B á r b a k á b á d is another name for S a n t o s h*; but the name is so far of interest as it explains the name of Sirkár B á r b a k á b á d. This Sirkár was assessed in Todar Mall's Rentroll at 17,451,532 dáms, or Rs. 436,288, and had to furnish 50 horse and 7000 foot. Its 38 Mahalls were the following:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Amrúl (امرول) | 20. 21. Sherpúr and Bahrámpúr
(شیر پور و بهرام پور) |
| 2. Baldah Bárbakábád (بارك آباد)
(بلده) | 22. Táhírpúr (طاهر پور) |
| 3. Básdaul (باسدول) | 23. Qázihattí (قاضي هتّي) |
| 4. Púlárhár (پولارهار) | 24. Kardahá (کردها) |
| 5. Pustaul (پستول) | 25. Gururhát (گوروهات) |
| 6. Barbariá (بربريا) | 26. Guhás (گهاس) |
| 7. Bangáon (بنگاون) | 27. Ganj Jagdal (گنج مشهور به جگدل) |
| 8. Páltápúr (پالتاپور) | 28. Gobindpúr (گوبند پور) |
| 9. Chhandiábázú (چهنديا بازو) | 29. Kálígái Gúthiá (کالي گلي گوتھيا) |
| 10. Chaurá (چورا) | 30. Kharál (کهرال) |
| 11. & 12. Jhásindh and Chaugáon
(جھاسند و چوگارن) | 31. Kodánagar (کوڈانگر) |
| 13. Chandlái (چندلائي) | 32. Kálígái (کالي گلي) |
| 14. Chináso (چناسر) | 33. Lashkarpúr (لشکر پور) |
| 15. Havelí Sik'h Shahr
(حويلي سيکھ شہر) | 34. Malanchípúr (م'النچي پور) |
| 16. Dhármin (دھارمن) | 35. Masidha (مسدها) |
| 17. Dáúdpúr (داؤدپور) | 36. Man Samáli (من سمالي) |

* Parganah Santosh does not occur in 'Todar Mall's rentroll. In the later rentrolls, however the name again appears.

18. Sunkárdal, *urf* Nizámpúr (سنگار دل عرف نظامپور)
 19. Shikárpúr (شکارپور)
 37. Mahmúdpúr (محمودپور)
 38. Vazírpúr (وزیرپور)

Of these 38 names, four appear to have vanished entirely, *viz.*, Nos. 2, 4, 15, and 31. The others appear also in later settlements. Many of them are still to be found on sheets 119 and 120 of the Indian Atlas. Two new parganahs have appeared, *viz.*, Jahángírpúr and Fathjangpúr, which clearly point to the emperor Jahángír and his Bengal governor Ibráhím Khán Fathjang,* and they may partly occupy the places of the four lost ones.

The Havelí Parganah of the Sirkár is called Havelí Sik'h Shahr, instead of Havelí Barbakábád; but I cannot identify the name. A small portion of Sik'h Shahr also belonged to Sirkár Ghorághát.

No. 25, Gururhát is spelt in the MSS. Guzarhát from *guzar*, a ford. It lies to both sides of the mouth of the Mahánandá.

No. 26, Guhás is spelt on the maps 'Goas', and lies south of the present course of the Podda.

No. 30, Kharál is spelt on the maps 'Kharail' or 'Kharael'.

No. 36, Man Samáli occurs in the Vth Report as Malsimani, but I have not identified it.

No. 37, Mahmúdpúr is called on the maps 'Muhumudpoor'.† It lies immediately north of Rámpúr Boáliyá.

Inscriptions belonging to the reign of Bárbaksháh appear to be more numerous in Sirkár Bárbakábád than in other districts;‡ but specimens of his coinage are rare.

Yúsuf Sháh.

(A. H. 879 to 886; A. D. 1474 to 1481.)

About two years ago, Dr. Wise sent me a rubbing of the following inscription, from the neighbourhood of Dháká, I believe, but I have mislaid the reference as to the exact locality. The inscription measures 2 ft. 8½ inch., by 10 inch., and consists of three lines, the first containing the usual Qorán passages in large letters, the second and third giving the historical parti-

* Áin translation, I, 511.

† The two dissyllabic names Ahmad and Mahmúd are continually pronounced by Bengalis in three syllables, 'Ahamud', 'Mahamud', or 'Mohomud', which is then confounded with Muhammad. Similarly, Bengalis pronounce 'Rohomán', for Rahmán; 'Bokkos,' for Bakhsh.

‡ Of the seven known at present, four belong to Bárbakábád; one to Gaur; one to Hùgli; one to the 24-Parganahs. *Vide* J. A. S. B., 1860, p. 407.

culars in small and close letters. At the time I received the inscription, I could decipher but little of lines 2 and 3, and I now give all that I can at present decipher.

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة
و آتى الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسى ازلئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين *
قال النبي عليه السلام من بني مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله له بيتا في الجنة *
بني هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان السلاطين ظل الله في العالمين خليفة الله
في الارضين السلطان ابن السلطان ابن السلطان شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر يوسف شاه السلطان ابن باريك شاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلي امره و شأنه الملك خاقان معظم بهلوي
عصر و زمان محمد النبي مؤرخا في التاريخ سنة خمس و ثمانين
و ثمانماية

كيسے راکہ خیرے بماند روان * دمام رسد رحمتش بر روان

God Almighty says, 'Surely he builds the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day, and establishes the prayer, and offers the legal alms, and fears no one except God. It is they that perhaps belong to such as are guided.' The Prophet says, 'He who builds a mosque in the world, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise.'

