Indian Institute, Oxford.

Baden-Powell Baggesen

20 B 8

20 A 18
THE PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI.
THE CHRONICLES
OF
THE PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI,

ILLUSTRATED BY

COINS, INSCRIPTIONS, AND OTHER
ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS.

اطیعوا الله واطیعوا الرسول واولي الأمر منكم

Legend on Coin No. 196, from KurÁn, Surah iv. ver. 62.

BY

EDWARD THOMAS,

LATE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAZ CIVIL SERVICE; MEMBER OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF BENGAL, LONDON, AND PARIS.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1871.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.
PREFACE.

The limited edition of my original Monograph on the Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán (London, 1847), has long since been exhausted; the still more restricted impression of a Supplement, chiefly designed to reduce into type a record of perishable materials, in, as it proved, a very unsafe locality (Dehli, 1851), can scarcely be said to have been before the public. Its compilation, however, pointed consistently to a future revision of the general subject, which has been postponed, from time to time, till the accumulation of new and very ample materials has forced me to recognize my obligations to an inquiry I had in a measure made my own. The result appears in the following pages.

The two essays above referred to were essentially technical and limited in their scope to antiquarian objects; an almost identical disadvantage attended a later cognate memoir, "On the Initial Coinage
of Bengal," which was devoted to the description of selections from the 13,000 coins of the very instructive Kooch Bahár *trouvaille*.

In the present work I have asserted my freedom from conventional trammels, and endeavoured to make Numismatics applicable in their larger and better sense to the many collateral questions they chance to touch, equally pressing into the service all available external aids to history, for which the laxity of Oriental tradition gives even too many openings.

It would not become me to say anything in favour of my own production; indeed, I am fully alive to its imperfections; but I may frankly say I have learnt many things, which I did not know previously, during the course of its composition. On the other hand, I have to meet, by anticipation, two objections which may strike an English reader. The first of these is the still open contest as to how Oriental words should be reproduced in Roman type. At one time I was disposed to be pedantic on the subject, and even went so far as to devise an elaborate scheme for the discriminative representation of Semitic and Aryan alphabets; but the difficulties attending the innovation seemed far to outbalance any advantages that might possibly be gained by the public, and the
author himself thoroughly appreciated the benefit of being in the hands of a printer whose resources enabled him to reproduce Sanskrit or Arabic in their proper characters, with equal, if not greater facility than the anomalous dotted and accented hybrids our current type would, at the best, have admitted of.

The system I have now attempted to follow has been to recognize and retain all fixed Anglicized forms, and at the same time to embody the more definite sounds of local speech, in preference to any critical adherence to the occasionally divergent alphabets of Devanágari and Arabic. Dealing with Turanian Persian, redolent of the atmosphere of Dehli, which severe Continental Professors somewhat needlessly disparage, I have permitted myself a latitude which would neither stand the test of Iranian Persian, nor, in the adapted words, the criticism of an Arabic grammarian. I have further necessarily discarded uniformity, by frequently adhering, in my quotations, to the method of spelling favoured by the original author; so that there is, perhaps, no one of my narrow list of seeming innovations for which I could not cite, from my own extracts, previous and competent authority.

The second question refers to the general absence of translations of coin legends and illustrative texts.
It has been generally confessed from the first day "Aladdin" appeared in a European dress, that Oriental names would not bear translation, and the inflated titles of the East, rendered in the subdued language of the West, would jar even more harshly upon English ideas. My leading object in this work has been to collect materials for history, in the form of documents, which it was primarily desirable to retain in their most authentic form, or in the nearest possible approach to their original integrity,—translations in such cases would be, in effect, mere repetitions; but wherever these documents have any reference to the immediate subject of discussion, free illustrations of the context are given.

The compiler of a record like the present is more than ordinarily dependent upon the aid of his fellow-labourers: it will be seen that the number of my disinterested contributors, though necessarily inconsiderable, has been compensated by the fullness and freeness of their gifts. My obligations are due to the many collectors of coins whose names are indicated, in more detail, in the body of the work and in the subjoined note upon the depositories of existing cabinets. I am indebted to Mr. Fergusson for the use of the effective architectural engravings.
which illustrate the text. The woodcuts of coins, as may be gathered from their treatment, are the work of different hands, and vary in their execution to a marked degree. The best shaded examples are by Mr. J. Schnorr of Stuttgart; the engravings of Mr. Adeney are next in merit; but it is confessedly difficult to get first-class artists to undertake such complicated, and to them unintelligible subjects. So that I can scarcely bring myself to reproach the authors of my numerous disappointments in this direction.

The ground plan of Dehli, which figures as the frontispiece, is itself a curious "Old Mortality" style of document, commemorative of the earliest English survey of the environs of the ancient capital of the Patháns, as we received it from the hands of the Mahrattas after Lord Lake's action in 1803. It has been reduced in photography, by Dr. Forbes Watson's establishment, from the original Survey Map now in the Mackenzie Collection in the India Office.

London,

February 25, 1871.
Note on the Ownership and Present Depositories of the Various Collections of Coins quoted in this Work.

1. Marsden Collection, in the British Museum, fully described in his work entitled Numismata Orientalia. (London, 1823.)

2. The collection in the India Office, many specimens of which are noticed and engraved in Professor Wilson's Ariana Antiqua. (London, 1841.)

3. My own original collection, comprising the coins figured in plates 1.--v. of this volume, now in the British Museum. A limited but select cabinet of my later acquisitions in my own possession.

4. Mr. Edward Clive Bayley's collection, which formed the groundwork of my Supplement, printed at Delhi in 1851. In the owner's possession. (In England.)


6. Mr. George Freeling's collection, partly in the Bodleian at Oxford, with the Bardoe Elliot bequest, and partly in the hands of his widow.

7. Colonel Guthrie's collection, comprising selected specimens of the Kooch Bahār trousseau (plate vi.); and the choice Pathān series, so often quoted in these pages, which now embraces the accumulated treasures of General Cunningham and Major Stubbs's most successful gleanings of the last few years. (In England.)

8. Sir Walter Elliot has some curious specimens of the local series of the Dakhan, and Sir Bartle Frere has a large collection of Indian coins, which I have not yet had an opportunity of examining.

9. There are a few Pathān coins in Russia, descriptions of which will be found in Freih's "Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum," and M. Dorn's Supplement to that work. Many dispersed specimens are also quoted, from continental cabinets, in the posthumous collection of M. Soret's Essays.
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Introductory Notice, 1.
Explanatory Table of coincident Hijrah and Christian dates, 6.
List of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindústán, with their dates of accession, 7.
Preliminary List of the Muslim Rulers and early Kings of Bengal, 8.
The reign of Mu’izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám, 9. (Inscription of Mas’aúd III. at Ghazni, 9.) Muhammad bin Sám’s Metropolitan Ghazni Coins, bearing his own name associated with that of his regnant brother, Ghlás-ud-dín, 12. His Imperial Indian Coins, under various Commanders—Sind, Láhor, Dehli, Gwálior, and Pesháwar, 15, 16. His more immediately local Indian Coins—Ajmír, bearing the name of Prithví Rája, 17; Kanaúj adaptations, 18; their derivation from Hindú local types, 19. Examples of the coinages of Govinda Chandra and Prithví Deva, 19. His Inscriptions on the Kutb Minár and old Mosque at Dehli, 21. (Contested date of the leading Inscription, 22.)
The subordinate Monumental Records of his Viceroy, Aíbek, 22. His boast of the destruction of Hindú Temples, 23. Other inscriptions, 24, 25.
The outline of the career of Muhammad bin Sám’s other trusted Commander, Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, 25. (The site of his Frontier Fort of Karmán, 26.) Posthumous medal pieces of Muhammad bin Sám, 29. Progressive coins of Táj-ud-dín, 30. Coin of Mahmúd bin Muhammad of Ghor, the lineal inheritor of Muhammad bin Sám’s throne, 31.
The reign of Kutb-ud-din Aibek, 32. (Derivation of his name, 32.) Reasons for his non-issue of coins, 33. (Simulated coins used in Persia for reasonable purposes, 34.) His munificence, 35. Local currencies maintained under his government, 36. Dehlavidi or Chital currency, 37. Reserve exercised by other commanders regarding the issue of coin in their own names, 37. Respect shown to the memory of Muhammad bin Sám, 37. (Persian text illustrating this posthumous reverence, 38.)

The reign of Arám Sháh, 40. His coins, 40.

The reign of Altamah, 41. The derivation of his name, 43. Outline of the annals of his career, 44. Money struck in honour of the recognition of the new kingdom of India by the Khalif of Baghdad, 46. (Introductory tankah of the great Mahmúd struck on the first capture of Láhor, 47, 48, 49.) Copper coins bearing the title of the Khalif of Baghdad, 49. (Note on Sri Hammirah, 50.) Coin of Mustansir billah, 52. The Initial Coinage of the Patháns under Altamah, 52. The prior currencies of the Hindú local rulers, 54; derived from the types of the Brahman kings of Kábul, 54. Albírúni’s early notice of these kings, 55, 58. Their Hindú successors in India, 55, 58. (Rajput tribes, 56.) (Indian type of coin issued by Mas’aúd of Ghazná, 58.) Coins of Anánga pálá and other Rájas, 59. (The Hanó Inscription, 60, 61.) Local kings of Mahoba, 62; Gwálior, 63; Ajmír, 64. (Distribution of Rájput tribes, 64.) (The Chándel dynasty, 65.) (Gen. Cunningham’s identification of the Dilki and Milki of Ferishtah, 66.) Cháhar Deva, 67. (General Cunningham’s note on the Narwar coins, 67.) His contests with the Muhammadans, 68. His local titles, 68. His coins, 70. Altamah’s adoption of his devices, 71. Subordinate devices on the coins, 71. Numismatic Fath Námahs, or proclamations of conquest, 73. Coin of Varmma Deva Rája of Kálinjar, 74. Altamah’s memorial coinage on the capture of Rantambhor, 74. Altamah’s ordinary currencies, 75. Altamah’s special coinage at Nagór, 78. Peculiarities of the piece: details of costume, etc., 78. Altamah’s confession of service under Kutb-ud-din Aibek, 79. Altamah’s Inscriptions at the Kutb and at Ajmír, 79, 80. Unique coin
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>of Nâsir-ud-dîn Mahmûd, the heir apparent of Altamsh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>Altamsh's alien contemporaries on Indian soil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>List of Khârizmian kings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Coins of 'Alâ-ud-dîn Muhammad bin Takash.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Tughra or monogram coins of these kings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>(Other specimens of the art of combining Persian letters into pictorial devices.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>Coins of Jalâl-ud-dîn Mankbarnin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Coins of Changiz Khân.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>The Indian career of Saif-ud-dîn Hasan Karlagh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>(His tribe.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>(General Cunningham's note on the same subject.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>His coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>(Note on Uchh.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Casual notices of Nâsir-ud-dîn Muhammad bin Karlagh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>His coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Incidental historical mention of Usbeg Paî.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>(His boundaries in Sind.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Summary of the reign of Kubâchah in Sind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>The reign of Rukn-ud-dîn Firuz Shâh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>His coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>The reign of the Empress Regnant Riziah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>Other Türkî Queens in the East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>(Indian prejudices against Abyssinians, not shared by the Arabs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>Her coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>(Note on Lakhnauti.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>The provincial coinage of Bengal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Conquest of the province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Couris or shell currency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>(Ibn Batutah's account of the Couris currency.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>(Minhâj-us-Sirâj's notices of local media of exchange.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>Muhammad Bakhtîar Khilji abstains from issuing coin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Introductory review of the Bengal coinage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>The local standard, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>Intrinsíc values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Black Tankahs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>(Correction.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>Reign of Mu'izz-ud-dîn Bahrâm Shâh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>Abstract of leading events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>His coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Reign of 'Alâ-ud-dîn Mas'ûd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>(Note on the supposed Moghal invasion of Bengal.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>His coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Peculiar orthography of the Hindî legends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Hindî dates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>Reign of Nâsir-ud-dîn Mahmûd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>His coins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>Exceptional piece doubtfully attributed to this king.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>His inscription at Allygurh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>(Ancient Minaret destroyed by our European officials in 1861.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>The reign of Balban.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>His coins.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 134 | Innovations in their
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

legends, 135. His inscriptions, Persian, at Gurmuktisar, 136. Hindi, at Pālam, 137. (Note on Zia Barni, the author of the Tāhirkh-i Firuz Shāhī, 133.)
The reign of Mu'izz-ud-dīn Kaikubad, 138. His meeting with his father Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, of Bengal, 139. (The works of Amīr Khusrū of Dehli, 140). His coins, 141.
The reign of Jalal-ud-dīn Firuz, 142. (Zia Barni's errors, 142.) His coins, 144. (Note on Kilaghari, 143).
The contemporary coinage of Bengal, 146. Local history, 147. Family tree of the Southern branch, 148. (Site of discovery of the Kooch Bahār trouvaille, 148). Coins of Buku-ud-dīn Kai Kāus, 149. His Inscription at Gunga Rampur, 149. Bengal Minta, 150; Firuzabād, 151; Satgaon, 151; Shahr Nau, 152. (Geographical note on Cornovae, etc., 152.) Sonārgaon, 152; Mużamābād, 153; Ghīāspūr, 153.
The reign of Buku-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm, 154. His coins, 155.
The reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Muḥammad Shāh, 156. His operations on the currency, 158. Reduction of the value of the coin to meet the increased expense of his army, 158. Introduction of 'adulis or 140 grain silver coins, 159. (Historical authority recording this change, 159). His forced prices, 160. Definition of the Jītal, 160. Determination of the weight of the str and man of the period, 161. Result tested by comparative weights in Egyptian money, 161; ditto, by Indian coin equivalents, 163. (Table of local mans, 163), traced from the time of Manu, 164. (Manu’s definition of ruling weights, 165.) (Atoms, 166.) Results obtained from these sources, 167. Favourite numbers among different races, 167. Numerical gradations of weights, 167. (The age of Manu, 168.) 'Alā-ud-dīn Muḥammad Shāh’s coins, 168. (Their touch, 168, 170.) Sir W. Elliot’s notice on southern “Star” money, 169. Other Peninsula coins, 170. 'Alā-ud-dīn’s coins continued, 171. His inscriptions, 173. His public works, 173. Amīr Khusrū’s account, 173. Ibn Batutah’s account, 174. Coins of the Mughal invaders, 174; Khwājah Kutlugh, etc., 175. (Investment of Dehli, 175.)
The reign of Shahāb-ud-dīn 'Umar, 176. His coins, 177. Note
on Khizr Khán and Devaī Rāṇī, 176–7.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

The reign of Kutb-ud-dīn Mubārak Shāh, 178. His coins, 179. (Note on the teachings of the Kurān, 178.) Mubārak Shāh's assumption of hierarchical honours, 181. His coins continued, 182.

The reign of the Hindā Nāsir-ud-dīn Khunrā, 183. His coins, 185. (Note on castes, 184.)

The reign of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlak Shāh, 186. (His tribe, 186.) His expedition to Bengal, 188. His coins, 189. His inscriptions, 192. His public works, 192.

Bengal contemporary coins, 193. (a) Shams-ud-dīn Firūz; his history, 193; his coins, 194. (b) Shahāb-ud-dīn Bughrāk Shāh; his reign, 194; the orthography of his name, 195; his coins, 197. (Hindi inscription at Chunār, dated 1390, Samvat, 195.) (c) Bahādur Shāh's reign, 197; his reinstallation by Muhammad bin Tughlak, 200 (Ibn Batutah's account, 200); his coins, 201.

The reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak, 202. (The provinces of his empire, 203.) (State of civilization at Dehli at this period, 204.) His coins, 207–216. (Note on Doorgā, 209.) His various currencies; 217. Table of coin values inter se, 219; based upon indigenous traditions, 220. (Ancient Indian weights— a. from Manu, 221; b. from the Atharva Parisishta, 221; c. from Bābar's record of comparative Indian weights, 222; d. Kashmiri weights, 222; Indian and other weights from the Haft Kulsum, 223.) Identity of copper standard in ancient Egypt, 223. Normal Indian ratī determined at 1·75 grs., 228. (Sir W. Elliot concurs in this result, 224.) Re-adjustment of monetary exchanges under Muhammad bin Tughlak, 224. New coins in gold introduced to correct exchange rates, 224. Mechanical improvements in striking the coin, 225. Retention of sub-divisional silver coins of ancient type, 225. Review of relative weights, 226. Comparison of values, 226. Series of kāsi pieces, 227. Correction of the previous interpretation of Ibn Batutah's text in regard to the ratio of gold to silver, 227; additional particulars from the Masālik al Absār, 228.) Silver tankāh and 'adali, 228. Coins of mixed silver and copper, 222. Feriashtah's error in regard to the value of the current tankāh rectified from the text of Nizām-ud-dīn, 229, 230. "Black
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Tanka,’ 230. Shashkajie, 230. Jítals defined, 231. The currency standard based upon copper, 231. Relative values of gold and silver in 725 A.H. (1324 A.D.), 232. (Native custom of hoarding, 232.) Ratio of gold to silver, 1:8 and 1:7, 234. (Col. Yule’s researches on the same subject, 234.) Comparative table of exchange determining the relative values of gold and silver, 235. ‘Alá-ud-dín’s reduction of the value of the silver piece to 140 grains continued by Muhammad bin Tughlak, 236. New scale of proportions, 237. Detailed identifications of representative pieces, 237, 238. (Full information contributed by the Masa‘lak al Absár, 238, 239.) Muhammad bin Tughlak’s forced currency of copper tokens, 239. Kublai Khan’s paper currency, 239. (Marco Polo’s account, 239, 240.) Káli Khátù’s Tabriz paper currency, 240. Ibn Batutah’s account of the working of Kublai Khan’s paper currency, 240. Du Halde’s reproductions of Chinese notes of a proximate period, 241. Penalties attaching to counterfeits, 241. Khátù’s objects in his forced currency, 242. (Text and tenor of his assignats, 242.) Result of the Persian experiment, 243. Motives actuating Muhammad bin Tughlak’s essay in the same direction, 243. Ibn Batutah’s summary of the curiously mixed qualities of the Sultán, 243. Mubárák Anbátí’s testimony of parallel date, 244. Tenor of the legends on the Indian representative coinage, 244. Complete and unfettered freedom of metallic intrinsic values, throughout the period of the currency of the copper tokens, 245. Failure of the measure due less to the want of credit of the king than to the facilities of imitation on the part of forgers, 245. (Home testimony to that effect, 245.) Muhammad bin Tughlak’s recognition of his error, and honest desire to compensate to the utmost all the sufferers within reach, 246. Exhaustion of the royal treasury in the attempt to meet confessed liabilities, 246. (Contrast of Chinese precautions to secure themselves against imitations, 246.) The bronze and copper coinage illustrating the working of this fiscal edict, 251. The ordinary copper coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, 253. Irregular use of the dies of silver pieces, 253. Muhammad
bin Tughlak's disturbance at his spiritually unconfirmed kingship, 254-256. The fate of the last Khalif of Baghdad, 254. Ignorance of the Indian Muslim world as to the events affecting their own creed, at the acknowledged centres of the Pontificate, 255. (Native testimony to these scruples, 256.) Muhammad bin Tughlak rejects his own name from the coinage, and replaces it by that of the Khalifs of Egypt, 257. (Motives possibly actuating the Sultán's proceeding, 255.) List of the Egyptian Khalifs, 257-8. (Their impotence and insignificance, 257.) Indian coins bearing the designations of the Khalifs of Egypt, 259. Prices of provisions at Delhi during this reign, 260. Inscriptions and public works, 261.

Bengal contemporary coinage, 261. a. Fakhr-ud-dín Mubarak Sháh, history, 262; coins, 263. b. 'Alá-ud-dín 'Ali Sháh, history, 264; coins, 265. c. Ikhtíár-ud-dín Ghazi Sháh, history, 265; coins, 266. (Discrepancies of authorities as to details, 266.) d. Shams-ud-dín Illás Sháh, history, 267; coins, 269. (Note on Akdálah and Pandú, 268.)

The reign of Fírúz bin Rajab (Fírúz Sháh's administrative innovation, 271). (Notices of Khán-i Jahán, father and son, 272. Inscriptions, etc.), 273. The Sultán's autobiography, 273. His coins, 274. His elaboration of the minor sub-divisions of the currency, 277. Persian text, furnishing the leading details of these measures, 278. Material results testified to by his coins, 279. Table of fractional sub-divisions, 280. His minute pieces provided for the poor, 280, 281. Assay of his coins, 281. (Confessed frauds of his mint masters, 281.) Results of assay, 282. Prices of provisions during the reign, 283. Inscription of Fírúz on the Kutb Minár, 283; its purport, 284. (Note on Mr. S. C. Campbell's attempted rectification of received ideas regarding the topography, etc., of ancient Delhi, 284.) Inscriptions continued, 286. The Benares inscription, 286. Identification of sites and buildings adverted to in the text, 288. Fírúz's public works, 289. (His autobiography, entitled his "Victories," engraved on the octagonal dome of his Mosque, 289. Details furnished by the work in question, 290.) Fírúz's removal and
re-erection of ancient Monoliths, 292. Original inscriptions of B.C. 230 on their surfaces illegible to the learned of that day, 293. James Prinsep's interpretation of these texts, 293. The Canals of Firúz Sháh, 294. (English tracings of the various lines, 294–5. The Chipang river, old Sarsuti, etc., 295.) Coins bearing the joint names of Firúz and his son Fath Khán, 296. (Innate wealth of India at this period, 296.) Egyptian Khalif recognizes Fath Khán as heir apparent, 297. (Contemporary testimony to the reception of the embassy entrusted with the investure of the Sultán and his son, 297.) Mosque and Madrasah erected by the father in memory of the son, 298. The binominal coins, 298. Coins bearing the names of the Sultán and his son Zafar, their dates, etc., 299. The coins in their order, 300. The reign of Ghásí-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh II., 301. His coins, 302. The reign of Abúbakr Sháh, 303. His coins, 304. Posthumous coin of Abúbakr, 305. The reign of Muhammad Sháh, his association in the government during his father's lifetime, 305. (Contemporary testimony, 305. List of previous Sultáns recognized in the public prayers, 306.) Coins of Muhammad as joint king, 307. His coins after his accession, 308. His posthumous coins, 309. His public buildings: Firúz's tomb, 310. The reign of Sikandar Sháh, 311. His coins, 311. The reign of Mahmúd bin Muhammad, 312. (Contemporary testimony, 312.) (TIMUR'S account of the state of India at the period of his invasion from his own autobiography, 313.) (His description of Delhi, 314.) (Distribution of the Pathán empire after the invasion of TIMUR, 315.) Coins of Mahmúd bin Muhammad, 316. (Note on the death of Mahmúd, 317.) The reign of Naṣrat Sháh, 318. His coins, 318. The contemporary local dynasty of Jaunpúr, 319. Coins of Ibrahím, Mahmúd, Muhammad, and Husain, 321–2. Brief notices of these coins, 323. Assay of Jaunpúr coins, 324. (Assays of other coins under the supervision of General Cunningham, 324.) The Government of Daulat Khán Lódi, 325. He abstains from
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

issuing coin in his own name, but mint operations are carried on
by the use of dies, bearing the name of FIrúz bin Rajab, 326.
The government of Khizr Khán, 326. The numismatic myth pro-
pounded by Feriahtah, 328. His assertion corrected from earlier
authorities, 329. Khizr Khán follows the practice of his pre-
decessor in inserting the names of previous kings on his mint
issues, 329. Importance of dates in the attestation of coin
values, 329. The East India Company adopt the idea in their
modern coinage in the use of the name of Sháh 'Alam, 330.
The reign of Mu'izz-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh, 330. (His special
biographer, 331.) (The site of Mubárakpúr, 332.) His coins,
333.
The reign of Muhammad bin Faríd, 334. His coins, 336. (Note
on the date of his death, 326.) His coins continued, 337.
The reign of 'Alá-ud-dín 'Alam Sháh, 338. (Note on the distri-
bution of the provinces of the Dehli empire at this period, 338.)
His coins, 339. Notice of the contemporary local dynasties—a.
The Bahmani kings of the Dakhan, 340. Their serial succession
and their dominions, 341. Specimens of their coins, 342. The
practical working of their currencies on the establishment of Mu-
hammadan governments in the south, 343. Money changers and
goldsmiths apparently permitted to use their own dies, 344.
(Note on the responsibilities of the village Sonár under the
primitive brotherhood system, 344.) Detailed list of the Bahmani
coins immediately available, forming a skeleton basis for future
amplification, 345. b. The Málwah dynasty, 346; their possessions,
346. Selected specimens of their coins, 347. Subordinate list of
their coins within reach, 348. c. The kings of Gujarát: list of the
successions and dates, 350; their dominions, 351. (State income
in 1571 A.D., 351.) Prominent examples of their coinage, 352.
Minor references to the general suite of their coins, 353. The
Hindú recovery of portions of their own soil, 354. Khumbo
Rána's victory over the combined Muhammadan forces of Málwah
and Gujarát, 354. His memorial tower, erected in honour of his
success, 355. (The crown of the conquered king preserved in
the Rajpút family, finally surrendered to the Mughals, 354.)
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

The contemporary list of the Gehlot kings of Mewar, 356. Coins of Rana Kimboho, 356. (Note on the temple of Eklinga, whose name is stamped on the coinage, 356.) Curious jealousy exhibited by the Muhammadan provincial kings of any interference, on the part of the local Rajas, with the supreme right to coin money, 357. Coin of Rana Sanga, 357.

The reign of Buhlool Lodhi, 357. His coins, 358. Assays of the metallic composition of his currency, 359. Extended note on his coins, 359. (Singular cheapness of provisions in Northern India within the period of the accepted currency of his coins, denominated "Buhloolida." 369.) Formal definition of the Buhloolida, 360; its association with previous measures of value, and its connexion with subsequent developments of the confessedly official modifications of the ruling standard, 361. Determination of its intrinsic value in copper, 361. Ancient testimony to an identical weight from the earliest times, 362. (Egyptian data, 362.) (Sankrit authorities, 362.) Babar's acceptance of the same local weight for his copper currency, 362-3. Akbar's official definitions, 363. Parallel adjustment of the apparently diverse rates, 363. (Sir H. Elliot's data to a similar effect derived from indigenous sources, 363-4.) (The old courie or shell currency test, 364.)

The reign of Sikandar bin Buhlool, 365. His coins, 366. Note on his coinage, 366. Absolute identities, 366. Inferential theory of reconciliations, 367. Assay test, 367. Subordinate calculations, 367. Assay tables, 368. Subsequent testimony to the intrinsic value of the Sikandarida derived from various sources, 369. (Nizamud-din Ahmad's definitions and minor evidences, 369.) The inscriptions, five in number, of Sikandar bin Buhlool Lodhi at Delhi, 370. The gan, or "yard measure," of Sikandar bin Buhlool, 370; the datum being based upon a certain number of diameters of his current coins, 370. Improved mechanical formation of the coins themselves, 371. Textual authority for the innovation, and other independent native comparisons with cognate home measures of length, 371. Application of the coin test, pure and simple, 371. Returns obtained at Delhi in 1851: General Cunningham's later and more exhaustive application of this crude scheme of
measuring to ancient Greek definitions of Indian stages, and the
distances of pilgrims' progresses at the period of the visit of the
Chinese Buddhists, 372. (General Cunningham's own observa-
tions on the question, 372.) The real object and merit of this
singular method of testing, on the instant, the fullness of the
salesman's yard, 373. Antiquity of the measure of length thus
curiously defined, 373. Akbar's innovations, 373. (Question of
revival of ancient numbers, 373.) Endeavours of the first
English administrators in Northern India to fix and determine
the true official measures of the country, 374. Compromise
adopted by government, 374.
The reign of Ibráhím bin Sikandar Lódi, 375. His coins, 376.
Varieties, illustrating the acquisition of Chandéri and the ejection
of Bárbak from Jaunpúr, 377.
The Mughal or Chaghatái Conquest, 378. Bábar's invasion and
rule in India, 378. (His own testimony to the state of India at
this epoch, 378.) Humáuyún's career in India, 379. (Kámrán's
coin, 379.) Bábar's coins, 380. Bábar's Sháh Rukhús, etc., 381.
Humáuyún's coins, 381. Akbar's northern or family types of coins
identical with the preceding, 382. The anonymous or crude
copper standard pieces, which required no attestation by the
name of the ruling power, under the custom obtaining in central
Asia, 383. Identities of intrinsic values in the Indian scheme, 384.
The coins, with their dates and places of mintage, 385. Bábar's
Indian revenue, 387. Extreme variation in previously assigned
totals, 387. (Mr. Ermak's range from £1,300,000 to £52,000,000,
387.) My definition of the real amount, 388. Data derived from
different sources, 388. (Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's return accepted in
its integrity, 388.) Abúl Faál's estimate clearly erroneous, 388.
(Attempted rectification, of the same, 388–9; further adverted
to, 428, 440 sqq.) Mr. Ermak's notice of the enhanced revenue
of Aurangzéb, 390. (Bernier's imperfect return, 390.) Table of
Bábar's revenues from his own memoirs, 390. Estimate, by the
test of other local currencies, of the actual money value of the
revenues of Bábar, 391.
The reign of Shír Sháh, 392. (Importance of his administrative
measures upon the well-being of India, 392.) Outline of the leading events of his career, 393. His coins, 394. Incidental notices of the numerous varieties of his coinage, and the extended range of the localities of his mints, 394–403. Note on Shír Sháh's coins, 403. Official alteration of the standard, in a reversion to simple copper and silver, and the discarding of mixed metals, 404. Determination of Shír Sháh's silver standard rupee, 405. The minor alterations of weights incident to the increase upon the old standard tankah, 406. His copper dám the subsequently accepted measure of value under Akbar, 407. Proofs examined in detail, 407–8–9. The explanation of modern discrepancies in the estimate of the normal Indian test weight, the rati, 409. (Gen. Cunningham's view of the question under its previous aspect, 409.)

The reign of Islám Sháh, 410. His coins, 411. His inscriptions at Dehli, 413.


Akbar's coinage, 418. Full list of coins from the Ñín-i Akbari, 418, 419, 420. Marsden's extant specimens of the gold pieces, 420. Silver coins, 421. Copper coins, 421. (The dám the unit or standard coin, 421.) Twenty-stater piece in gold of Eukratides, 421. (Description of the coin, 421.) Massive 100 tolah and 500 tolah gold coins of Akbar, 422. (Akbar's treasures, 422.) (Existing cast of Sháh Jahán's 200 tolah gold piece, 423. 5 lb. silver piece of Aurangzéb, 423. Persian silver coins of similar fabric, 423.) Ratio of gold to silver under Akbar (1:9-4), 424. Table of authoritative mint values establishing that ratio, 424. (Controversies raised upon the question, 425, 426.) Akbar's State seigniorage charged to the merchant for the conversion of bullion into coin, 426. Table of mint returns illustrating the calculation, 427. Full list of Akbar's mints from the Ñín-i Akbari, 427. Prices of provisions in Akbar's reign, 428. Table of various articles of every-day consumption, 429. Official weights of the
TABLE OF CONTENTS.

period, 429 (430). Price of corn at three different epochs, 430. Comparative cost of labour, 430.

Akbar's State revenues, 431. Local troops or Landwehr, 431; their numbers and cost to the country, 431. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's return for A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), 432. Abúl Fazl’s returns for the year following and later periods, 432. Apparent method of the compilation of the various sections of the Aín-i Akbari, 433. Test table of the revenue returns entered in the subordinate schedules, 433. (Akbar's remission of taxes equal to the quit-rent of Hindústán, 433.) Revenue table continued, exhibiting the grand total obtained from the twelve súbahs, and the new súbahs brought into account, 434. Explanation of the means adopted to check the doubtful totals, 434.)


APPENDIX, containing data in detail for the determination of the current revenues of the Mughal Emperors, 439.

Preliminary notice of the various extracts, 440.

Review of the evidence bearing upon the question of the use of double démes, as the ordinary method of calculation in all revenue accounts, 440.
The conjectured amount of Bābar's revenue fully confirmed, 442. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's return of Akbar's revenues further substantiated, 442. (Catron's revenue returns of Aurangzéb tabulated, 442.) Richard Hawkins's testimony to the amount of Jahángír's land revenue, 444. Comparison of the revenues of India at nine different epochs, 445. Extracts:—I. from De Laët, 445; II. from the Badsháh Namáh, 446; III. Catron's text in extenso, 447; IV. Berner's table, 450.
CORRIGENDA.

Since the completion of this work, the author has finally satisfied himself that the true value of the dām (or money of account of the Mughal financiers), is \( \frac{1}{12} \) and not \( \frac{1}{20} \) of a rupee. Under these conditions the table at page 445 may be modified and amended as follows. But in adopting these results, it will be necessary to enlarge Richard Hawkins's ambiguous definition of "crown land" (No. 6), and admit that he designed to refer to the State revenues derived from all sources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Land Revenue</th>
<th>Total Revenue from all sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Firuz Shāh, A.D. 1351–1388</td>
<td>£6,850,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bābar, A.D. 1526–1530</td>
<td>£2,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Akbar, A.D. 1593</td>
<td>32,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Akbar, A.D. 1594</td>
<td>16,574,388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Akbar, A.D. 1605</td>
<td>17,450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Jahāngīr, A.D. 1609–1611</td>
<td>50,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Jahāngīr, A.D. 1628</td>
<td>17,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Shāh Jahān, 1st return</td>
<td>22,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Shāh Jahān, later return</td>
<td>36,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Aurangzēb, A.D. 1697</td>
<td>38,719,400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI,

etc.