This mosque was built in the time of the king of kings, the shadow of God in all worlds, the representative of God in all lands, the king, the son of a king who was the son of a king, Shams uddunyā waddīn Abul Muzaḥḥar Yūsuf Shāh, the king, son of Bārbaḥ Shāh the king, son of Mahmūd Shāh the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule and elevate his condition and dignity!—by the Malik.....the great Lord, the hero of the period and the age.....Dated in the year 885 [A. D. 1480].

God's mercy reaches every moment the soul of a man whose pious works continue after him. [From Sa'di's Bostān.]

In conclusion I shall give a few inscriptions (the only ones that have hitherto been found) belonging to the Afghān period of Bengal History (944 to 984, H., or 1538 to 1576, A. D.).

III.

THE THIRD, OR AFGHĀN, PERIOD OF THE MUHAMMADAN HISTORY OF BENGAL (1538 to 1578, A. D.).

The historical information which we possess of the Afghān period is meagre, and refers almost exclusively to matters connected with the Dihlī empire, but does not, like the history of the preceding period, conflict with

mural and medallic testimony. The following is an outline of the principal events of the period.

944, 6th Zil Qa'dah, or 6th April, 1538, Gaur taken by Khawāç Khán (II). Mahmūd Sháh (III) of Bengal flees to Humáyún, who has just conquered Fort Chanár.*

Humáyún marches to Bengal, and Sher Khán's generals leave Gaur unprotected.

Rise of the kingdom of Kúch Bihár under Bísá.

945 Humáyún for three months in Gaur. Mahmūd Sháh of Bengal dies at Khalgáon (Colgong). Humáyún leaves Gaur before the rains had ended (about September 1538).

He leaves J a h á n g í r Q u l í B e g as governor of Bengal in Gaur.

Khawāç Khán operates against Mahárta, the Chero chief of Palámau.

946, 9th Çafar, or 26th June, 1539. Battle of Chaunsa.† Humáyún defeated by Sher Khán, who celebrates his *julús*, assumes the name of **Farid-uddín Abul Muzaffar Sher Sháh**, and issues coins.

Jahángír Qulí Khán defeated by Jalál Khán and Hájí Khán Baṭnī, and soon after killed.

K h i z r K h á n appointed by Sher Sháh governor of Bengal.

948 Khizr Khán deposed by Sher Sháh at Gaur. Bengal divided into districts, each under an Amír, under the *amínship* of Q á z í F a z í l a t.

952, 12th Rabí I, or 3rd June 1545. Sher Sháh dies, and is buried at Sahasráram, South Bihár. He is succeeded by his younger son Jalál Khán, who assumes the title of **Jáladuddín Abul Muzaffar Islám Sháh**. Qází Fazílat, Amín of Bengal, deposed.

M u h a m m a d K h á n S ú r appointed governor of Bengal and North Bihár.

Miyán Sulaimán Kararánī appointed governor of South Bihár.

960 Islám Sháh dies. He is succeeded by Mubáriz Khán, son of Nizám Khán, under the title of Abul Muzaffar Muhammad 'Ádil Sháh, *urf* 'Adlí.

M u h a m m a d K h á n S ú r G a u r i a h (*i. e.*, governor of Bengal) refuses to acknowledge him, and makes himself king of Bengal.

* The siege of Chanár is said to have commenced on the 15th Sha'bán 944, or 8th the January, 1538. According to the *Táríkh i Sher Sháhi* (Dowson, IV, 359), Gaur fell *after* the taking of Chanár. If the siege lasted six months, the 15th Sha'bán, 944 is too late a date. The year 945 commenced on 30th May, 1538.

† The river between Chaunsa and Baksar, on the right bank of which Sher Khán had encamped, is called T h o r á N a d í.

- 960 to 962, **Shamsuddin Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh**, king of Bengal. He invades Jaunpúr, and marches on Kálpí.
- 962 Battle of Chhapraḡhaṡṡaḡh, east of Kálpí, on the Jamuná, between 'Adlí and Muhammad Sháh of Bengal. Muhammad Sháh defeated and killed. The Bengal troops retire to Jhosí, on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite Iláhábád, where Khizr Khán, son of Muhammad Sháh, celebrates his *julús* and assumes the title of Bahádur Sháh.
- 962 to 968, **Bahádur Shah**, king of Bengal and North Bihár.
- Nara Náráyan, Rájá of Koch Bihár.
- Miyán Sulaimán Kararání still holds South Bihár.
- [963 Accession of Akbar.]
- 964 Battle near Súraḡḡaḡh, west of Munger. 'Adlí defeated and killed by Bahádur Sháh, assisted by Sulaimán Kararání.
- 968 Bahádur Sháh dies. He is succeeded by his brother, who assumes the title of Jalál Sháh.
- 968 to 971, **Ghiyasuddin Abul Muzaffar Jalál Sháh**, king of Bengal. Sulaimán Kararání still holds South Bihár.
- 971 Jalál Sháh of Bengal dies. He is succeeded by his son whose name is unknown. The son is killed, and the government is usurped by one Ghiyáṡuddin.
- 971 Sulaimán Khán of South Bihár sends his elder brother Táḡ Khán Kararání to Gaur. He kills the usurper Ghiyás, and establishes himself in Gaur.
- 971 to 972, Táḡ Khán Kararání, governor of Bengal on the part of his brother. Dies in 972.
- 971 to 980, **Sulaimán Khán Kararání** rules over Bengal and Bihár under the title of *Hazrat i A'la*. He removed, after Táḡ Khán's death, the capital from Gaur to Táṇḡá. He acknowledges Akbar's suzerainty.
- 975 Sulaimán conquers Orísá. Mukund Deo, last king of Orísá, defeated and killed. Kálá Paháḡ takes Púrí.
- 980 Sulaimán dies.
- 980 **Báyazíd**, son of Sulaimán, king of Bengal, Bihár, and Orísá. Báyazíd is murdered by Hāṡsú, his cousin.
- 980 to 984, **Dáúd Sháh**, second son of Sulaimán i Kararání, king of Bengal, Bihár, and Orísá. Khán Jahán Afghán appointed governor of Orísá. Qutlú Khán Lohání appointed governor of Púrí.
- Bál Gosáṇ, Rájá of Kúch Bihár.
- 982 Akbar conquers Bihár. Dáúd Sháh flees to Orísá. 20th Zi Qa'dah (3rd March, 1575), battle of Tukaroí, or Mughulmárí, north of Jalesar (Jellasure) in Orísá. Dáúd defeated by Mun'im Khán Khánkhánán