The history of Muhammadan nations is especially open to illustration and rectification from Numismatic sources. Deficient as all mintages imitating the early Kufic models of the Khalifs may be in artistic effect or variety of device, they compensate for these imperfections, on the other part, in devoting their entire surfaces to legends which, among other occasionally significant indications, record at length the style and titles of the monarch, the date of coinage, and the name of the mint; thus affording direct evidence to three distinct facts—the existence of the sovereign as such, the epoch at which he reigned, and the country over which he was king.

The value of this species of illustration, as applied to the Medieval Indian annals now under review, is greatly enhanced by the exaggerated importance attached by the Muslims themselves to that department of the conventional regal functions, involved in the right to coin. Among these peoples, the recitation of the public prayer in the name of the aspirant to the throne, associated with the issue of money bearing his superscription, was unhesitatingly received as the overt act of accession. Unquestionably, in the state of civilization here obtaining, the production and facile dispersion of a new royal device was singularly well adapted to make manifest to the comprehension of all classes the immediate change in the supreme ruling power. In places where men did not print, these stamped moneys obtruding
into every Bázár constituted the most effective manifestoes
and proclamations human ingenuity could have devised: readi-
ly multiplied, they were individually the easiest and
most naturally transported of all official documents; the
veriest Fakir, in his semi-nude costume, might carry the
ostensible proof of a new dynasty into regions where even
the name of the kingdom itself was unknown. In short,
there was but little limit to the range of these Eastern
heralds; the Numismatic Garter King-at-Arms was recog-
nized wherever Asiatic nations accepted the gold, and inter-
preters could be found to designate the Cæsar whose “epi-
graph” figured on its surface. So also on the occasion of
new conquests, the reigning Sultán’s titles were ostenta-
tiously paraded on the local money, ordinarily in the language and
alphabet of the indigenous races, to secure the more effective
announcement of the fact that they themselves had passed
under the sway of an alien Suzerain. Equally, on the other
hand, does any modification of or departure from the rule of
a comprehensive issue of coin imply an imperfection, relative
or positive, in the acquisition of supreme power. There are
but few instances of abstention from the exercise of this
highly-prized prerogative in the present series, but in all
such cases the guiding motives are sufficiently ascertained.

The epoch which the present series of medals illustrates
extends from A.D. 1192 to 1554, or a period of somewhat
more than three centuries and a half: during this interval
six dynasties, numbering in all forty kings, succeeded in
turn to the throne of Dehli. I purposely avoid any attempt
at a general definition of the boundaries of the empire, at all
times uncertain in extent, varying from the extreme limits
of Eastern Bengal on the one side, to Kábul and Kandahár
on the west, with Sindh and the Southern Peninsula to complete the circle; occasionally reduced to a few districts around the capital, and in one instance confined to the single spot inclosed within the walls of the metropolis itself.

The materials at present available suffice to determine, with some accuracy, the theoretical standards of the currency of the Pathán Sultáns. Some new evidence on the subject has lately come to light in the journals of Western travellers in India during the first half of the eighth century of the Hijrah, which coincides in a singular manner with the data afforded by the weights and intrinsic contents of existing coins; so that we are now in a position to maintain with confidence that the scheme of coinage, adopted by Altamsh from possibly conflicting native traditions, recognized the use of gold and silver pieces of equal weights, the metal in each case being as pure as the processes known to the home refiners permitted them to achieve. The intentional Mint standard must have ranged very closely upon the 175 grains, Troy, which amount can be nearly told in the balance by the better specimens to be found in modern cabinets, a definite weight also, for which there was high authority in the Sataraktika, or "One hundred rati," divisional term, which appears in early post-Vedic commentaries. The most important elements, however, of this adaptive Indian currency, consisted of hybrid pieces of silver and copper, combined in the proportions necessary to constitute the equivalent sub-divisions of the ruling silver Tankah, which, although it was anomalously composed of 100 Indian Gunjá seeds (Abrus precatorius), was never divided in practice by any other number than 64. The favourite sub-divisional current piece, in more advanced times, seems to have been
which latter denomination it preserved in the *Hasht Kāni*, or "Eight-Kanis," the counterpart and correspondent of eight Jītals, 64 of which also fell into the general total of a *Tankah*. And here it would seem that more purely indigenous traditions had to be reconciled to intermediate Aryan innovations. The new *Tankah* might rule and regulate its own subdivisions, but it does not seem to have been able to emancipate itself from the old silver *Purāṇa* of 32 Ratis of Manu’s Code, which maintained its old weight of 56 grains, in independent isolation, down to the time of Muhammad bin Tughlak. So intuitive in the native mind was the idea of reckoning by *fours*, the "Gundā" of the modern indigène, that gold and silver were supposed to conform to some such law, being estimated theoretically, whatever the current rate may have been at any given moment, at 1 : 8. So also the silver piece was divided into 8 (or primarily 8 × 8), and the copper exchange against silver commenced with 4 *fals* to the of a *Tankah*. The Quaternary scale, in short, was all-pervading; there was no escaping the inevitable 4’s, 16’s, 32’s, and 64’s, the heritage of the masses, which, having survived alike Aryan intrusion and Muhammadan conquest, still flourish undisturbed by the presence of British decimals.

The modifications effected in the coinage by Muhammad bin Tughlak are highly instructive, and seem to determine beyond question the ratios of gold to silver obtaining at the period. Not less worthy of study is his attempt to introduce a forced currency of copper tokens. The amplification by Firúz Sháh of the divisional pieces of mixed copper and silver is also of importance, as leading-up to the almost exclusive use of this species of currency under Buhlól Lódi and his son Sikandar, and, finally, in the
reforms perfected by Shír Sháh,—the production of the "Rupee" (of 178 grains), and the substitution of copper coins for the fallacious mixed-metal pieces,—may be seen the almost unchanged condition of the lower currencies of Her Majesty's Government in India at the present day.

Amid the general series of the coins of the Dehli monarchs I have also incorporated notices of many collateral issues, more or less directly identified with their rule, such as the local moneys superseded and imitated on the immediate absorption of the kingdoms of the Hindú potentates: offshoots of the Ghaznì and Dehli systems from the mints of the Muslim contemporaries of the early occupying conquerors, who held, in their own right, outlying provinces in India. And, more consecutively, reference has been made to the currencties of their fellow-warriors for the faith in Bengal, who from time to time confessed allegiance to the Sultáns of Hindústán. And, Lastly, advantage has been taken of an analogous species of illustration contributed by the inscriptions recorded on the public monuments of the Imperial dynasty, which, in early days, were largely and effectively employed in the decoration of the walls and gateways of mosques, palaces, and tombs. These essentially Oriental compositions, whether as regards the ornamental form of the Arabesque, or the more stern chiselling of the Kufic letters, may freely vie with the best specimens of Sáracenic art extant.

I now proceed to exhibit a complete list of the sovereigns of the Pathán dynasty, with the dates of accession of each. I must premise that I have intentionally retained the Hijrah era as the leading reference for all dates, as in many cases where the precise period in Muhammadan
months or days was uncertain, it would have been impossible to fix the corresponding epoch in the Christian era. Hence I have adopted the plan of annexing to the bare Hijrah date of the elevation of each king, the day and the year of our calendar answering to the initial day of the Hijrah year so quoted. The note at the foot of this page,\(^1\) giving the names and order of the Arabic months, and the rules for calculating the irregularities of the Muhammadan year, will efficiently supply the references to intermediate periods.

\(^1\) The Hijrah era commenced on the 15th July, A.D. 622. The year is purely lunar, consisting of twelve months, each month being reckoned from the appearance of the new moon, without any intercalation. In practice, months of 30 and 29 days are made to alternate, thus completing a year of 354 days: eleven times in thirty years one day is added to the last month, making 355 days in that year. So that the average length of a year is 354\(\frac{1}{2}\) days, a month, or \(\frac{1}{11}\), being 29\(\frac{1}{2}\). The intercalary year of 355 days occurs on the 2nd, 5th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 18th, 21st, 24th, 26th, and 29th years of every thirty years.

**The Muhammadan Months are as follows:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Days</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Muharram, صفر</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Safar, ربيع الأول</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Rabī‘ul awwal, ربيع الآخر</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Rabī‘ul ḥakhir, جمادى الآخر</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Jumāda‘l awwal, جمادى الآخر</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Jumāda‘l ḥakhir, رجب</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Rajab, شعبان</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Sh’abān, رمضان</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Ramazán, شوال</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Shawwāl, ذي القعدة</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Zīl k’adah, ذي الحجة</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Zīl hijjah, ذي زوج</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF THE PATHÁN SULTÁNS OF HINDUSTÁN.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Initial Date of the Muslim Year A.D.</th>
<th>Names of Sultáns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Jan. 7, 1193</td>
<td>Mu’izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám (1st Dynasty).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aug. 18, 1205</td>
<td>Kutb-ud-dín Aibek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>June 25, 1210</td>
<td>Arám Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sept. 16, 1235</td>
<td>Sháms-ud-dín Altámsí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aug. 14, 1236</td>
<td>Rukn-ud-dín Firúz Sháh I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Nov. 10, 1295</td>
<td>Sultáň Ríztah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>July 12, 1241</td>
<td>Mu’izz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>May 19, 1246</td>
<td>Náisir-ud-dín Mahmúd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Feb. 16, 1287</td>
<td>Mu’izz-ud-dín Kaikubád. [Dynasty].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Nov. 10, 1295</td>
<td>Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhím.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>March 26, 1316</td>
<td>Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Feb. 12, 1320</td>
<td>Shaháb-ud-dín ’Umar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dec. 18, 1324</td>
<td>Kutb-ud-dín Mubárák Sháh I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Dec. 8, 1320</td>
<td>Náisir-ud-dín Khusúr. [Dynasty].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Dec. 20, 1389</td>
<td>Muhammad bin Tughláq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Jan. 11, 1388</td>
<td>Firúz Sháh III. bin Salar Rájáb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nov. 17, 1392</td>
<td>Tughláq Sháh II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nov. 17, 1392</td>
<td>Sikkandar Sháh. [Timúr, 800].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Oct. 27, 1394</td>
<td>Muhammad Sháh bin Firúz Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Dec. 20, 1394</td>
<td>Muhammad Sháh bin Firúz Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Dec. 31, 1388</td>
<td>Muhammad Sháh bin Firúz Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mar. 15, 1545</td>
<td>Daulat Khán Lódí.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Jan. 6, 1421</td>
<td>Mu’izz-ud-dín Mubárák Sháh II.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Aug. 18, 1433</td>
<td>Muhammad Sháh bin Faríd Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>May 1, 1443</td>
<td>‘Alam Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Feb. 3, 1451</td>
<td>Buhlól Lódí (5th Dynasty).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Dec. 5, 1488</td>
<td>Sikkandar bin Buhlól.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Mar. 15, 1545</td>
<td>Ibráhím bin Sikkandar (Bábar, 932 A.H.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Aug. 25, 1530</td>
<td>Muhammad Humáyún, Mughál.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>May 8, 1540</td>
<td>Faríd-ud-dín Shír Sháh, Afgáhn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>March 15, 1545</td>
<td>Iltám Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Dec. 18, 1552</td>
<td>Muhammad ’Adil Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Dec. 7, 1553</td>
<td>Ibráhím Súr. [962 A.H.].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 38  | Nov. 26, 1554                       | Sikkandar Sháh. (Humáyún, restored
# INTRODUCTORY LIST OF THE RULERS AND KINGs OF BENGAL.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>DATE OF A.C.</th>
<th>INITIAL DATE OF THE HIRAH YEAR A.D.</th>
<th>NAMES OF RULERS AND KINGS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Sept. 10, 1203</td>
<td>Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>Aug. 18, 1205</td>
<td>'Izz-ud-din Muhammad Shiran Khilji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>July 16, 1208</td>
<td>'Ala-ud-din 'Ali Mardan, Khilji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>June 15, 1211</td>
<td>Husain-ud-din 'Awa Khilji (Sultan Ghias-ud-din).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>624</td>
<td>Dec. 22, 1226</td>
<td>Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, bin Sultan Altmah (Coin, No. 60).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>Nov. 20, 1229</td>
<td>'Ala-ud-din Jani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Saif-ud-din Aibek, Tughrul Tat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>June 9, 1244</td>
<td>Kamr-ud-din Tamar Khan, Kiran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Ikhtiar-ud-din, Yuzbeg. Tughral Khan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>Jan. 8, 1258</td>
<td>Jalal-ud-din Ma'saud Muluk Jani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>Dec. 29, 1258</td>
<td>'Izz-ud-din Balban, Usbegi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Taj-ud-din Arslan Khan, Sanjar, Khwarismi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>Dec. 6, 1260</td>
<td>Muhammad Arslan Khan, Tatar Khan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>676(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sultan Maghlas-ud-din Tughral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>April 11, 1282</td>
<td>Bughrul Khan, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, (second son of Sultan Balban.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>Dec. 24, 1291</td>
<td>Rukn-ud-din Kais Qaas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>Aug. 26, 1302</td>
<td>Shams-ud-din Fira'iz Shah. (Reigned in Lakhnauti till 722.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>May 31, 1310</td>
<td>Ghias-ud-din Bahadur Shah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>Sept. 22, 1332</td>
<td>Muhammad bin Tughlak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>742</td>
<td>June 17, 1341</td>
<td>'Ala Shah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>March 11, 1350</td>
<td>Ikhtiar-ud-din Ghazi Shah.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1, 2 These contrasts in the orthography follow the Persian text of Minhaj-us-Siraj, who seems to have designed to mark a difference in the pronunciation; but I should be unwilling to rely upon any such chance discriminations, in a text so obviously at the mercy of ignorant Oriental copyists.
The Minaret of Mas'ud III., A.H. 492–508 (A.D. 1099–1114), at Ghazni,\(^1\)
from a Sketch by G. J. Vigne, Esq.

*Ferguson's Handbook of Architecture, vol. i. p. 415.*

**First King (A.H. 589–602; A.D. 1193–1205).**

The man who, by the force of his own energy, or that which he imparted to his generals, was enabled to change

\(^1\) Inscription on the Minaret. (From Jour. As. Soc. Bengal.)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر السلطان الأعظم ملك الإسلام اعلام العلامة
the destinies of India towards the close of the twelfth century A.D., came of a royal house, dating from an obscure principality in the mountains south-east of Herát. The great Mahmúd of Ghazní, some two centuries previously, had penetrated frequently and by varied routes into the rich plains of India; his aim, with but scant affectation of the Muslim cry of a "holy war," was in truth mere plunder, and with this he returned plentifully gratified to his northern capital.

The later scions of the dynasty of Subuktagín, driven out of Ghazní on its sack by 'Alá-ud-dín Husain Jahánsóz in A.H. 550, retired to Láhor, and had already, in effect, become domesticated Indian sovereigns; so that as Mu'izz-ud-dín pressed down and around them, the occupation of the more advanced provinces of Hindústán followed as a natural sequence. Mu'izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám, or Shaháb-ud-dín, as he was called in his youth, otherwise known as Muhammad Ghori, the founder of the Pathán dynasty of Dehli, is first noticed in history on the occasion of his nomination, in conjunction with his elder brother, Ghfías-ud-dín, to the charge of a province of Ghor, by his uncle, the notorious 'Alá-ud-dín Husain Jahánsóz. After the accession of Gfías-ud-dín to the throne of Ghor, in 558 A.H., Mu'izz-ud-dín, acting as his general, subdued portions of Khorásán; and, on the conquest of Ghazní, in 569, he was nominated
by his Suzerain brother to the government of that country. From this time his incursions into India commenced: in 571 he conquered Multán; in 574 he experienced a sanguinary defeat in an expedition against the prince of Nahrwála; next, Khusrú Malik, the last of the Ghaznavis, was assailed; and at length, in 582, captured by stratagem. In 587, in a more extended expedition into Hindústán, Muhammad Ghori was totally routed on the memorable field of Thaneswar by the Chohán leader, Prithví Rája of Ajmír. After a year’s repose, the disgrace of this defeat still rankling within him, he, on the self-same battle-ground, again encountered his former adversary, now supported by the whole force of the country, the confederated armies of one hundred and fifty princes. This time fortune favoured the Ghoris, and a hard-fought field terminated in the total discomfiture of the Indian host. By this single victory the Muhammadans may be said to have become the virtual masters of Hindústán. The ulterior measures for the subjugation of the country were of speedy accomplishment, and most of the later additions to the Indian empire of Muhammad Ghori were perfected by his quondam slave, subsequent representative in Hindústán, and eventual successor on the throne of Dehli, Kutb-ud-dín Aibek. Ghíás-ud-dín, who had long retained little beyond the title of a king, died in 599 A.H., and shortly afterwards Mu’ízz-ud-dín was installed in form. An unsuccessful attempt at conquest in the north, in itself attended by most disastrous results, was succeeded by the revolt of the governors of Ghazní and Multán: this outbreak, however, was soon suppressed. In the month of Sh’abán, A.H. 602,1 Muhammad b.
mad Ghori was slain in his tent, in the centre of his own camp, by a band of Gakkars. At his death, the Muslim empire in India extended generally over nearly the whole of Hindústán Proper, Sind, and Bengal. The sovereignty was, however, held by very exceptional tenures, and was most indeterminate in its inner geographical limits.

_Mu‘izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sám._

No. 1. (Similar to No. 2. Plate I.)


_Circular Areas._

\[\text{Margin, في شهر سته،}
\text{ائتي و تسعين و ستمايه}
\]

—_Súrah lixi. 9._ Kurán.

1a. There is another imperfect specimen of this gold issue in the Masson Collection in the East India Library, weighing 99 grs.

No. 2 (Fig. 2, plate i.). Silver. Weight, 68 grs. Similar types. Masson Collection. Dates observed, _A.H._ 590, 596.
No. 3.  

Silver. 74 grs. Very rare. A.H. 596. (Prinsep Collection, B.M.)  

Legends arranged in concentric circles.

_Obv._—  

هو الذي أرسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق لظهراً علي الدين كله وله كرر المشركين  

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان الأعظم  

غياث الدنيا والدين أبو الفتح  

محمد بن سام

_Rev._—  

ضرب هذا الدرهم في بلده غزنة سنة سبع وسبعين وخمس مائة  

الناصر لدين الله السلطان المعز  

الدنيا والدين أبو المظفر  

محمد بن سام

Translation.

_Obv._—It is he that hath sent his messenger, with guidance and the true faith, that he might exalt it above all religions, though the infidels be averse thereto. (Kurán, Súrah ix. 33.)—There is no god but God. Muhammad is the prophet of God! The most mighty sovereign—Ghiás ud dunyá wa ud dín, Abúl Fath.

—Muhammad bin Sám.

_Rev._—This Dirham was struck in the city of Ghaznah, in the year five hundred and ninety-six.—Al Násir le dín illah (the Khalif). The mighty sovereign, Mu'izz—ud dunyá wa ud dín Abúl Muzaffar.

—Muhammad bin Sám.

The above coins in the joint names of Ghiás-ud-dín and Mu'izz-ud-dín, bear testimony to the associated regal powers of the two brothers. It is to be noticed, however, that the superlative "The greatest," is applied to the one king, while "Great," is all
that is extended to the conqueror of India. It will be observed from the coins which follow that, on the death of his brother, Mu'tizz-ud-dín himself adopted the superlative اَلْأَعْظُمِ.


No. 4. (No. 3. Plate I.)

Reverse. | Obverse.
---|---
السلطان الامعظم | محمد رسول الله
معز الدين نادر | الناصر لدين الله
امير المモンیهین | محمد بن سام

Margins illegible.

The above coins are in effect merely introductory to the Dehli series proper, emanating from the Imperial mint of the first occupying Muhammadan conqueror of India, they in some degree formed the models upon which the phraseology of the legends of the new currency was based, though, it will be seen, that they in no degree affected the system of weights or values obtaining in the northern provinces of India. Indeed, the old issues of "Dehlīwálas" composed of a mixture of copper and silver, retained their place throughout the land, and were imitated and adopted, with altered legends, by Altamah and his feudatories, Kubáchah of Sind, and others; and it is not until the year 630 A.H. that any silver pieces of the new empire make their appearance (No. 28 inferd), and then their standard of weight equally follows the Indian system.
No. 5. (No. 4, Plate I.)
Mixed silver and copper. 49 grs. Rare. (Sind Mint.)

Obv.—السلطان الأعظم محمد بن سام

Rev.—Horseman in outline (conventionally styled Tughra تغریل), with the Hindi legend की इमामः Sι Hαmмιrαh.

No. 6. (No. 5, Plate I.)
Mixed silver and copper. Weight, 49 grs. Rare.

Obv.—Same as No. 5.
Rev.—Rude figure of a cavalier, with lance at the charge.

No. 7. (No. 6, Plate I.)
Silver (impure). 46 grs. (Ghor Mint?)

Obv.—السلطان الأعظم أبوالمظفر محمد بن سام

Rev.—Rude representation of a horseman, with lance at the charge; but the contrast is marked in the adherence to the statuesque as opposed to the interlaced combination of letters and material forms affected in Muhammadan Tughra.

No. 8. (No. 7, Plate I.)
Silver and copper. (Lahor Mint?)

Obv.—السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين—محمد بن سام *

No. 9. (No. 8, Plate I.)
Silver and copper. 46 grs. (Lahor Mint.)

Obv.—السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين—أبو المظفر محمد بن سام

No. 10. (No. 9, Plate I.)
Silver and copper. 49 grs. (Dehli Mint.)

Obv.—की महमद सामं Sri Mahamad Sāme.

Rev.—की इमामः Sι Hαmмιrαh.
No. 11. Silver and copper. Weight, 48 grs. (Sind Mint.) Similar Hindi legends, both obverse and reverse, to No. 10. The device of the Horseman follows the same tracings as the figure on No. 5, and the forms of the letters are nearly identical, approximating closely to the style in use on the coins of Kubáchah.


Obv.—Bull in Tughra, greatly distorted.

\[ \text{\textit{Mahamad Sáms}} \]

Rev.—Horseman, well-defined. Similar in design to No. 4, Plate I.

\text{Legend—स्वी मुंतर: \textit{Sri Hammirah.}}

In a line with the spear, reading upwards, under the horse, in delicate Persian letters, is to be seen the word ١\textit{Parshóร} (Pesháwar). On the horse’s quarter may be read the letters \[ \text{Jaldí?} \] (See Prinsep’s Essays, pl. xxv. fig. 20.)

No. 13. (No. 10, Plate I.)

Silver and copper. 46 grs. (Gwálior Mint.)

Obv.—\textit{Mahamad Sámi.}

Rev.—Figure of the Horseman greatly debased. No legend.


Obv.—\[ \text{العظم معزا} \text{} \text{} \text{الدين محمد بن سام—} \]

Rev.—A rude figure of a horse.

Similar to those depicted in Prinsep’s Essays, pl. xxv. figs. 8–13; Ariana Antiqua, pl. xix. fig. 14, and pl. xx. fig. 6.

---

1 The reading of Parshóर is confirmed by later specimens from the mints of 'Alá-ud-din Muhammad, Khudrísmi, who was critical in his geography, inserting the names of his mints in all sorts of odd corners, wherever space was to be found in the general design; for instance, Bámíd on a line with the spear, Karmán (imitating Iídž) on the side of the Bull, and برشور in the same place.—Journ. R.A.S. xii. pp. 205, 206. See also Elliot’s Historians, i. 47, and ii. 397.
I do not propose to review in any detail the general series of Muhammad Ghori's Indian coinages, but there is a single specimen which I am anxious to notice on account of the unusual, indeed unique, nature of its legends, though I have frankly to confess that the imperfect and obscured reverse epigraph, in which is involved the whole question of novelty, leaves a doubt as to the finality of any opinion that may now be pronounced.¹ The appearance of the joint names of Muhammad bin Sám and Prithví Rája on one and the same coin is certainly startling, but there is nothing in the fact that need militate against local probabilities. We find that "the son of Rai Pitaūra, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court," was left in charge of Ajmír,² in which case a numismatic confession of fealty would be quite appropriate, or this coinage may even have been struck in his name, under authority at head-quarters, for special circulation in his government. Indeed, this particular piece has, in effect, more the appearance of Dehli Mint art than of Ajmír manipulation. Many other explanations of the association might be given, but that it is useless to enlarge upon such imperfect data; and I only publish this curious piece that attention may be drawn to the possible existence of similar specimens in other imperfectly examined collections.

¹ General Cunningham has also examined this coin at my request, and, while expressing surprise at the combination of names, does not at all contest the obvious reading of the letters still visible on the coin.
No. 15. Silver and Copper. Weight, 36 grs. (My cabinet.) Unique.


पुष्प | जी महमद साम

.. Prithvi .. | Sri Mahamad Sám.

The Indian coinages of Muhammad bin Sám were, as may be seen, avowedly adaptive, and introductory to the more fixed and systematized mintages of his successors. One of these assimilated issues of unusual historical interest consists of the Gold Money put forth, in close mechanical identity of metal, symbols, and style of writing, in the name of the Muslim conqueror, immediately on the fall of Jai Chand, the last of the Rahtors of Kanauj,¹ in A.D. 1194. A suggestive fact connected with this attempt to maintain the supply of the local currency, and simultaneously to proclaim the victor's success, a convenient measure for utilizing plunder rather affected under the Sword of Islám, is that so many of these pieces found their way to the home of the invaders, and so few remained to aid the commerce of the indigènes.²

The intermediate coin (No. 17) of Prithvi (Varmma) Deva, a contemporary of Govinda's (No. 16), indicates that much of the dominion of the Rahtors had already passed away from them, though the successful Chándel and his adversary were both destined shortly to fall before the assaults of an alien race.

¹ He is called Jai Chand of Benares by the Táj-ul-Maásir.—Elliot, ii. 223, 300. So also Minháj, p. 140, text. The Bard Chand also mentions that the Raja of Káli was a feudatory of Kanauj (Tod, ii. 466). The Rahtor capital was latterly removed to Bari, east of the Ganges.

² Only one of these coins of Muhammad bin Sám seems to have fallen to the share of James Prinsep's numerous contributors (Essays, i. 289), who found the older issues common enough. The twenty-six specimens of the conqueror's coinage now noticed seem all to have been obtained by Masson in Afghanistán.
The modifications the name and titles of Muhammad bin Sám undergo in the contrasted specimens are curious, and may be supposed to indicate the several stages of recent victory,¹ and more fixed occupation and administration of the kingdom by his officials.

**KANAUJ COINS.**

Govinda Chandra, A.D. 1120-1144.⁸

No. 16. Gold. (Prinsep, pl. xxiv. fig. 2; Ariana Antiqua, xx. 22; and H. H. Wilson, Asiatic Researches, xviii.)

*Obverse*—The Goddess *Lakshmi* seated. The figure holding the cornucopia is imitated from the earliest types of the Gupta coinage (Prinsep's Essays, Pl. xxiii. 18, 19, etc.).

*Reverse*—Legend in three lines—

ची मद्दोधिम् चंद्ररेव ॥

*Sri Mad Govinda Chandra Deva.*

Prithvi (Varma) Deva Chándel Rája of Mahoba, etc.⁵ (A.D. 1125-1130).

No. 17. Gold. (Prinsep's Essays, i. 292.) Common.

*Obverse* as usual.

*Reverse*—

ची मत्रुप्री देव

*Sri Mat Prithvi Deva.*

¹ The Táj-ul-Masákír has a record of this mintage, "and the face of the dinár and the diram was adorned with the name and titles" of the king.—Elliot, ii. 223.

² Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 268.

³ See Gen. Cunningham's List, quoted below, p. 66.
THE COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN SÁM.

MUHAMMAD BIN SÁM'S KANAUJ COINS.

(Date of Conquest A.H. 590 = A.D. 1194.)


Obverse as usual in the Kanauj series.

Reverse—श्री महमद बेने साम || Sri Mahamad bene Sám.


Obverse as usual.

Reverse—श्री हमीर महमद साम—Sri Hamtr Mahamad Sám.

In further illustration of these Numismatic memorials, I propose to insert, as occasion offers, selected specimens of the monumental inscriptions of the Pathán dynasty, which I had prepared for publication so long ago as 1855. For the majority of these records I was originally indebted to Syud Ahmad Khán's excellent Archaeological History of Dehli, the "Asár-us-Sunnadeed," ¹ but the more complicated epigraphs were re-examined and patiently tested, both by that enthusiastic antiquary and myself, under the very shadow of the buildings upon whose walls they are engraved.

¹ The first edition of the آثار الصناديد (written in Urdu) appeared at Dehli in 1846; a second and greatly improved edition, illustrated with numerous facsimiles, was published in 1854. A large portion of this latter has been reproduced in French, by M. Garcin de Tassy, in the Journal Asiatique, vols. xv. (1860) p. 508, xvi. 160, 392, 521, and xvii. 77. This series of articles extends over nearly 200 pages, 8vo.
"The minār is 43 ft. 4 in. in diameter at the base, and, when measured in 1794, was 242 ft. in height. Even then, however, the capital was ruined, so that ten or perhaps twenty feet must be added to this to complete its original elevation. It is ornamented by four boldly projecting balconies; one at 90, the second at 140, the third at 180, and the fourth at 203 feet from the ground; between which are richly sculptured raised belts containing inscriptions. In the lower story the projecting flutes are alternately angular and circular, in the second circular, and in the third angular only; above this the minār is plain, but principally of white marble, with belts of the red sandstone, of which the three lower stories are composed."—Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, t. 431.

A. Inscription of Muhammad bin Sām, on the 4th circket of the lower story of the Kutb Minār.

السلطان المعظم شهنشاه الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم مولى ملك
The second band or belt of Inscriptions (counting from the basement upwards) is also filled in with a nearly similar enumeration of the titles of Muhammad bin Sām, concluding, however, with the hitherto novel designation of

Inscriptions of Kutb-ud-din Aibog.

C. The second line of the Inscription under the arch of the eastern entrance to the Kutb Mosque, at Dehli, dated A.H. 587 – 1191 A.D.

این حصارة فتح کرده و این مسجد جامع‌ا را به ساخت بازخ و شهور سنه سبیع و سی و ایل و خمساً میلادی امرآسپسالار اج کیبر قطب

1 General Cunningham, on his last visit to Dehli in 1862, critically examined this inscription with a binocular, and was inclined to think that Syed Ahmad had been in error in reading this date as 587 instead of 589 (Arch. Report, p. 28). As I have, I believe, succeeded in satisfying General Cunningham that 587 is the correct sculptured date, I should not have entered further into the question, were it not for the historical importance of the numbers in question. I stated with some confidence in my edition of Princep's Essays (Vol. i., p. 326) that the true date in this epigraph was 587 A.H., and my justification for so positive an assertion was that I had, in January, 1856, very carefully studied the original, even to the extent of assuring myself of the bearing of every line and letter, by means of a scaffolding erected for the purpose, which was necessary, as the inscription was high up, and, moreover, obscured ordinarily by the arch under and within which it was placed. In this examination I took eye tracings and paper impressions
MUHAMMAD BIN SÁM.

الدولة و الدين امیرالامرا اي بك سلطاني اعز الله انصرة و وبيست و هفت آلت بتكانه كی [sic] درشبتكانه دوبار هزار هزار دیلیوال صرف شده بود ذرین مسجد بکاربردی شده است

{continuation in the corner department}

خدای عز و جل بپرین بنده رحمت کناد هرکه بر نیست بانی خیرداً، ایمان کود

of all such parts as presented any difficulties, and this enabled me to correct, without hesitation, Syed Ahmad's reading of

"هفت اله بتكانه مرکزی دشر بتكانه دو پیازاراً"

into the text given above—but the date was to my apprehension so obvious, that I did not either copy or take a rubbing of the words. However, to set the question definitely at rest, I have now sent out to Dehli, and have had the doubtful passage examined anew by a most competent authority, and the reply received is that there is no doubt that the unit is سبیع and not سبیع، the points are of but little consequence, the position of the elongated up-stroke settles the question, in these cases, and as for the "two dots," even supposing them to exist, the dots are so scattered at hazard in these legends that but little reliance could be placed upon their referring more directly to سبیع than to the penultimate letter of سبیع، which is immediately over it. Ibn Batutah, during his residence at the Court of Dehli (a.h. 734–743), read the date on the original monument as 584 A.H. (French edition, iii. pp. xi. 146, 161), but the mistake of substituting سبیع for سبیع in the decipherment of the intertwined نوپنا writing, would readily occur, even if the error is not due to the still more probable source of the careless copying of his autograph MS.

As regards the historical evidence to the date of 587 A.H. for the capture of Dehli by the Musulims, it is complete and consistent in the best authorities; Hasan Nisámi, a so to say contemporary, places the event in 587 (Elliot, ii. p. 216), and Minháj-us-Síráj repeats in various forms, while treating of the life of Aibeg, the confirmation of the same data. (Elliot, ii. p. 300; Calcutta text, pp. 189, and at p. 141, in noticing Káthud-din's death in 607 A.H., it expressly adds, "from the first conquest of Dehli (ازوال فتح دهلی) to this time 20 years").