and Todar Mall. Peace of Kaṭak. Dáúd cedes Bengal and Bihár, and is acknowledged by Akbar king of Orísá.

983 Mun'im Khán at Gaur. He dies with the greater part of his army.
Husain Qulí Khánjáhá n, Akbar's governor of Bengal and Bihár.

Dáúd Sháh invades Bengal.

984, 15th Rabí' II, or 12th July, 1576. Dáúd Sháh defeated by Husain Qulí Khánjahán in the battle of Ágmahall (Rájmahall). Dáúd is captured and beheaded.

The Afgháns withdraw to Orísá.

As in the preceding period I shall take the kings singly, and make a few remarks on the chronology and coinage of their reigns.

XXV. Faríduddín Abul Muzaffar Sher Sháh.

(944 to 952, H., or 1538 to 1545, A. D.)

Several of Sher Sháh's rupees, published by Marsden and Thomas, contain the new mint town of Shá r í f á b á d. As in the case of the mint-towns of Mahmúdábád, Fathábád, and others mentioned in this and former 'Contributions', Sharífábád may refer to the whole Sirkár, or to the royal camp in the Sirkár, and not to any particular town. There is in fact, as far as we know, no town of Sharífábád. Sher Sháh's Sharífábád refers in all probability to Bharkúndah or Western Birbhúm and the Santal Parganahs (*vide* J. A. S. B., 1873, Pt. I, p. 223).

F o r t R o h ṭ á s, which plays so prominent a part in Sher Sháh's history, is not known, as Mr. Thomas states (*Chronicles*, p. 397, note) under the name of Shergaṛh. There is indeed, a small fort of the name of S h e r g a ṛ h near Roṭhás, about 18 miles N. W. of it; but the Shergaṛh of Sher Sháh's coinage stands for K a n a u j.*

Sher Khán's first governor of Bengal, Khizr Khán, gave no satisfaction. He married a daughter of the late Mahmúd Sháh (III) of Bengal, and affected regal pomp and independence. His successor, Qází Fazílat, was an Ágrah man, and seems as "Amín of Bengal" to have kept the divisional officers in check; for they gave him the nickname of Qází Fazíhat, or 'Mr. Justice Turpitude'.

Sher Sháh† lies buried in Sahasrá m in Bihár. A view of the tomb

* It lies close to ancient Kanauj. *Vide* Badáoni II, 94, 1. 3.

† The pronunciation 'Shír Sháli' is Iranian, and therefore not applicable to India. I have elsewhere shewn that the Muhammadans of India follow the Túrání pronunciation of Persian. We may be quite sure that Sher Sháh pronounced his name 'shér,' and not 'shír'.

will be found in Buchanan (*apud* Martin), Vol. I. I hope in a short time to publish the inscriptions.

An incidental remark in the Persian Dictionary entitled *Bahár-i-'Ajam*, informs us that Sher Sháh wore his hair, *more gentis*, in curls. As the drying of the curls after the morning bath took some time, Sher Sháh transacted public business in the *ghusul-khánah*, the bath and dressing-room. The custom, with some modifications, was retained by the Chaghtái emperors, during whose reigns the morning and even the evening audience-rooms were called *ghusul-khánah*.*

XXVI. Jaláluddín Abul Muzaffar Islám Sháh.

952 to 960 H., or A. D. 1545 to 1553)

The name of this king appears to have been frequently pronounced with the *imálah*, *i. e.*, Islém Sháh (اسليم شاه). Thus the name is often spelt by Badáoní, and occurs even in Hindí orthography of Islám Sháh's coinage.† It is this form which has given rise to the further corruption to Salém Sháh and Salím Sháh.

I have followed Mr. Thomas in referring Islám Sháh's death to the year 960, in spite of the almost unanimous assertion of the historians that he died a year later on 26th Zil Hajjah 961, or 21st November 1554.‡ But Islám Sháh's coinage goes, in uninterrupted series, only as far as 960. Suppose Islám Sháh had died on 26th Zil Hajjah, 961. He was succeeded by his son Fírúz Sháh, who after three days—one source says after several months—was murdered by Mubáriz Khán 'Adlí, *i. e.*, on the 29th Zil Hajjah, so that 'Adlí could only have celebrated his *julús* in Muharram, 962. His coinage, however, gives 961;§ and further, 'Adlí had reigned *for some time*, when Humáyún, in Zil Hajjah, 961, entered India, and people said that if Islám Sháh had been alive, he would have opposed the Mughuls.|| Islám Sháh, therefore, must have died in 960; the day of the month (26th Zil Hajjah) is very likely correct.

Islám Sháh's coinage seems to bear witness to his superstitious character. The spirit of the age, and his remarkable escapes from assassinations, perhaps inclined the king to trust to amulets. Many of his coins have the 'Seal of Solomon' and mysterious numbers, which Mr. Thomas passes over

* *Vide* J. A. S. B., 1872, Pt. I, p. 66 note. This corresponds to our "levéc".