The discrepancy which it has been attempted clumsily to correct in some versions of the Persian text seems to have arisen out of the faulty narrative of the life of Mu'izz-ud-din himself (Calcutta text, p. 120 and note, p. 189).
D. Inscription over the northern entrance to the Mosque, dated A.H. 592 = 1195–6 A.D.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم يدعو الى دار السلام و يهدى مس يا الى

صراط المستقيم (26) في شهر سبتمبر و تسعيون جرت هذه

العملة بعل الامير السلطان المعز الدولة و اللي من محمد بن سام

باصر أمير المومينين

E. Date on the Centre Gateway of the Mosque, A.H. 594 = A.D. 1197–8.

تاريخ العشرين من ذي القعدة سنة اربع و تسعيين و خمس ماه

I consider that all these inscriptions were executed under the direct auspices of Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg, though he emblazons his own name and title in a single and special instance. There is a further record of his active participation in the erection of these buildings on the defaced lower band of the Minár, immediately over the foundation course, where his recognized titles of االذهاب الامير الكبير 1 are still legible. I may remark, incidentally, with reference to the much-debated question as to the assumed Hindú origin or the secondary adaptation by the Muhammadans of the partially prepared Kutb Minár, that General Cunningham's arguments, tending to prove the independent invention of the design by Kutb-ud-dín Aibeg are to my mind conclusive, 2 and this determination asserts itself altogether apart from the internal evidence of the inscriptions themselves; for, by

1 Asar-us-Sunnadeed, p. 13. Syud Ahmad Khán, who has had great experience in these matters, restores, with some confidence, a continuation of the legend, thus:

الأمير الامير الأسفاسار اب

الاجل الكبير الدولة

parity of reasoning—if the Minár had been a mere adaptation of Rai Pithora’s one-storied building—would not a similar boast have decorated its largely sculptured walls to that so triumphantly engraved on the mosque of the same period, where the “twenty-seven Idol temples,” the very pillars of which are seen in their varied ornamentation around the square of the court-yard, are monumentally recorded as having contributed to the erection of the dominating religious edifice of the Conqueror’s faith?

The celebrated mosque at Ajmír, which, like the edifice at the Kutb, was avowedly built of the materials contributed by the local idol temples, also bears an epigraph dated during the reign of Mu’izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám. Colonel Lees has propounded a translation of this inscription, to the following effect:

“(This Masjid was built) during the guardianship of Akbar, the son of Ahmad (by the help of God), the creator, the everlasting, in the month of Zi-Hijjah, five hundred and ninety-six.”—General Cunningham, Archaeological Report, 1864–5, p. 9.

Táj-ud-dín Ilduz.

Closely connected with the imperial coinages of Mu’izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám are the pieces struck by his Lieutenant Ilduz, comprehending the various series in copper, silver, or gold, modified in their legends from time to time according to the relative positions of the master and the trusted slave, who had so won upon his lord’s favour that the latter, before his death, had designed to

---

1 At Ajmír the Sultán “destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges.”—Táj-ul-Másáir. Elliot, ii. 215.

2 The text is not appended.

3 Properly يَلِدْرُ, “a star.” Elphinstone has “Eldós.”
appoint him his successor in Ghazni.\footnote{Minhâj-us-Sirâj says the Sultan gave him a "black ensign."} The earliest coins bearing the name of Ilduz, are those apparently struck at his original seat of government, Karmán, a most important and vital position on the main line of communication between Ghazni and the Indus, on the Bungusah route.\footnote{The approximate position of this place is Lat. 33° 49', Long. 70° 20'. A village of the same name still exists to mark the ancient site. IbnAthir refers to it as جُوُن سلطن غازی شهادت یافت and د لسلتان آن برکه وئی عهد غزیین بعد از سلطن ار باشد.} On

Other notices are to be found in Yâkût’s Muqtarik, \textit{etc.}; Elphinstone’s Cabool, i. 420; ii. 421 (382); H. T. Prinsep, \textit{Journ. As. Soc. Bengal}, xi. 553; Bâber’s Memoirs, pp. 150-158; Briggs’s \textit{Feriashah}, i. 200; Price, \textit{Muhammadan Hist.} ii. 309; Masson, Baluchistân, \textit{etc.} i. 114; Wood’s \textit{Oxus}, 161; Elliot’s \textit{Historians}, ii. 221, 551.

Our knowledge of the geography of this part of the country has been largely increased of late by Major Lowden’s “Mission to Kandahâr” (in 1859). His party pursued the direct route from Kohât towards Ghazni as far as Piwar. But little information is given in the report with regard to the particular place now called “Kirmân,” which appears to be situated off the main line of communication, in a long darrâk or gōl, extending for 16 miles to the W.N.W. between two bold spurs, parallel to the general run of the “Sefleh kah range.” The true dominating position of this key of India seems to have been the fort of \textit{Kurram, Koorum,} or \textit{Kurum,} as it is variously written, or \textit{Kerm,} as it is pronounced; and here arises a minor question of orthography, and a doubt whether, amid all these various renderings of the name from oral data, the correct etymology is not to be found in the extant “\textit{Kurram}” and the plural \textit{Kurramda [کرمان]} with the double Pushtû \textit{r,} as the term for the whole division, instead of the “\textit{Kirmân},” which is occasionally made use of. We have the generic \textit{Kurrum} river for the main stream, and “\textit{a tributary known as the Kurrämâna,}” from the Araksâi mountain (p. 50), also the district “\textit{Kurrâm khas.}” The omission of the short vowels in Semitic writing, and the imperfection of the system of duplicating consonants, has always caused an uncertainty in the definition of geographical terms; but all the materials in
these moneys he styles himself simply. On his subsequent issues, when in charge of the metropolis of Ghazni, he accommodates his titles to

the present case go to prove that the surviving local pronunciation should rule in determining the question. On the other hand, the name of the Persian province of Kirmis, under which general denominational head this place is classed by the Arab geographers, is itself unsettled and indeterminate, the Kam "a worm," of the Sanskrit interpreters, is altogether against the Greek Karparka, or the Latin Carmania; moreover, our latest commentators on the Arabic form of كرمان cannot pronounce decisively whether it should be transliterated as Kerman or Kirman (Dict. Geogr. de la Perse. C. B. de Maynard. Paris, 1861). The Pehlvi orthography of the official Sassanian coins is where the simple absence of the expressed s presupposes the short a. The fort of Kermes, situated in about 30° 56'-70° 10', some 118 miles by road from Kohat (p. 55), standing at an estimated height of 6,000 feet above the sea, is described by Major Lumaden as "the residence of the local governor. It is a square mud enclosure, with faces about 100 yards long, having burjas, or round towers, at the angles and in the centre of each face. There is but one gateway, towards the west; and around the interior of the walls are built quarters for the garrison and a bazar; while a second square, with faces parallel to those of the exterior work, forms a citadel, containing the magazines and the quarters of the commandant; a covered way, and ditch which can be made wet or dry at pleasure, runs all round the works; the latter is crossed by a draw-bridge; . . . . the thickness of the walls is not such as to resist artillery, although ample to present an insurmountable obstacle to any ordinary irregular Afghán force" (p. 61). The direct route to Kermán from Ghazni is variously stated by the Medieval Geographers at three or four days' march. We have no account of the intermediate stages, or the nature of the passes; but, even assuming it at four days' journey, the marching must have been good. Lumaden's map would make the distance, as the crow flies, about 82 miles.

1 J.R.A.S. ix. 380, No. 9 (with the Kermes Bull reverse). A binominal coin, without the usual figured device, with ornamental Kufic letters (Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. fig. 18), shows an advance upon this unpretentious legend to عبّد الملك المظفر تاج الدين. Similar titles, but omitting the preliminary تاج الدين, and in his own sole name, may be seen in No. 8, J.R.A.S. ix. 380. These last coins have the Horseman reverse.
but in either case reserving the place of honour for his sovereign's laudatory designations (No. 23). There are several varieties of these mintage, but the most interesting phase in the history of these viceregal issues, is the production of honorary posthumous medals (for such their unusual weight implies them to be), in the sole name of the "Martyred" Monarch, some considerable interval after his death (Nos. 20 and 21), succeeded by Ilduz's first advance towards virtual independence, still associated with the recognition of the "The Martyred Sultan", but marked by the assumption, in his own right, of the titles of "The great Sultan, Sultan of the East" (No. 23). But the more direct bearing of the monetary arrangements of Ilduz upon the Dehli series, with which we are chiefly concerned, commences when, having been driven out of Ghazni by 'Alá-ud dín Muhammad Khwárizm Sháh, and attempting to establish himself on Indian soil, he fell readily into the manners and customs of the country, and coined Dehiwálas, both in metallic alloy and typical design, assimilated to the prevailing local currencies of mixed silver and copper, whose singular comprehensive range is even now but imperfectly determined. The legends on this particular class of money, though frequently published, have as yet been only imperfectly interpreted. They may, however, be safely transcribed as now printed (under No. 24).

1 J.R.A.S. ix. p. 379, gold, No. 5; xvii. p. 197, silver, No. 42.
2 The western tradition speaks of a reserve, on the part of the 'Ulamá, to recognize a slave king, but home testimony disposes of this fiction in the affirmation of the immediate manumission and recognition of Ilduz by Mahmoud, the head of the family and direct heir of Muhammad bin Sám (T. A. p. 134).
3 Professor Wilson suggested the reading of "Bubun," A.A., p. 483, but the tenor of the legend and the mere use of Abúl Fath, the special attribute of
Marg. in four divisions—containing portions of Surah lxi. 9. Kurán.


No. 21a (No. 4, p. 14). Silver coins similar to No. 3, pl. i., dated a.h. 604 a.h. Col. Guthrie.

the elder Muhammad bin Sám, would alone determine the association of the coins with the Ghori series; the final of which is frequently omitted, and ordinarily distorted even when defined, is quite obvious on some of the more perfect coins in the British Museum.

Central Area.  
السلطان المعظم  
الشهيد محمد  
بنى سام  
Margin, هذا بليدة غن،  
شهر سنه  

Full Surface.  
السلطان المعظم  
سلطان الشرق تاج  
الدنيا والدين  
يلددز  

Abú Rihán, in his K̄d̄s̄n, specially designates Ghazni as  
غزني دار ملك اليمين  


Small square area, with a broad margin.  

السلطان المعز  
Margin, عبد وموث تاج الدنيا و—الدين يلددز السلطاني  

الله االله  
محمد رسول الله  
الناصر لدين الله  
امير المومنين  

صرف هذا الدين (بليدة غزنة في  
شهر سنه عشر وسبماية)
No. 24. Silver and Copper  Weight, 55 grs.

The Chohán Horseman in outline, with Ilduz’s special symbol, “a star,” below the horse.

Legend चोहाँर:

For engravings, see Prinsep’s Essays, xxvi. 45, and Ariana Antiqua, xx. 9.

Before taking leave of the Ghori connexion with India, it is as well to complete the series by a casual notice of the coins of Mahmúd bín Ghias-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám, who succeeded on his father’s death (in A.H. 599), under the appointment of his uncle, Mu’izz-ud-dín, to the charge of the provinces of Bust, Furrah, and Isfarar. On the great Sultán’s assassination in A.H. 602, Mahmúd became the virtual head of the house, and nominally supreme over all the whole array of family slaves, many of whom had now become most powerful and effectively independent rulers in the various sections of the empire.

The general type of execution of these pieces, their die sequence following the coins of Mu’izz-ud-dín (No. 5, ante), and the Hindí legends, alike confine them to Indian soil, though it is difficult to fix them to any special locality. The letters of the Sanskrit title follow the models of the Sindí or Punjábi alphabets in the reversal of the lower limb of the र and the open top of the म. But whether these coins were issued by Ilduz, or by local governors opposed to his pretensions on Muhammad Ghori’s death, or even, as is not impossible, minted by Kutb-ud-dín himself, in the outlying districts of Láhor, it would be premature at present to attempt to decide.
No. 25. Silver and Copper. Weight, 48 grs.
Types nearly identical with those of No. 4, pl. i.

The Chohán
Horsemam.

Legend—کی اسمیر:

Traces of a dotted outer margin, peculiar to the Láhor coins, are visible on the better specimens. For an engraving of a coin of Mahmúd, see J.R.A.S. ix. p. 177. (See also J.R.A.S. xvii. p. 198).

Second King (A.H. 602–607; A.D. 1206–1210.)

The narrative of the life of Kutb-ud-dín has a more important bearing on the traditional history of India, during the time he continued to act in the capacity of General of Muhammad bin Sám, in the preliminary conquest of the land, than attaches to his career after he had attained the honours of kingship. From his actual accession, in 602 A.H., till his death, in 607, with the exception of his momentary conquest of Ghazní from Ílduz, but little worthy of note occurred; and the eastern section of the empire remained much in the state,

1 The exact orthography of the name has, up to this time, remained an open question. Minháj says—وانتَبِطَ خنصاؤو آزدست شکستگی داشت بدان سبب اورا ایبک شل گفتندی—p. 138. This passage has been so mutilated in Ferishtah’s text as to make it appear that he was called by “the name of Eibuk, from having his little finger broken” (Briggs, i. p. 190; see also Elliot’s Historians, ii. p. 299; and Col. N. Lees, J.R.A.S. vol. iii. N.S. p. 435); whereas it is clear from the passage now given that the شل “disjointed,” “maimed,” is the epithet, and آی “the moon,” and بک “Lord.” Modern Turkish بک Bég. 
to which he himself may be said to have brought it, prior to his investiture with the emblems of regal dignity by Mahmúd, his nephew and hereditary successor of Muhammad Ghori.

As I am anxious to compress these preliminary notices of the lives and fortunes of the different monarchs, I append in a tabulated form a concise outline of the more prominent events in which Kutb-ud-dín was concerned, derived chiefly from the Persian text of the work of Miháj-us Siráj, a contemporary historian:—

Appointed to Government of Kóhram (pp. 120, 139).

\[ \text{A.H. 587. Captures Mírat and Dehli. (A.H. 588, the overthrow of Prínvi Rája by Muhammad Ghori.)} \]

\[ \text{,, 589. ,, Koel. (A.H. 590. The Sultán defeats Jaichand of Benares and Kanaúj.)} \]

\[ \text{,, 590. ,, Tangar (Biána).} \]

\[ \text{,, 593. Expedition against Bhíma deva of Nahrwála. (Muhammad Bakhtáár Khiljí operates against Beháár and Bengal under the auspices of Kutb-ud-dín (pp. 140, 151).} \]

\[ \text{,, 599. Capture of Kálinjá (Táj u Maáisír).} \]

\[ \text{,, 602. Proceeds from Dehli to Láhúr (in Zil Ka’dáh assumes the title of Sultán in form). Contest with Táj-ud-dín Ilduz, and capture of Ghazní, from which he retreats after 40 days’ occupation (pp. 140, 134–5).} \]

\[ \text{,, 607. Killed by a fall from his horse, at Láhúr (Táj ul Maáisír).} \]

Kutb-ud-dín, while acting as Viceroy for Muhammad-bin-Sá ámb, naturally issued the money of his government in the name of his master. No. 10 of this series bears signs of being the produce of the Dehli mint, and probably represents the ordinary coins produced under his auspices. The oriental reverence attaching to the right to coin militates at first sight against any inference that Aibek struck no money bearing his own superscription; at the same time, it is possible that his experience in the realities of kingly power,
before he arrived at the nominal rank of an independent sovereign, may have rendered him careless of the mere outward forms of royalty; among which last might well be classed an issue of coin, for the sole purpose of proving the existence of the power of coining.\textsuperscript{1}

But many other reasons present themselves to account for what is, up to this time, only negative evidence of such abstention, \textit{i.e.} the absence of any single piece, in the now ample modern collections, bearing his name and title. That he was not averse within safe limits to glorify himself, the Dehli Monumental Inscriptions have already shown; that, Vassal as he was, a quasi vassalage was exacted from a fellow general in Bengal, is equally obvious.\textsuperscript{2} But it is evident that a stray and subdued boast on an isolated building in distant Dehli, or an unwritten claim to allegiance from a still more distantly detached commander, whose first equipment was clearly due to his organization, were far less hazardous proceedings than the easily proven treason of coining money in his own name, specimens of which, carrying his obvious condemnation, might have reached his royal master by the very speedy transport of Indian runners.\textsuperscript{3} When he himself at last ascended the

\textsuperscript{1} The coin attributed by Marsden to this king is from the mint of Kuth-ud-din-Mubārak.