† इस्लेम. Thomas, 'Chronicles,' p. 412.

‡ *Vide* Dowson IV, 505, and Badáoní.

§ Marsden, Pl. XXXVI, No. DCCXLVIII.

|| Badáoní, I, 459.

in silence, though they puzzled Marsden. What the number 477 on his coins was intended to mean, is difficult to say; it may stand for the well-known آية الله *áyat-ullah*, 'God's sign', the letters of which when added give 477. I have no doubt that it resembles the famous numbers 66 (الله); 786 (بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم); 2468 (بدرج), and others, which we find used in the heading of letters, on amulets, tombs, and even mosque-inscriptions.*

Islám Sháh, too, lies, buried at Sahasráram.

XXVII. Shamsuddín Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh (II).

(960 to 962 H., or A. D. 1553 to 1555.)

His real name is Muhammad Khán Súr. He seems to have been appointed governor of Bengal, in supersession of Qází Fazílat, soon after Islám Sháh's accession and to have acknowledged him as king of Bengal up to, or nearly up to, his death in 960. In 960, however, Muhammad Khán's son rebelled, as will be seen from the following curious inscription.

The Jalál Sháh Inscription from a mosque near Sherpúr Murchah, dated 960 H., or A. D. 1553.

A rubbing of this valuable inscription was received from Mr. E. V. Westmacott, C. S., who found it "at a little mosque just to the north of Sherpúr, in Bagurá," It measures 16 inch. by 9 inch.; but to both sides of the inscription are two ornaments, the upper one forming a *mimbar*, with the Musulmán creed in it; and the lower one being a little square with the words *yá allah*, 'O God', in it. The little square is surrounded by the phrase *yá fattáh*, 'O Opener', four times repeated, the alifs of the four *yá's* forming the sides of the little square. The inscription is—

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم (broken) بني ... السلطان
ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر جلال شاه سلطان ابن محمد شاه غازي
خلد الله ملكه بانبي خير دعا خان ابن ... في شهر سنة ستون وتسع مئة //

The Prophet (God bless him!) said,..... [this mosque was built during the reign] of the king, the son of a king, Ghiyás uddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Jalál Sháh, the king, son of Muhammad Sháh Ghází,—may God perpetuate his kingdom! The builder of this religious edifice is.....during the year 960.

* Vide J. A. S. B., 1871, Pt. I., p. 257.

Mr. Thomas ('Chronicles', p. 413, in Islám Sháh's coin No. 363) gives a wrong reading, which is repeated on p. 416, No. 366. For الحامي الدين الدنان *alhāmi-aldīnildannán*, read الحام لدين الديان *alhāmi-lidīn-ildayyán*.

There is no doubt about the date, which is expressed both in words and in numbers.

History says nothing of Jalál Khán's rebellion or the course it ran; all we know is that Jalál Khán nine years later was acknowledged king of Bengal. The following passage from Badáoní (I, 430) is rather curious, because the name of Jalál Sháh is transferred to the father, who on, or before, 'Adlí's accession refused allegiance, made himself king of Bengal under the name of Muhammad Sháh, and even aspired to the throne of Dihlí.

In the meantime Hímún heard that Muhammad Khán Súr, the governor of Bengal, had made himself king under the title of Jaláluddín, and had come with an army resembling swarms of locusts and ants, from Bengal to Jaunpúr, and was marching upon Kálpi and Ágrah. * * * And when Hímún in uninterrupted marches moved to 'Adlí, he found 'Adlí and Muhammad Khán of Gaur near the Mauza' of Chhapra-gahattah, 15 kos from Kálpi, with the Jamuná between them, ready to fight each other. He of Gaur lay encamped with great pomp, much war material, with numerous horse, foot, and countless elephants, and quite confident as to 'Adlí's fate. But suddenly the scales turned: Hímún arrived like a shooting star, and without delay sent his choice elephants through the river, attacked the negligent Bengal army by night, and threw it into utter confusion and disorder. Most of Muhammad Khán's Amírs were killed, others escaped, and the helpless king of Gaur, evidently with his head in his sleeve, disappeared, and up to the present nothing is known about his fate.

As we have specimens of Muhammad Sháh's coinage, we know that he did not call himself 'Jalál Sháh'; but Badáoní may have heard of the rebellion of his son and confounded Jalál Sháh with Muhammad Sháh.

The village of Chhapra-gahattah (چھپڑ گہاٹ) — perhaps the most westerly point to which the Bengal arms ever advanced — lies east of Kálpi, on the left bank of the Jamuná, in Long. 79° 58', close to the confluence of the Singúr Nadí and the Jamuná. It belongs to Parganah Ghátampúr, Sirkár Korrá. Though prominently marked on maps X and XIII of Rennell's Atlas, it is not given on Sheet 69 of the 'Indian Atlas', the nearest place (if not the same) being Sultánpúr. A little further to the east, at the entrance of the Itáwah Terminal Ganges Canal into the Jamuná, lies the village of Fathábád, and nearer still to Chhapparghattah, the village of Fathpúr. Either may have been the actual site of the battle-field.*

Marsden gives a fine specimen of Muhammad Sháh's coinage, dated 962, which gives the full name of the king; but he makes the name of the mint town to be Arkát. I have no doubt that the correct reading is Sunárgáoṇ.

* The straight distance of Chhapparghattah from Kálpi is only 11 miles. Fathpúr is 15 miles. The *Tárikh i Dáúdí* (Dowson IV, 507) says that Chhapparghattah lies 11 kos from Kálpi. The *Tabaqát i Akbari* (Dowson V, 245) has 15 kos from Ágrah, which is impossible.

XXVIII. Bahádur Sháh (II).

(962 to 968 H., or A. D. 1555 to 1561.)

His full name is not known to me: the coins which I have seen, had their margin cut away. Badáoní (I, 433) calls him Muhammad Bahádur. The period of his reign appears to be well ascertained; the historians give 962 to 968, and General Cunningham tells me that he has coins of 965, 967, and 968.

Parganahs Bahádurpúr and Bahádur Sháhi in Sirkár Tánḍá, appear to be called after him. The Sirkár bears unmistakeable traces of financial changes made during the Afghán period; for, besides Bahádurpúr and Bahádursháhi, we have Sherpúr and Sher Sháhi, Sulaimánábád and Sulaimánsháhi, and Dáúdsháhi.

The most important event in Bahádur Sháh's reign is his war with 'Adlí. Driven out of Ágrah, Itáwah, and Kálpi, and having lost his great general Hímún, 'Adlí retreated to Jaunpúr, Banáras, and Fort Chanár, and eventually to South Bihár, which since Islám Sháh's reign had been held by Miyán Sulaimán Kararání. Bahádur Sháh, who after the death of his father and the rout at Chhapparghaṭṭah, had retired to Jhosí, opposite Iláhábád, on the left bank of the Ganges, where he celebrated his *julús*, hastened to Gaur and defeated an officer of the name of Shahbáz Khán, who had declared for 'Adlí. Having firmly established himself in Bengal, he wisely left Miyán Sulaimán in possession of South Bihár, and thus found him a willing ally when he marched against 'Adlí, anxious to avenge the death of his father. The decisive battle, according to the *Tárikh i Dáúdi*, was fought "at the stream of S ú r a j g a ṛ h, near Munger". The stream of Súrājgarh is the Kiyol Nadi, and Súrājgarh stands at the confluence of the Kiyol and the Ganges, 17 miles W. W. S. of Munger. About 4 miles west of Súrājgarh and the Kiyol, we find on Sheet 112 of the Indian Atlas the village of Fathpúr, which may be the site of the battle-field. 'Adlí, who had only a few men, was defeated and killed.

The battle was fought while Akbar besieged Mánkoṭ in the Siwálíks, *i.e.* in 964, and brought about the final surrender of that fort.*

In Dowson V, 244, l. 20, *for* Sikandar Khán, ruler of Bengal, *read* Muhammad Khán Súr, ruler of Bengal; and *for* the village of Mandákar [Dowson, IV, 507, 'Marhákhar'], *read* the village of Miṇḍákur, or Miṇrákur. Miṇrákur, the Mirhakoór of the maps, lies W. of Ágrah, towards Fathpúr Sikri. It belonged to Sulṭán Salímah Begam (Bairam Khán's widow married by Akbar), who lies buried there in her garden. *Tuzuk*, p. 113.

* There is no doubt about the date. The *Tárikh i Dáúdi* (Dowson IV, 508) places "Súrājgarh one *kos*, more or less, from Munger", and adds that 'Adlí was slain "after a reign of eight years in 968". Badáoní (I, 434) places the death of 'Adlí in 962. *Vide* also Dowson, V, p. 66.

Bahádur Sháh died in 968 at Gaur, and was succeeded by his brother Jalál Sháh.

The following inscription belongs to Bahádur Sháhs reign—

Inscription from the Jámí' Mosque at Rájmahall, dated 964, H., or A. D. 1557.

A rubbing of this inscription was sent to the Society in 1873 by General Cunningham. Another copy was since then given me by Mr. W. Bourke, together with three other inscriptions from R á j m a h a l l.* The inscription has nothing to do with the mosque, and appears to have been taken from the tomb of one Qází Ibrhím Khán, who was murdered by infidels when young. It is very illegible, and the letters are badly cut. Its length is 3 ft. 3 inch., and its breadth, 6½ inch.

قال الله تبارك وتعالى ولا تقولوا لمن يقتل في سبيل الله اموات
بل احياء ولكن لا تشعرون * وقال الله عز وجل ومن يهاجر في سبيل الله
يجد في الارض مراعما كثيرا وسعة ومن يخرج من بيته مهاجرا الى الله ورسوله
ثم يدرکه لموت فقد رقع اجره على الله * (3 lines illegible)
فهم او زبانهاء بلغا بتقرير آن عاجز واقلام علماء دوران بتحرير شل قاضي
عالی المنصوص بمرتبت عليايشان جايل البرهان سند علما ابراهيم خان
غازي بن امين الله . . که در استاد بود و در عهد جواني اوان عنقران
مسلمانني مقاتل کفار و دافع شر و فساد سنة اربع و ستين و تسع مائة بتاريخ
۸ ماه سارون روز جمعه بوقت در نيم پُرس بتشریف شهادت طريق هدايت متشرف
آمدند و بصحبت ملايان در رهبري مصطفوي و صل آن بارگاه مطلوبيت . .
..... (1 or 2 lines broken)

God who is blessed and great says [Qor. II, 149], 'Do not say that those who are killed on the way of God are dead: they live, but you do not know.' And God who is honored and glorious, says [Qor. IV, 101], 'He who fleeth on the path of God, will find on earth many (similarly) compelled and plenty of provisions. And he who leaves his house fleeing to God and His Prophet, and death overtake him, his reward becomes the

* General Cunningham calls the mosque 'Jámí' Mosque'; Mr. Bourke, 'Asám Sáis ki Masjid.' The other rubbings which Mr. Bourke gave me, are (1) a beautiful rubbing from Mainá Bibí's tomb, at the Mainá Taláo, from a stone let into the wall at the west end. This inscription only contains pious formulæ; but its beautiful characters belong to the 14th century. (2) A rubbing from a mosque, south of the new cemetery in Rájmahall. The inscription is over the centre door, and belongs to the reign of Aurangzib. (3) A rubbing from a mosque in Mahatpúr, three miles east of Rájmahall, dated A. H. 1081 (Aurangzib's reign).

duty of God.'...as to his understanding, the tongues of the eloquent are unfit to express it, and the pens of the learned of the age wither away in attempting a description the exalted Qází, who exalted dignity is manifest, the illustrious witness, the proof of the learned, Ibráhím Khán Ghází, son of Aminullah, who was in...a teacher, who in the beginning of his youth and the beginning of his faith fought with the infidels and repelled mischief and rebellion, was admitted in 964, on the 8th day of Sáwan, a Friday, when two and a half watches had passed, to the honor of martyrdom and the road of guidance, and joined, through the society of the Mullás in the guidance of the Prophet, that throne of wishes....