\textsuperscript{2} Tabakat-i-Nāsirī, p. 147; Tāj ul Māsāir, in Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 332, 366. Some vague rumours of Aibek's want of faith in respect to his full allegiance to his master, seem to crop-up, incidentally, in the local traditions which reached Ibn Batutah in his journeys in the land at so long an interval after the incidents involved (iii. 163).

\textsuperscript{3} In Persian history, during the Sassanian period, we have a curious example of what coins could do, where it was desired falsely to prove an act of rebellion—nothing more was necessary than to stamp coin in the name of the suspected party.

The origin of this incident was as follows:—Bahram Chobin, the general of Hormazd, the son of Nauhirwan the Great, of Persia, after defeating the Turks, under Sābah and his son, near Balkh, sent a portion (one fifth) of the immense
throne at Láhor, his circumstances do not seem to have been very prosperous; all the available wealth of India had already been concentrated at Ghazní, and he himself was possessed of an exaggerated propensity to Eastern munificence, which earned for him the titles of Lak Bakhsh, "giver of Laks." 

booty obtained on the occasion to the king, his master, in whose mind doubts were created by hostile counsellors as to the good faith of Bahram in the matter, and harsh measures were contemplated against him; accordingly, to meet this movement, he adopted the expedient of coinng money in his distant camp, bearing the name of the king's son and heir, Khusru Parvís, who had himself no thoughts of rebellion. These pieces he forwarded in large sums to Madain, and other sections of the empire, a demonstration which directly led to suspicion in the father's mind, followed very naturally by the flight of the compromised Khusru from the capital into Azarbaiján, and ultimately resulting, after certain intermediate phases, in the absolute dethronement of the reigning monarch.

Tabari's account of the details is as follows:—Bahram-Chobin—

MS. Asiatic Society, Bengal. This is not a very first class text, but it is sufficiently intelligible. See also De Saüy, Mem. Sur Div. Antiquités de la Perse, 895; Masaudi, French Edition, ii. 214.

1 Az Jowær dr Khwézén Azík ján mas kñfis yêrin

Jowéra ast yêk hazar panârd män mowjûd ast dîyêr Jowær

p. 125

See also Briggs' Perishtah, i. p. 187.

Tabakät-i-Násiri, Calcutta text, pp. 138, 149, 166.
and Hátim Sáni, "a second Hátim Táj," which was anything but calculated to leave him an overflowing treasury.

I revert to Muhammad bin Sám's coinages in order to notice his more peculiarly Indian issues, with reference to their bearing upon the present inquiry. His conquests, it may be remarked, were always associated with an adaptation, more or less complete, of the local currency; hence we find the peculiar type of the Ghori Horseman retained in its own locality;¹ the distinctive Kurmán outline of the Bull of Siva maintains its identity through succeeding foreign dynasties;² the Láhor mintages of Khusráu Malik had already lost their typical emblems, and subsided into the use of simple literal legends in the Persian character;³ but Ajmir, Dehli, Multán, and Sind each preserved, but little modified, a Tughra outline of the early device of the first Brahman kings of Kabul,⁴—-the Cavalier with the reverse of the Sacred Bull, a type which survived in full distinctness at Bamián to the days of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Khwárizmi, and in the Horseman obverse descended to Jelál-ud-dín, only to disappear under his Moghul conquerors.⁵ The Indian currencies of the four localities above mentioned varied less in the typical details than in the forms of the alphabet ruling in

¹ No. 6, pl. i.; also J.R.A.S. xvii. pp. 198, 205.
² The Kurmán Bull was peculiar; instead of the recumbent posture of the prototype, it is represented as standing up, the legs having a very wooden appearance. The word Kūrmān is occasionally introduced on the side of the animal. J.R.A.S. xvii. 206.
⁴ J.R.A.S. ix. p. 177; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxv. vol. i. p. 299; Ariana Ant. pl. xix. figs. 1-14.
each division of the country, and the care and artistic effect of the die execution.

I do not propose to follow these peculiarities in any detail, but I wish to bring prominently to notice that up to the date of the death of Muhammad bin Sám (in A.H. 602) this Dehli-wdál or Chitál currency sufficed for all the wants of the Indian population, and that, as far as can be discovered, no money in gold or silver was coined in the newly conquered provinces, with the exception of the equally imitative and ephemeral sequence of Kanauj gold. This circumstance directly brings us again to confront the question as to whether Kutb-ud-dín Aibek really issued coin in his own name? or if he contented himself with the ample circulating media he had already, as local governor, put forth in the name of his Suzerain? Kutb-ud-dín, as has been noticed, was celebrated for his liberality and profusion, and, doubtless, much of the wealth of India had recently gone to enrich the foreign invaders, of every class, quite apart from what eventually found its way into the Imperial treasury. His fellow Sipahsálár in Bengal, Muhammad Bakhtíar Khiljí, seems to have uttered no coin; and we have seen the reserve exercised by Táj-ud-dín Ilduz in abstaining from an independent issue, even to the extent of perpetuating his master's name on the currency long after his assassination. Minháj us-Siráj, writing as a contemporary, has left us a touching little episode in reference to these very matters. He tells us that Mu'iz-ud-dín in speaking, on one occasion, of the failure of his line in default of male offspring, regarded the circumstance as a matter of merely subordinate regret, adding, "have I not thousands of children in my Túrki slaves who will succeed to my kingdoms, and after my death will continue the Khutbah (the public prayer) in my name?" And the author goes on to
relate how, up to the date of his own writing in A.H. 658, such respect had been shown to the great Sultân's memory.¹ There is no doubt that the most authoritative historical statements concur in representing that Kutb-ud-dín Aibek did coin money in his own name, but the assertions come only in the conventional association of the right to coin as one of the cherished and sentimental attributes of royalty.² The removal of his court from Dehli to Láhor³ may have had something to do with the non-appearance of money marked

¹ برلوق مبترک آن بادشا [معلمیان] طاب ثراه رفت که دیگر سلطان را یک فرزند یا دو فرزند باشد مرا چندین هزار فرزند است یعنی بدگان ترک من که مملکت من میراث ایشان خواهد بود و بعد از من خلت ممالک باسم من نگاه خواهد داشت و هنگام شد که برلوق مبترک آن بادشا غازی رفت که بعد از و کل ممالک هندورستان را تا بغايت تحریر این سطور که سنه نمایند و خمسین و ستمانه است حفظ کت نمودند و می نمایند رجاینصل حتی تعالی

Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 132, Calcutta Text. — [ویرة]

⁴ و مدت ملک او از اول فتح دهلی تا بدين وقت بيست سال بود و عهد سلطنت او با چند خلفه و سكه مدت چهار مال و کسری

T. N. p. 141

⁵ و جوهر سلطان غازی محمد سام طاب ثراه بسیار شهداد یافته سلطان غیاث الديني محمد سام که برادر زاده سلطان معز الديني بود قطب الديني را چند فرمود ولقب سلطانی داد او در شهر سنه اثنين
by his name, and the extreme crudity of the very rare pieces of Arám Sháh,\(^1\) with their exceptional Persian legends, might also be taken to imply a disused or unpracticed metropolitan mint, were it not that there is cause to assign these issues to the provincial governments of Gwalior or Kálinjar.

Kutb-ud-dín had so long effectively wielded the powers of king that the death of the Suzerain Sultán made little real change in his position; and holding the essentials, he may well have extended but slight attention to the minor demonstrations and manifestoes otherwise needed for a newly-made monarch. Had Kutb-ud-dín left behind him numismatic records in the higher metals, commemorative of his momentary occupation of Ghazní, in hostile opposition to Ilduz,\(^2\) which was essentially a contest for kingship, it would have been quite consistent with probabilities; but the absence of purely Indian money bearing his stamp, under all the circumstances now stated, need cause no particular astonishment.

\[\text{وّستمائه از دهلمی عزمیت لوهرکرد و در روزه شنبه هزاره هزاره ماه ذی}
\[\text{القعده سنه اثنین و ستمناهی برخست سلطنت لوهر جلوس فرومود}]

T.N. p. 15

\(^1\) Nos. 11, 12, pl. i. The other face of these coins is an imitation of, if not an absolute employment of, a ready prepared die of one class of Muhammad bin Sáms' Híndí money.

\(^2\) The period extended over forty days.—Minháj us-Siráj, p. 135, Calcutta Text.
THIRD KING (A.H. 607; A.D. 1210).

Aram succeeded his father, Aibek; but after a reign, circumscribed in its geographical limits, of barely one year, during which he lost many of the provinces of his nominally inherited kingdom, he was defeated and deposed by Altamah, at that time governor of Budáon. Minháj-us-Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindústán was divided into four principalities—Sind, in the possession of Násir-ud-dín Kubá chah; Dehli and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shams-ud-dín Altamah; Lakhnauti was held by the Khiljí chiefs, 'Ali Mardán having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Kutb-ud-dín; and Láhor remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehli, and Ghazní.

No. 26. (No. 13, Plate I.)
Copper, 54 grs. Very rare. (Kálinjar Mint?)

Obverse, in imperfectly formed Persian letters—

ابو المظفر آرام شاه السلطان

The victorious Arám Sháh, the Sultán.

Reverse—Rude traces of the figure of the horseman, similar to the outline of the device on the Narwar coins.

No. 27. (No. 14, Plate I.) Copper.

Obverse—The same as that of No. 26.
PATHAN TOMB AT SEPREE, NEAR GWALIOR.

From a sketch by J. Fergusson, Esq.

"As a general rule, the Pathan tombs are complete examples of the Saracenic style, and show but slight traces of Hindu design. But this was not always the case; for, as in their earlier Mosques, they sometimes appropriated the remains of Jaina architecture to save themselves the trouble of erecting the whole building from original materials. These compound edifices are frequently composed of only four pillars, supporting a small dome; but more generally of twelve, arranged, as the Jaina domes usually are, in an octagon worked into a square, supporting a dome of slightly pointed form."—Fergusson, ii. 856.


Shams-ud-din-Altamsh, the greatest of the Slave Kings, the slave of a slave: rising, however, to be general and son-in-law to his master, he finally superseded that master's son in the legitimate succession to the throne of Dehli. From
his accession, in 607, with the exception of his victory over Ilduz, who was in possession of Ghaznî and other provinces, and an attempt to subdue his own brother-in-law, Kubáchah, king of Sind, his reign was, for some time, comparatively tranquil, and remained, in effect, undisturbed by the threatened advance of the Moguls under Changiz Khán. In 614 he finally overcame Kubáchah, and annexed Sind to the empire. Subsequently the Governor of Bengal and Behár was brought to acknowledge the supremacy of the central monarchy of Dehli, which had been disclaimed by Bakhtíar Khilji’s successors since the death of Aibek. The Sultán was employed for some years in the subjection of those portions of the country which had remained independent, or, having been conquered, had revolted; and, before his death, Altamah reigned over all Hindustán, with the exception of some few insulated portions. The powers of Muhammadan Sultáns, as rulers, as indeed those of all lordships of Hindustán, from its earliest history, seem to have been most indeterminate: at times, and in certain districts, extending to absolute possession of soil and people on the part of the king, and full and perfect subjection on the part of the local governors and those they ruled over; liable, however, at any moment, to endless fluctuations, as the strength of the Sovereign, the power of the provincial Governors, or the spirit of independence of the people rose or fell. In other cases, allegiance confessedly extended only so far as a nominal recognition of supremacy, or even a tacit abstinence from direct denial of such; suffice it to say, that among the multifarious tenures, and the many changes Imperialism was constantly liable to, one general rule of absolutism prevailed—that the length of the sword was the limit of the sway. During the course of Altamah’s reign, he received a diploma of investiture from
the Khalif of Baghdad, a most important recognition to a Muhammadan Sovereign, and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant Court of Baghdad of this new Indo-Muhammadan kingdom.1 Muhammad bin Sam, though he adopted the titles of the Khalifs on his coins, did so probably not so much with reference to his Indian dominions as in virtue of his succession to the throne of Ghazni, the monarchs of which dynasty had for centuries been acknowledged as orthodox Musalmans, and their subjects recognized as part of the flock of the Commander of the Faithful. The Indian conquests constituted, during the lifetime of Muhammad bin Sam, only a secondary portion of the whole Ghaznî empire. Shortly after his death, however, when the Indian provinces were erected into a separate kingdom, they ceased to have any dependence on the rulers of the countries whence the line of their newly installed kings had come. Altamah died in 634, and was succeeded by his son.

Neither Oriental authors nor Indian moneysers seem to have had any very definite idea of the correct orthography of the name of this king. Wassaf gives it as Alitmis. Rashid-ud-din, Mirkhond, and the author of the Khulásat-ul-Akhbár, all differ slightly in their mode of spelling the word; and the masters of the Dehli mint will be seen to have been as little critical. The indecision of these last is somewhat to be excused, seeing that the origin of the title in question, in its Turki form, is still indeterminate. Gen. Briggs supposed that the name was derived from томан (in modern Turkish), "sixty," which number of Tomans he had

1 "Chems eddin Lalmich (للٌلِمِش) i. p. 363) fut le premier qui régna dans la ville de Dihly avec un pouvoir indépendant. Avant son avènement au trône, il avait été l'esclave de l'émir Kothb eddin Aibec."—Ibn Batoutah, iii. p. 164.
once realized in the slave market; but Badáuni gives a very
different version of the derivation of the name.

 Outline of the Rise of Altamsh.

(Following the Calcutta Persian text of Minháj us Siráj, p. 168, et seq.)

Purchased with another Türk, called Aibak Tamgháj, for
the sum of 1,00,000 jitals, by Kutb-ud-dín, at Dehli.
Governor of Gwalior on its capture in 592 (p. 169).
" of Barn (Bulandahahar).
" of Budáon.

1 I have submitted this passage, with the entire range of variants, to Mr. Redhouse,
in the hope that he might solve the difficulty of the origin of the name. His reply
is not conclusive, though its grammatical criticisms may chance to promote an
eventual solution of the enigma. "Taking Badáuni's paragraph as text, I may point
out that though یأ تَنَلَمَش means 'moon,' and یأ تَنَلَمَش may stand for 'he
took, seized, eclipsed,'—the latter word, in the passive form, 'it was
eclipsed,' etc., being always employed to express the phenomenon of an eclipse, as
' the moon is or was eclipsed,' ' an eclipse of the
moon,'—still the ل of our word is out of the required place. Badáuni's remark
may be one of those eastern guesses one so often meets with, and really beside the
mark; but taking it as it stands, and weighing also the Sanskrit transcription
ब्यतितितिनिः, I would suggest that the ل has become misplaced by the transcribers,
and that the name was really one of the two passive compounds shown
above, the 5 being dropped in writing, as is often found in Indian Turki Lexicoons.
This would make یأ تَنَلَمَش or یأ تَنَلَمَش; this latter being nearer to the
Sanskrit transcription, and to the Persian گروزْمَاه bill, 'dy-tatulmasi, eclipse
of the moon.' To be correct, this should be written in two words
یأ تَنَلَمَش
and more correctly still, with a و, as
یأ تَنَلَمَش.

3 See also Elliot's Historians, ii. 322, etc.
SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF ALTAMSH'S REIGN.

A.H. 607. Accession. Táj-ud-dín Ilduz sends him, in delegated sovereignty, a جنرال و دویریاش (Umbrella and Baton). Násir-ud-dín Kubáchah disputes his title to Láhor, Tibarhind, (Sirhind), and Kohrám.

612. Táj-ud-dín, driven into Hindustán by the Khwárísmis, is defeated, captured, and imprisoned at Budáon, where he died, as his tomb testified.


618. Jelál-ud-dín Khwárísmi, defeated by Changíz Khán on the Indus, attempts to establish himself in Hindustán, but is forced to take refuge in Sind.

622. Altamsh proceeds to Bengal, and receives the submission of Ghfás-ud-dín Khilíjí.

623. Bantambhór captured.


625. Uchh surrenders. Násir-ud-dín drowns himself at Bhakar (pp. 144, 173).

626. (In Rabí-ul-awwal) the Emissary of the Khalif Al Mus-tansír arrives at Dehli.

626. (Jumád-ul-awwal). News of the death of the Sultán's eldest son, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, reaches the capital.

627. Disturbances in Bengal in consequence. 'Alá-ud-dín Jáni appointed to Lakhnautí (p. 174).

629. Siege of Gwalior: captured, in Safar 630, after eleven months' resistance.

631-2. Expedition to Málwa, Bhilsa, and Ujain.

633. towards Múltán.

633. (20, Sh'abán), Altamsh dies.

1 The Butkhána, the work of 300 years, noticed, its partial destruction, etc.
No. xxi.

**Silver.** Weight, 1497 gr. Very rare. Col. Guthrie.

(Primor coin. B.M. Weight, 164 gr.)

---

**Obverse.**
Square area.

لا الله إلا الله
محمد رسول الله

Margin, ornamental scroll.

**Reverse.**
Square area within a circle.

في عهد العام
المستنصر امير
المؤمنين

Legend obliterated.

I had, from the first, supposed that these exceptional coins were primarily designed to mark the occasion of the arrival of the Khalif’s diploma, recognizing the new Muslim Empire of India—at Dehli, on the 23rd of the first month of A.H. 626; but the absence of any date on the single specimen I was able to quote in 1846, and the uncertainty with regard to the period of issue of the pieces giving the full and complete titles of the Sultán, made me hesitate to assume that these coins, bearing the sole and isolated name of the reigning Khalif of Bagh dád, constituted the veritable commencement of the silver coinage of the Dehli Patháns. I now advance the idea with more confidence, not only on the ground of the absence of all examples of any local silver pieces anterior to A.H. 626, but upon the relative testimony of the writers of the day, as I observe that Hasan Nizámi,
the author of the Táj-ul-Maásir, refers his money values nearly exclusively to Dilliwalá, while Minháj-us-Siráj, who had more extensive and later experiences, reckons his totals in chitáls and tankázs of silver (pp. 162-4, 316). The Chitáls I conclude to be merely a continuation of the old Hindú Dehliwalás under the more popular and less exclusively metropolitan name, without however accepting any necessary identity between the palpable coins and the money of account.

It is quite true that the Táj ul Maásir alludes to Dirhams and Dinárés,¹ but these were the names of the current coins of the conqueror’s own land, and their mention was merely conventional, and in no wise designed to mark any fixed variety of piece, as may be seen from the contemporaneous reproduction of the gold currency of Kanaúj (No. 17) in the full traditional fabric and intrinsic value of the locality to which it belonged. Moreover, it may be seen how distinctly the Tankáh was the accepted and recognized term in India, by the fact that the great Mahmúd of Ghazni, while continuing to make use of the ordinary mint designation of Dirham, in the Kufic legend, of his new Láhor coinage of “Mahmúdpúr,”² admits the corres-

¹ Hasan Nisámi says, for instance, in reference to the occasion of the capture of Benáres by Muhammad bin Sám, that the face of the dinár and dirham was adorned with the name and blessed titles of the king (Elliot’s Historians, ii. 223). And again, on Kutb ud din’s accession, “From Peshawur downwards the public prayers and coinage of dinárs and dirhams throughout the whole country, full of rivers, received honor and embellishment from his name and royal titles” (ii. 236).

² Albirdnáy, M. Reinand’s Fragments, pp. 88, 114; Albirdnáy, M. Kántn; Sir H. Elliot’s copy; Elliot’s Historians, i. 62; MSS. Bakháí, variant; Spruner’s Map, No. 13 Post und Reiserouten des Orients, Leipzig, 1864; Juynboll, Lex. Geo. Dóry, these coins have such special claims upon our attention, under many varied
ponding word रक्ष ताक (or रक्ष तांका) in the Sanskrit legend on the reverse.

aspects, that I transcribe the latest revised version of the legends, and reproduce an illustrative wood-block of the Hindi face.

**Silver.** Size, 4; weight, 46'4 gra. Struck at Mahmadpur, A.H. 418, 419.

**Obverse.**

च्यातामक्य
Abyaktamek.

मुहम्मद च
Muhammad A-

वत्तर श्री
vatār Nripa-

ति महम्मूद
ti Mahmūd.

"The invisible (is) one.

"Muhammad incarnation.

"King Mahmūd."

**Reverse.**

القادر
لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

يمين الدولة

وامين المملكة

"With invisible he has set this in his order

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم

بعمودبور ستة ثمان عشرة

وارعماية

**Margin—चायातामक्य काने चचं तंबं तता महम्मूदपुर संवती ४१९**

Abyaktyaka ndme ayam tancham tata Mahamādpur Saneati 418.

In the name of the invisible (Bismillah) this tanka, thus [corresponding with the Arabic بسم الله, Persian ب "in"], (struck) at Mahmadpur, Samvat 418.

Other examples, with the Kufic date of 419 A.H., vary the marginal legend as follows:—

चचं तंबं महम्मूदपुर घटि तता बिशिचिर संवती ४१९

Ayam tancham Mahamādpur ghate tata jikiyaro Saneati 419.

This tanka struck at Mahmadpur then in the victorious Samvat 419.

I do not attempt either to correct the orthography or endeavour to reconcile these vernacular transcripts with the demands of Sanskrit grammar. It is obvious that—as is the case with records in the areas—the local legends on the margins are intended to be reproductions of the ruling Kufic context; as such, the Hindi version may be said to have its intentional meaning already declared. The singular orthography of वास्त for वास्ति and तता for तथा, which even thus amended is scarcely intelligible, as well as the somewhat forced meaning that
In consecutive accordance with this suggestion of an
has to be applied to क्र it is in its fit place, and there are
rendering of क्रियाय as victorious: but the क्र is in its fit place, and there are
many inflexions of क्र "to do," क्रिया "an act," हिंदूस्तानी क्र "to do"
(क्रिया "done," etc.), which might fall in with the present loose conditions
in so popular an expression as "Victorious Samvat." An association which is
the more natural, as this particular type of money seems to have been introduced
for the purpose of marking Mahmud's final triumph, in getting possession of
Lahor, a conquest which was not achieved so early as has usually been supposed.

On previous occasions, when I had fewer specimens to depend upon, and none
that gave the written Kufic counterpart of the Hindi figured date for 418, I read
the unit figure as = 2. I now see that it is in effect an oddly shaped रे = 8, and
that the 9 is formed, like many of our modern figures for the same number, by
an addition to the 8 itself, thus रे; the रे is the ordinary form, and the रे follows
the proper Kashmiri outline of that figure. The Kufic dies for these coins must
have been entrusted to a first-class artist, for they are uniformly excellently
fashioned and correctly marked in the details; whereas the legends on the Hindi
face of the coinage vary considerably in their execution, and the orthography
and the forms of the characters themselves are crude and uncertain in the
extreme. Nevertheless these brief records contribute several valuable indications
of the advance made in the Sanskrit paleography of the period.

The derivation of the term Tanka is uncertain; Erakine (whose note on the subject
is appended) supposed that it came from the Chaghatai Turki for white, but this
is scarcely probable. The word may have been of Turanian origin, very early
identified with Indian speech; we have it in various forms in the modern vernac-
culars. Wilson remarks that पाचि is "in all the dialects lazily used for money in
general," as तंका is "a stamped coin in general, but the latter word also meant
a weight of silver equal to four मद्धास. In Telugu, тामक is "a coin formerly
current, but now used only in account, equal to four silver फानामा. There was a
gold तंका and a copper coin similarly named, both obsolete. Hence, we have
तग्नांग सितरा तांकापिल "a mint;" but, on the other hand, we have दस and
तांका (Canarese), तिनां, "Borax," which may re-associate the term with "white." Erakine
says, "It may be added, that the word तांका or तांगा is of Chaghatai Turki
origin, being derived from तांग, which in that language means white; having the
same origin as the asper (from अर्बु, white) of the modern Greeks, the Ak-cha
of the Osmans Turks, the तांग of the Mingrelians, and many other monies, all
originally signifying white (Jose de Barbac in Ramusio, ii. 96). The तांग of
Khwarizm would appear to have been worth the fourth of a crown (Astley's
Voyages, iv. 484). At the present day in Persia the तांग seems to be worth only
6d. (J. B. Fraser, Travels in Persia, p. 81)."—Erakine's Hist. India, i. 546.
"21 तांगास = तिला, or 11e. 9-07d." (Bokhara Money Tables, J. A. S. Bengal, vii.
998. On the other hand, Vamény gives a totally different word for "white" in
Chaghatai, keeping the तांग to the simple meaning of "Monnaie d'argent."
The Russian जीघर डेंगि.
initial era for the purely Muhammadan coinage of the new Dehli empire—incident to hierarchical recognition from the Court of Baghdad—there follows naturally an explanation of what has heretofore constituted a difficulty in determining the application of the titles of Khalif and Amir ul Muminin, expressed in Hindi characters on certain classes of Dehli coins, which are now seen to refer to the "Commander of the Faithful," whose fame extended throughout the Muslim

1 The primary intention of the words नाम इसीर: Sri Hammira occurring on the newly adapted currency of the local Sovereigns of India (Nos. 5, 10, 11, 12, etc.), has been the subject of controversy since the first publication of specimens of these pieces by James Prinsep, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1835 (vol. iv. pp. 679-682, the original text of which is reproduced in his Essays, vol. i. pp. 305-310). Prinsep himself was disposed to identify the name (as he supposed it to be), with that of the Hamira of Mewar, who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1300. Prof. Wilson, on the other hand (Ariana Antiqua, p. 432), imagined that the designation belonged to the "Hamira of Hansi, in the time of Prithvi Raja" (p. 60, infra). My own early impressions induced me to infer that the title was intended to replace the conventional Amir ul Muminin, so constant on the one surface of all orthodox Muhammadan issues (J.B.A.S. ix. (1846), p. 191; Prinsep's Essays, i. 331; Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 8, 428). This conclusion was contested by Sir H. Elliot and General Cunningham (Elliot's Index to the Muhammadan Historians of India, published at Agra in 1849, p. 163), and formed the subject of a second Note by the former, written many years ago, but which I considered it my duty to publish exactly as it was found among his papers, unaltered and uncommented upon (Elliot's Historians, ii. 403). In now reviewing the whole question, under the new evidence, in its varied aspects, that has been imported into the inquiry by coins, inscriptions, and the large accession to directly contemporaneous history, I have no hesitation in surrendering my early theory. Much of the incidental testimony latterly brought to light, and which seemed, at first sight, calculated to support the identification with the titular designation of the Khalif, when examined more closely is found to admit of a directly contrary interpretation, as I myself had suggested in 1858. I allude especially to the appearance of the term नम एस Shalihis, which succeeds to the exact position on the coins previously occupied by the Sri Hammira, and to the altered aspect that coincidence bears, when taken in connection with the more clear and emphatic definition of the title of the Pontiff, at a more opportune moment, under the improved orthography of "Sri Amir alim," etc., above described.

The coin No. 18 definitively connects the prefix Sri Hammira with Muhammad bin Slam, and the Palam Inscription (infra) conclusively determines the continued
world, even to the Delta of the Ganges. The earliest pieces of this description, which were designed to convey to the subject races of Hindustán, in the letters of their own speech, the title and designation of the supreme Pontiff of their conqueror's faith, bear on the one face, above the conventional horseman of the first Brahman kings of Kábul the words श्री शालिफा (Sri Shalîpha, Khalîfa), and on the other surface, distributed around the Bull of Siva (whose image has nearly disappeared in the interwoven lines of the later tughras), the curtailed legend श्री अमिर आलिम... Sri Amir alim..., an apparently crude reproduction of the Arabic امیرالمومنین.

To these, again, succeed, in due order, the coins of similar fabric issued during the reign of Alá-ud-dín Mas'aud, which retain the शालिफा Shalîfa on the one side, while the more ample title of the "Chief of the Faithful" is replaced by the King's own regnant designation, following, in so far, the practice of his grandfather, who had very early superseded the exclusive mention of the ruling Pontiff.

To complete the evidence of the intentional use of the title of the Khalîf on the lower coinage, I am now able to quote the record of Mustansîr's name in Hindi as the counterpart of the Arabic definition of his designation and official recognition on the Silver Coins, No. 28.

use of the royal title of Sri Hamîtra, in its application to the then reigning monarch, in contradistinction to the various honorary epithets associated with the names of his predecessors. And, on the other hand, the seeming anomaly of the indifferent employment of the higher and lower titles of Sultan and Amir is found to be sanctioned by historical usage from the times of Mahmûd of Ghârim and his son Mas'ud. See Abîrâmî (Reinaud's Fragments, pp. 138, 164); Bâshâki, Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 65, etc.

1 Coins of Nasîr-ud-din Mahmûd Shâh of Bengal; and numerous specimens of the Lakhnauti mintage of Risâlah.—Plate i, No. 27 of this work, and Initial Coinage of Bengal, pp. 38, 42, and coin 28 suprad.

2 Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, vol. i. 332; Elliot's Historians, ii. 248.
The Khalif Mustansir billah.

No. 28b. Copper, with a small proportion of silver. General Cunningham. Two coins. Weight, 52 grs.

HORSEMEN.

Sri Shalipah.

These legends are very imperfect, and have only been restored from the three specimens cited above. The compound letters नुक्ष, must, are palpable and unmistakeable on two coins, and the अ in is legible on both General Cunningham's examples; the concluding विं is so far conjectural that the व alone is positively apparent on one coin; and what I have given as र, may perchance stand for the short i in billah.

Shams-ul-din Allamah.


Circular area.

لا الله إلا الله
محمد رسول الله
المستنصر بامر الله
امير المومنين

Square area, double lines.

السلطان المعظم
شمـس الدنـيـا والدـين
ابو المظـفر النـشم
السلطان ناصرمير المومنين

Margin, four small scroll ornaments.

No. xxx. (No. 18, pl. i.)

Prinsep collection. B.M. Silver. Weight, 163·5 grs.

Three new specimens, weighing severally 150, 160, and (an oxydized coin), 145 grs. Col. Guthrie.

Legends similar to No. 29, with the expection of the greatest," which replaces the greatest," of the former. Many of these coins concur in the faulty rendering of the real
name of the Khalif Al mustansir bïlah, by b’Amr il-lah. The place of mintage is illegible, but two specimens retain traces of an imperfect date, thus سنن للذين... في شهر.

Obverse as No. 30, omitting the Nâsir Amr Al Munimin.
Reverse as No. 28. Square area.
Margins, alike on both faces.

ضرب هذا الفضة في... سنن البلى والذين وسمايه

The fourth trial-piece of Altamah seems to have satisfied the mint authorities, and to have been officially adopted as the standard monetary type of the Indian Empire, and as such continued to be issued in the same form, and with but slightly varied legends, by the kings who came after him, in unbroken sequence, for a period of more than ninety years. The gold coinage, which makes its appearance later, is clearly framed upon the same model, being identical in weight and design, though necessarily slightly reduced in bulk. Such of Altamah's silver coins as have reached us are obviously of impure metal, an imperfection to have been expected in the issues of a newly organized mint, but his successors very early secured a high degree of fineness in both the gold and silver coinages—indeed, as far as the metallurgical science of the day extended, they aimed at absolute purity. The real pervading currency of the realm, however, obviously consisted of the time-honored, and widely dispersed billon money, and the subordinate copper pieces, which the Muslims inherited with their new dominions from the local princes. In addition to the continued issue of but slightly modified types of Dehliwáls with the traditional Bull and Horseman device, Altamah introduced abundant varieties of small change. I need not recapitulate
the minor peculiarities of these novelties, though many of
them are now for the first time published; but the incidental
gradations of the Hindi legends on some of the provincial cur-
crances illustrate, in a curious degree, the slow progress of
the effective conquest of, or real submission by, the native
dynasties, and occasionally disclose an inconveniently pre-
mature boast on the part of the historians of the invading
race. One of the most instructive series, in this respect, is
the coinage of the heads of the Rajput nationalities, whose
feudal attachments and heroic contests have been embalmed
in the bardic chants of their own tribes, and whose folk-lore
and traditions have been garnered up and enthusiastically
commented on by Col. Tod,\(^1\) who so truly identified himself
with the home life and familiar institutions of these peculiar
races. Our knowledge of the more essentially antiquarian
remains, extant inscriptions, and legendary history of some
of the older states of Rájputána has lately been materially
advanced by the patient investigations, traced site by site,
and the resulting comprehensive archaeological reports of
Gen. Cunningham, addressed to the Government of India;
the best testimony of my appreciation of which is expressed
in the numerous extracts and references incorporated in the
following pages.

The coinage of northern India, as we have seen, at and
prior to the invasion of Muhammad bin Sám, consisted
of Billon money, of a type imitated from the less alloyed
Silver coinage of the Brahmánical kings\(^2\) of the Punjáb,

\(^1\) Annals of Rajasthán, by Col. J. Tod, London.