XXIX. Ghiyásuddín Abul Muzaffar Jalál Sháh.

(968 to 971 H.; A. D. 1561 to 1563.)

I take his full name from Mr. Westmacott's Sherpúr Inscription given above, as there is no doubt that he is the same prince. Of his coins, Mr. Thomas ('Chronicles,' p. 417) has published a fine specimen, on which he appears with the shortened name of Jaláldín.* Mr. Thomas makes the mint-town to be Jájpur; I believe that the correct reading is H á j í p ú r (opposite Paṭnah). Already under Nuçrat Sháh, Hájípúr had risen to importance as the seat of the Bengal governor of Bihár. The southern part of Bihar, with the town of Bihár as capital, was in the hands of the Afgháns. This state of things continued during the reigns of Islám Sháh and the Afghán dynasty of Gaur, South Bihár being in the hands of Miyán Sulaimán i Kararánî. Some time after Akbar's conquest of Bihár, Hájípúr gradually sank in importance, and Paṭnah† became the seat of the Mughul (Chaghtái) government.

Jalál Sháh is said to have died in 971 at Gaur. For the events after his death, the murder of his son, and the short-lived government of the usurper Ghiyásuddín, we have no other source but the modern *Riyáz ussaláṭín*, the author of which has not mentioned the source of his information. He has, however, been occasionally found possessed of special and correct information, and we may follow Stewart in accepting his statement.

With Jalál Sháh and his son ended the Súr dynasty.

XXX. Hazrat i A'la Miyán Sulaimán.

(972 to 980, H., or A. D. 1564 to 1572.)

The principal facts of the vigorous reign of Miyán Sulaimán are known from the *Tárikh i Dáúdí* (Dowson, IV, 509) and the *Akbarnámah*.

His piety made a certain impression on Akbar, and Badáoní states that he used to hold every morning a devotional meeting in company with one

* Just as 'Jamáldín' in the Sátgáon inscription of 936, published by me in J. A. S. B., 1870, Pt. I, p. 298.

† Sher Sháh built the Fort of Paṭnah, In Todar Mall's rentroll, Paṭnah belongs to Sirkár Bihár.

hundred and fifty Shaikhs and 'Ulamás, after which he used to transact state business.

His redoubtable general Rájú, better known as Kálá Pahár, is up to this time remembered by the people of Orísá.

According to the *Akbarnamah* and *Badáoní*, his death took place in 980. This must have been in the beginning of the year; for Dáúd's coinage commences likewise with 980. The *Riyáz* and Stewart have 981.

The following two inscriptions from the extreme ends of his dominions, Sunárgáon and Bihár, are of value.

1.—*The Sulaimán Sháh Inscription of Sundrgáon, dated 976 H., or A.D. 1569.*

General Cunningham took a rubbing of this inscription from a stone at the old Masjid near the Rikábí Bázár, Sunárgáon. The stone measures 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 3 in., and consists of three lines. The characters are clumsy and indistinct.

قال الله تعالى ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا قال النبي عليه السلام
من بني مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله له سبعين قصورا في الجنة * هذه المساجد
مع ما من المقام في عهد سلطان الزمان حضرت اعلي ميان سليمان المكرم
المعظم المظفر الملك عبد الله ميان بن امين خان فقير ميان في التاريخ من
شهر ذي القعدة سنة ست و سبعين و تسعمائة ١١

God Almighty says, 'The mosques belong to God, worship no one else with him.' The Prophet, on whom be peace, says, 'He who builds a mosque in the world will have seventy castles built for him by God in paradise.' These mosques together with what there is of other buildings [were built] during the reign of the king of the age, his august Majesty*, Miyán Sulaimán...[by] the generous, exalted, victorious Malik 'Abdullah Miyán, son of Amír Khán Faqír Miyán, during the month of Zil Qa'dah 976 [April, 1569].

2.—*The Sulaimán Sháh Inscription at Bihár, A. H. 977, or A. D. 1569-70.*

The following inscription is taken* from above the door leading to the minor tomb of the shrine of Sharafuddín in the town of Bihár.

در شرف جهان قطب قطاب * قبله حاجات ارباب
برین در هرکه آید نیک باید * ز حق حاجت که خراهد نیلک یابد
ادیم خلوتش سبز زمین است * ازان رو خازن دنیا و دین است

* *Hazrat i A'la*. Sulaimán claimed this title; vide *Áin Translation*, Vol. I, p. 337, and Index. The *Tárikh i Dáúdí* also calls him *Miyán Sulaimán*.

بعهد شاه عادل مظهر نور * که ظلم و کفر گشت از هیبتش درر
 کجا اعلام عالی او بیفراخت * شریعت مصطفی معمر می ساخت
 سلیمان جهان ثانی سلیمان * جمال او کمال از عدل و احسان
 ز نصد هفت و هفتادش فرزند بود * نبوشت از . . . حسر ابن داؤد

1. The door of honor of the world, and the pole of poles . . . , the cynosure of devotees;
2. He who comes to this door, will indeed obtain from God his desires; for he who wishes, finds.
3. The leather carpet of his retiring room is the green ground; and for this reason he is the treasurer of the world and the faith.
4. In the reign of the just king, in whom heavenly light is revealed, through whose terror oppression and heresy disappeared,
5. Wherever he raised his exalted standards, he established the law of Muṣṭafa,
6. Sulaimán, of the world, a second Sulaimán, whose beauty lies in the perfection of his justice and bounty.
7. When 900 had been exceeded by 77 years, Hassú, the son of Dáúd, wrote it.

At the side of this inscription, the poetry and prosody of which is as wretched as those of the Bihár inscriptions formerly published, stands the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qorán.

XXXI. Báyzid Shah (II).

(980 H., or A. D. 1572.)

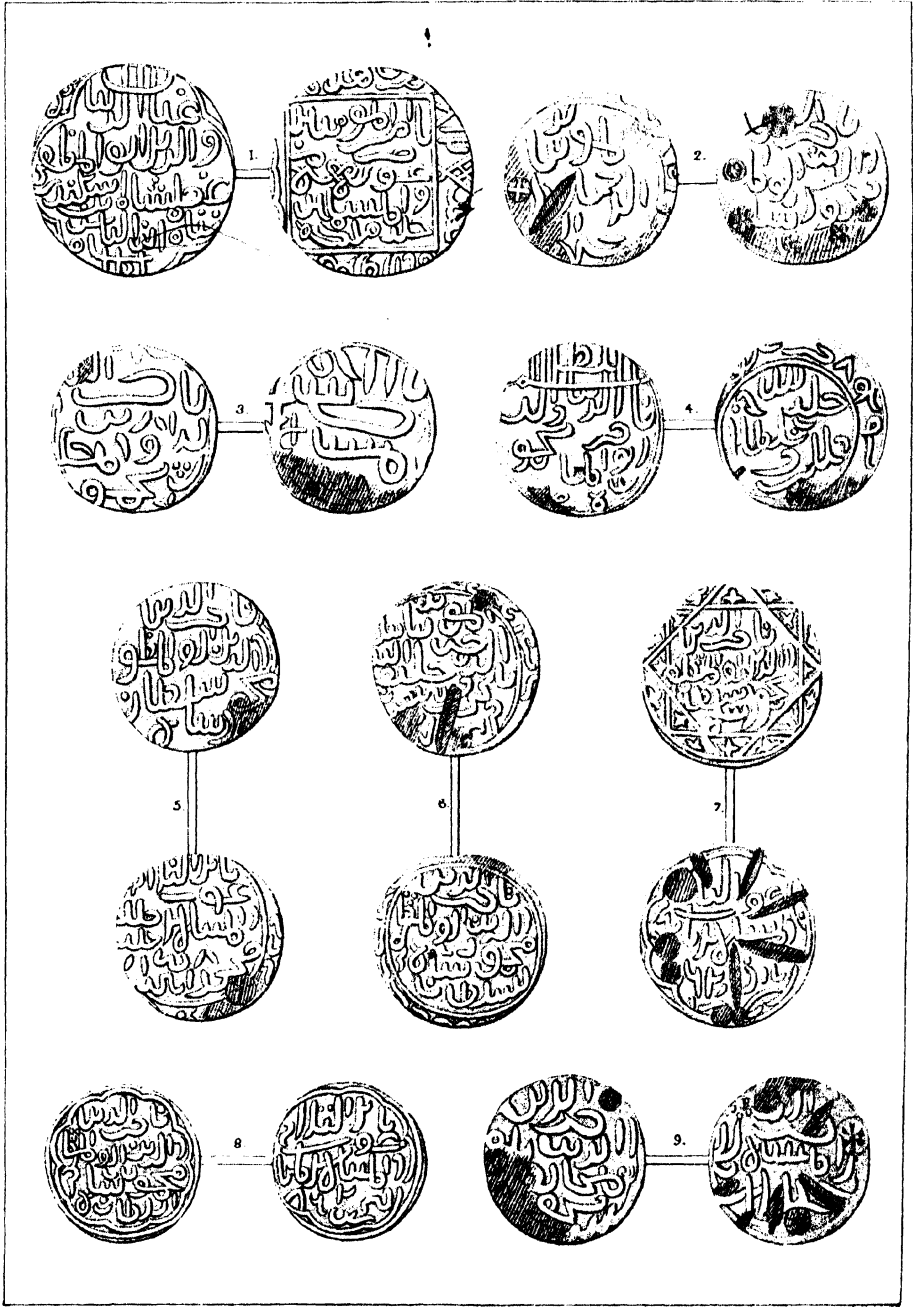
Regarding the death of Sulaimán and the accession of Báyzid Sháh, Badáoní (II, 163) says—

“In this year (980) Sulaimán i Kararánî, the ruler of Bengal, who styled himself *Hazrat i A'la*, died. He had conquered the town of Kaṭak-Banáras, ‘the mine of unbelief’, and had made Jagannáth [Púri] a *dár-ul Islam*. He ruled from Kámrúp to Orísá, and now went to God.

“His son Bá y a z í d took his place; but *after five or six months* the Afgháns killed him, and his younger brother D á ú d seized on the kingdom.”

The *Sawánih i Akbari* has the following—

Sulaimán during his lifetime had constantly sent presents to the emperor Akbar, and had thus secured himself against an invasion. When he died, the Afgháns thought it proper to make his eldest son Bá y a z í d his successor. He, in his youthful folly, read the *khutbah* in his own [not in Akbar's] name, and neglected all the forms of politeness which his father had always strictly observed. Even the chief nobles of his father were ill-treated by him, and commenced to hate him. Hānsú [هانسو] also, son of his uncle 'Imád [brother of Táġ Khán and Sulaimán], who was his son-in-law, got offended with him, and was instigated to seize the kingdom, till at last he killed Báyzid. But Lodí, who was ‘the soul’ of the kingdom, with the consent of the nobles, raised Dáúd, the younger son of Sulaimán, to the throne and killed Hānsú. But Gújar Khán raised in Bihár Báyzid's son to the throne,



and Lodí went with a large army to seize on Bihár. On account of carelessness on the part of Mun'im Khán Khánkhánán, and by means of flattering promises, Lodí succeeded in bringing Gújar over to his views.*

As Sulaimán died in 980, and Dáúd Sháh's coinage begins also in 980, Báyzíd Sháh's short reign falls in the same year. No specimen of his coinage has hitherto been found.

XXXII. . . . Abul Muzaffar Dáúd Sháh.

(980 to 984 H.; A. D. 1573 to 1576.)

The facts of Dáúd Sháh's reign are well known from the histories of Akbar's reign. His full name appears on the margin of his coinage, of which specimens are numerous; but all rupees that I have seen, had the margin cut away.

His defeat on the 15th Rabí' II, 984 [12th July, 1576] elicited the curious *tárikh* (metre *Sarí'*†)—*مالك سليمان از دارد رفت*

Solomon's kingdom slipped from David's hand.

With Dáúd Khán the Kararání dynasty came to an end. The Afgháns under the Lohánis subsequently fought with Akbar's officers, especially Mán Singh, in Orísá and South-Eastern Bengal, till they were finally overcome under 'Usmán Khán during Jahángír's reign in Eastern Bengal.‡

The frontiers of Bengal during the Afghán period became gradually narrower. Sunárgáon is mentioned as the frontier under Sher Sháh and Sulaimán i Kararání. But this may have been more nominal than real. Chát-gáon had already before Sher Sháh again fallen in the hands of the Arakanese. The Bhúyahs, *i.e.* zamíndárs, of Bháluah, Baklá, Chandradíp, Farídpúr, and the 24-Parganahs, were all but independent; and from Sunárgáon over Dháká northward over Maimansingh extended the territory of Masnad i 'A'li 'Is'á Khán, who in the Akbarnámah is called 'the chief of the Twelve Bhúyahs'. The Portuguese also became important.

In the north, the frontier receded likewise. The results of the conquest of Kámatá and Kámrúp by Husain Sháh vanished with the establishment of the great kingdom of Kúch Bihár, when the Karataya became again the frontier. The Muhammadan historians do not tell us much regarding

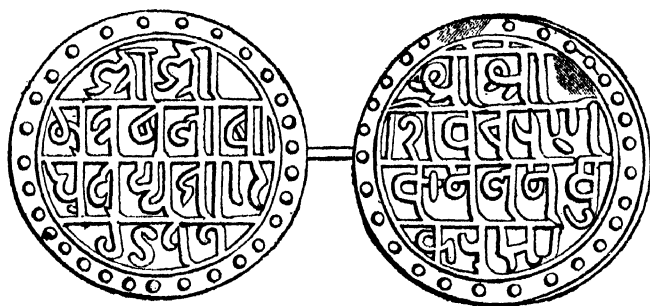
* The remaining portion has been translated by Prof. Dowson in Elliot's History of India, VI, p. 39 ff.

† Vide my 'Prosody of the Persians', p. 59, l. 13. The second foot is *maf'úlun*, and the *alif* in *az* cannot be left out.

‡ Vide A'in Translation, I, 520, 521. Prof. Dowson, IV, 513n., makes 'Usmán Khán Dáúd's younger brother. But they belong to different Afghán tribes.

the rise of this kingdom. According to the *Akbarnámah*, the founder was Bísá, who must have lived in the very end of the second period of the Muhammadan history of Bengal, (*i.e.* about 944 H., or A. D. 1538), or fifty years* before Abul Fazl wrote. His son Nara Náráyaṇ is not mentioned; but his coins prove that he was the contemporary of 'Adlí. A specimen of his silver coinage was published in J. A. S. B., for 1856, p. 457, by Bábu Rájendralála Mitra, and bears the Sáka year 1477, or A. D. 1555. A short time ago, Capt. Williamson, Deputy Commissioner Gáro Hills, presented the Society with the following unique silver coin, which is of the same year, but is much larger than the one published by Bábu Rájendralála Mitra, and differs in the legend of the reverse. It was picked up by a Gáro together with a Dáúdsháhi rupee.

Silver Coin of NARA NÁRÁYAṆA of Kúch Bihár. Large size. Weight, 157.49 grains. Sáka 1477 [A. D. 1555]. As. Socy., Bengal. Dotted margin.



OBVERSE—श्रीशिवचरणकमलमधकरस्य

REVERSE—श्रीश्रीभन्ननारायणस्य शाक १४७७ ॥

OBVERSE—(The coin) of the bec of the lotus of the foot of the twice illustrious Siva,

REVERSE—Of the twice illustrious Nara Náráyaṇa. Sáka, 1477.

Nara Náráyaṇ's son and successor was Bál Gosáin, whom the *Akbarnámah* calls Bísá's grandson. He was reigning in 986, or A. D. 1578. His brother Shukl Gosáin is mentioned by Abul Fazl and Ralph Fitch. Bál Gosáin's son is Lachmí Náráyaṇ, who received Mán Singh in 1005 H., and was still reigning in 1027 (A. D. 1618).

* *Vide* J. A. S. B., 1872, Pt. I, p. 52, l. 8 from below. It is quite possible that the rise of Kúch Bihár is connected with the fall of Gaur.