\(^2\) Albirúni uses the words بعدد البراءمة سامند and وزيرة من البراءمة كلام
The Jamr'í al Tawáríkh has من البراءمة سامند which certainly seem to
whose early seat of government had been located at Kábul.
Álbirúní's account of this dynasty, and the resistance offered
by its later members to the advance of the great Mahmúd
of Ghasní, concludes with the narrative of the extinction of
the race in the person of Bhíma Pála in A.H. 416 (A.D. 1025).
Whether Álbirúní has preserved the full and continuous
succession in the eight names he enumerates is doubtful; but
it is clear that there is a break in the terminology between
the four leading names on his list and the designations pre-
served in the second division, while the variation in the no-
menclature at their point of juncture, coupled with an ap-
parent cessation of coinage on the part of the leading kings
of the second period, seems to indicate the indirect accession
of a more southern and definitively Rájpút race, unaccom-
panied by any such overt rupture, or dynastic revolution, as
should reach the comprehension of a stranger to local tra-
dition or the unwritten law, which so readily accepted the
most powerful king for the time being, as the Súzerain Mahá
rája, wherever he might be domiciled, or whatever sectional
creed he might choose to reserve for his own private con-
science. I was originally under the impression that the coins
of Anangpáél and Sállakshanpáél (Nos. 32, 33, infúd) belonged
to the sixth and seventh kings of Álbirúní's consecutive
series, supposing that, the one name being identical, the
other might represent the designation of his successor, so
strangely perverted by the Muslim writers into the many
varying forms of M. Reinaud's "Nárdajánpáél." I am
now, however, disposed to transfer the pieces bearing the
epigraph of "Anangpáél" to the king of that name, who
point to absolute caste in contradistinction to mere creed. The Türk kings
were Buddhista.
completed Lal Kot, and reëdified Dilli, about the middle of
the eleventh century; and, while seeking a new owner
among the closely contemporary sovereigns for the coins of
Sallakshanpál, to restore to the second Jaipál the tribal
prefix of Tuár. The general style and fabric of the
mintages of Ananánpál remove them, in a marked degree,

1 "In Mawar is Sámar Síng, who takes tribute from the mighty. . . In
the midst of all, strong in his own strength, Mundores prince, the arrogant
Náhar Ráo, the might of Maróc, fearing none. In Delhi, the chief of all
Anúnga, at whose summons attended the princes of Mundore, Nagore, Sinde,
Julwut, and others on his confines, Peshawur, Lahore, Kangra, and its mountain
chiefs, with Kasi, Priag, and Gehr Deogir."—From "Chand's" Chronicle,
Tod's translation, i. 224. "The author adds, the Chohans of Ajmér owed at
least homage to Delhi at this time, although Besvel-deo had rendered it almost
nominal; and to Somésvar, the fourth in descent, Anungpal was indebted for
the preservation of his supremacy of his kingdom against the attempt of Kanouj,
for which service he obtained the Tuár's daughter in marriage, the issue of which
was Pirthí Ráj, who, when only eight years of age, was proclaimed successor to
the Delhi throne. Jeichand of Kanouj and Pirthí Ráj bore the same relative
situation to Anungpal, Beejipal, the father of the former, as well as Somésvar,
having had a daughter of the Tuár to wife." i. p. 225.

2 M. Reinaud and Sir H. Elliot have collected together numerous variants of
the initial portion of this name, as it appears in the different Arabic and Persian
MSS. General Cunningham has also quoted many possible readings of the
Persian letters forming the name of Budah, the King of Sind, of Ma'saudí; in
illustration of which he contributes three several Hindi versions of the name of
Tuár, viz., Tómar, Tópar, and Tuvar. Colebrooke gives some eight variants
of the authorized orthography of the name of Chóthán, and nearly as multifarious
a list of the Hindi versions of the name of Dehlí (Transactions of the Royal
Asiatic Society, 1827, i. 137). See also Memoirs of Races N.W.P., Sir H. Elliot
(London, 1869), i. 63, and ii. p. 294, where he quotes the well known passage—

पाईजि द्रिष्टवी तूमर पीछि चीहाजु
और पीछि मीकव पठारु

"First in Dihli was the Tumar, then the Chauhan,
And afterwards Mogal and Pathan."

Of course, if this interpretation of the prefix to the second Jaipál's name is to
be accepted, we must either surrender the previous suggestion that the great
Jaipal was a Bhattí (J.R.A.S. xi. p. 184; Elliot's Historians, ii. 426, 440; Tod,
i. 251), or else adopt a not improbable alternative, that Rájput Princes had
from the category of the more finished monetary specimens of the first section of the Kábul dynasty, even as their treatment in tughrá, size, and metal approximates them to the more purely Indian currencies of the later epoch. The absence of any coins of Jaipál I., Anandpál I., Túdr Jaipál, or Bhímópál, need scarcely create surprise, now that we have learnt from Mahmúd's own historians¹ what a life he led these later representatives of the ancient dynasty; so that, when Bhímópál retired to his last stronghold at Kangra,² he had already become but of small repute in the political comity of the Rájas of northern India.

Abú Rihán Al Bírúni's list of the Brahman kings of Kábul and their Indian successors is as follows: After Kank, كنْكَتَ، family designations indicative of the Got or tribe of the mother. I am not at all sure that such a supposition would not go far to explain the difficulty enwrapping the name of "Gola," which has been made into "slave" (Tod, i. 170), "natural son," etc. etc., but which would more reasonably answer to some of the vernacular renderings of "Gohíte," ("Someśvara, originally called Prithví Raja, was a Gúhíta by the mother's side."—Cunningham, Arch. Rep. p. 14); equally as some of the prefixes to Por Jáipál and "Pérou Hibái" (Elliott, ii. 47) may chance to accord with the classical Pramar. The Muhammadan authors seldom specify, and probably but imperfectly realised the gradations of Hindu castes; but the Táj ul Máāsir, in speaking of the investment of Kálinjar in A.D. 1302, mentions that "the accursed Purwír, the Ráí, fled into the Fort," etc. (Elliott's Historians, ii. 281, and p. 228 Ráí Solankh Páli, of Gwalior, A.D. 1196). Parihár dynasty at Marwar from A.D. 1129, "the last Parihár Raja," escapes from Gwalior in A.D. 1233, on its capture by Altamah (Cunningham, Arch. Rep. 1864–5, p. 29). The Parihár dynasty of Gwalior extended from 1228 A.D. to the final capture in 1322 (pp. 50, 55, ñêid.). Of course, these are merely suggestive speculations, but it is clear from the numerous quotations concerning tribal divisions among the Rájputs preserved by Col. Tod, that the Gotam distinction would be as likely to be kept prominently in view among individuals as among the clans themselves. In referring to an earlier period, Col. Tod enumerates the contingents furnished from each State, "from Ajmir the Gor, Dehli the Túdr Putun the Chencwara Rijdhur, Kanoj the Rahtor, Jesugurh the Bhatti, Láhor the Bosen, and from Nándolyaw the Cháken." i. 248.

¹ Elliott's Historians, ii. pp. 19, 22, 24, 33, 47, 50. ² Elliott, ii. p. 34, 48.

I subjoin notices of the coins of such of the Indian kings as are connected by similarity of types with the later members of this dynasty. A summary of such pieces as can be attributed with any confidence is subjoined.

2. Chandel... Sallakshanapála of Mahoba ...... A.D. 1085—1105.
5. Chohán... Prithví Rája of Ajmír and Dehli, A.D. 1176—1192.
6. ? Cháhar Deva of Ajmír .................. A.D. 1234—1254. 8

1 I may as well reproduce the latest revised readings of these names, as obtained from the coins.

a. A king of the old dynasty, with the Elephant and Lion device, श्री वर्का देव Sri Verka deva.

Kabd dynasty—1. श्री ज्यालाति देव Sri Syala pati deva. Arabic equivalent of Al Birúni (revised). The name of Syala seems to be connected with the Syala Jats in the Punjab, Syilkot, etc. 2. श्री सामन्ता देव Sri Samsanta deva. Sámanta. 3. श्री खवादवणकाक Sri Khavada-vaṇakāk. कम्ला. (The initial in this name might possibly be read as س. The interchange of س, sya, with س and سâ's is unlimited. The letter, on the other hand, may possibly prove to be an س. As, as a very similar outline is given to the indubitable س'a's on some of the Indian coins of Ala-ud-din Mas'aúd, inára.) 4. श्री भिम देव Sri Bhím deva.

To show how early the Muhammadans began to trespass upon the royal stamp of the Kabd dynasty, I annex a cut of a coin of Mas'aúd of Ghaznú, with his name in Kuflc letters (مصعود) clearly legible above the horse's head. Mr. Bayley, who owns this piece, has a similar specimen bearing the name of Muhammad (محمد), Mas'aúd's brother and predecessor on the throne of Mahmúd.


3 There are four novelties in this series, the names on which can be but im-
No. 32. 1. Ananga pāla deva.
Silver and copper. Weight, 48 gns. (Ariana Antiqua, xix. 15; J.R.A.S. vol. ix., illustrative plate, figs. 9, 10.)

Horseman.
Sri Ananga pāla deva.

Bull.
Mādhava Sri Samanta deva.

perfectly read and for which we are unable to find positive identifications. They may be tentatively transcribed as follows:—

No. 1.
(Three coins.) J.R.A.S. ix. figs. 17, 18.

Horseman—Sri Kūli. Deva.

Bull—Pāla Sri Sama.

No. 2. (One coin only.)

Pukhimbhā Deva, Rāja?
or Pukhimbhā Deva.

[? Pūtāmr.
Pitāmr].

No. 3. (Three coins.)

Sri Pipala Rāja Deva,
or Pipala Rāja Deva,

There was a Pipanjar Rāja, a Khichi Chohkan, a contemporary of Prithvi Rāja.

Ditto.

No. 4. Silver and copper. (Three coins.) Gen. Cunningham a. Mr. Bayley. My cabinet 3

BULL.
Sri Kalha deva ?
On the saddle cloth of the Bull
["light"].

HORSEMAN.
Legend illegible.

This last coin differs materially in the details of the design from Nos. 1, 2, 3, and offers the peculiarity of giving the name on the Bull Reverse, as in the in-
In some of the more finely executed coins there are traces of the word राजा Rājā after the Anangapāda deva. The introductory title on the introductory series, instead of over the Horseman on the Obverse, as is usual on the later imitations. The outline of the Bull itself is comparatively archaic, following the treatment observable in the coins of Bhima (A.A. xix. 9, 17), and which I should, on other grounds, attribute to a Kangra or proximate site. The Hindi writing is comparatively more formed and developed than is usual on the kindred pieces, but the execution of the Kufic letters denotes an early period; and the monogram of مسأ asociates the issue indirectly with the coinage of Mas'aud III. of Ghazni, who affected the title of مسأالملئة (J.R.A.S. ix. 367, and coin No. cxxxv.), and occasionally placed the abbreviated مسأ on the top of the field on his silver money. But the connexion is more directly established by the fact that I am able to quote a small coin of Mas'aud III. with his full titles in Kufic on the obverse, combined with the identical مسأ on the Jhāli of the Bull. Mas'aud III. (A.H. 492–508), it will be remembered, was the first of his race who occupied Lāhor as an occasional capital, and whose generals attempted to annex the country towards the Ganges.—Nasiri, p. 21; Ibn Asir, x. p. 358; Briggs, i. 143; Elphinstone, 355.

As the Hānsi Inscription, which may chance to illustrate some of the doubtful names above transcribed, is but little known, and but imperfectly accessible to modern readers, I append an abstract of its leading historical sections.

INSCRIPTION FROM HĀNSI (copied by Captain E. Fell, from a stone in the Fort).

1. Salutation to Devi, etc.

2. The Prince Prithivi Raja was born in the race of the descendants of the moon: his maternal uncle was named Kirana, an increaser of his fame.

3. He was as an autumnal moon, for an ornament to that firmament, the tribe of Guhilanta, etc.

4. Having slain the warrior Hammira ["Hamvira," or Amir, according to Wilson, p. 466], who was an arrow to the earth; the king, who was a serpent to the riches of his enemies . . . . presented to him, possessing pure virtues, the strong fortress of Asiki.

5. Having, for the purposes of battle, entered the lofty-peaked fortress . . . . Travellers describing a celestial, and highly finished road, which he (Kirana) had made, and which resembled the very heart (best part) of the earth, thus exclaimed, "Oh thou hero Hammira, where now is thy name and majesty."

6. By new revenues, arising from his victories, first the high road was finished, near it were two lofty buildings made of copper, etc., and also an apartment for the wealth of his enemies . . . .

7. But what can be said of the greatness . . . . of the fortunate Kihapa, divinely seated, broad-chested, strong-armed, whose festivals are far-famed . . .
Bull surface of these coins varies from the Mādhava (a synonym of Krishna), to the bilateral च्छ च्छ and the more ample चालावरी Asdvart (a title of Durgā).

9. Oh thou hero! Hāruman thus writes, "that you possess wonderful valour, and that without a doubt the illustrious prince Pṛithvī Rāja is Rāma."

10. Being born in the line of Guhilanta, etc.

11, 12, 13, 14 [conventional glorifications, etc.].

16. And, again, Kīlavalha, born in the tribe of Tāda, an image of strength, and a slayer of the armies of all his foes (was) a bee to the lotus feet of the fortunate Kīlaṇa: his son Upasa was called on the earth Lakshmana.

16. He was an excellent sage, and by his devotion obtained the abode of the three-eyed god. This fortunate Lakshmana was always the chief of those composed minds.

In the year of Sambat 1224 (A.D. 1168), on Saturday, the 7th of the white fortnight, of the month of Māgha."—As. Res. xv. (published in 1823), pp. 443–6, 456.

Col. Tod has published, in the first volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society (1827), "the substance" of this identical inscription, which he states he obtained at Hānai Histār, in 1816. "The stone on which it was engraved was presented to the Marquis of Hastings in 1818," but is not now to be traced. Col. Tod's version differs in many respects from that given above—(1) In the name of Kīlaṇa, which he uniformly makes into Kilaṇa, as it appears in paragraphs 7 and 16 of the Fell translation; (2) Hammira, instead of being slain, is himself invested with the charge of the strong fortress of Asi; (3) The road said to have been constructed in the one version becomes "a gateway" in the other; (4) "Two halls: the victorious treasury of the foe's wealth and his own abode," replaces the words in paragraph 6, above given; (5) and Tāda is corrected into Doda (Dōr).

It would be rash to arbitrate between these two authorities in the absence of the original document in dispute, with the witnesses on either side in their graves; but certainly Capt. Fell's version is somewhat obscure and disconnected; while Tod's, though only an abstract, seems more simple and consistent. Prof. Wilson, however, who publishes the posthumous work of Capt. Fell, whom he designates as that "distinguished scholar," possibly had the transcript text available to check the translation to which he lends his authority. Tod's case is not so clear, though from the general tenor of his paper there remains a doubt as to whether he had the complete Sanskrit transliteration in his possession.

See also Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 432, who partially repeats his accepted interpretation of the inscription, in the words, "He was more probably the Hammira, who was governor of Hānai in the time of Pṛithvī Rāj, and was killed by the Rāja's uncle Kilaṇa, as recorded by an inscription found in that Fort."
No. 33. 2. Sallakshana pāla deva.¹

Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs. (J.R.A.S. ix. figs. 11, 12.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sri Sallakshana pāla deva.</td>
<td>Sri Samanta deva.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 34. 3. Madana Pāla Deva.

Silver and copper. Weight, 51 grs. (J.A.S. Bengal, iv. pl. xxxvi. fig. 16; Prinsep’s Essays, xxv. fig. 16, xxvi. fig. 27; Ariana Antiqua, xix. figs. 19 and 23; J.R.A.S. vol. ix. illustrative plate, fig. 13.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sri Madana pāla deva.</td>
<td>Mādhava Śrī Samanta deva.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to bring under one view all the coins of this class appertaining to Native States, at or about the epoch of the extension of the Muhammadan conquests among the Rājpūt tribes, I append a notice of two coins of Mahipāla, the one having traces of the old Brahmanical Bull and Horseman device, the other approximating, in a minor degree, to the Narwar design of Chāhar’s local issues.

¹ There is a name identical with this, of an approximate period, on the Golden Lāṭ, at Dehli (Prinsep’s Essays, i. p. 325); and another very similar in form, in the Buddha Gāya Inscription (J.A.S.B. vol. v. pl. xxx.), which has been read as Śrīmad Sākṣayā Sūna deva. The name of Sallakshana also occurs in the Chándal list, quoted below.—Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1864–5, p. 89.
No. 35. Mahipála, king of Gwalior, etc., A.D. 1093.1
Copper, or copper with a very small admixture of silver. Weight, 46 grs. (3 specimens, my cabinet.)

Horseman.
The original figure is scarcely to be traced.

Bull.

śri mahipála
Sri Mahipála.

In large coarse modern looking characters, with the métrés (or head lines) nearly level, as in Muhammad Sámi's coin No. 13.

No. 36. Mahipal.
Silver and copper. Weight, 43 grs. (J.R.A.S. ix. plate, fig. 15, pp. 188, 198.

śri
Sri Ma-

ह्यापा
hí pála

देव:
deval.

Imperfect traces of the Chohán Bull.

(No legend.)

No. 37. 4. Someswara deva.
Silver and copper. Weight, 53 grs. (A.A. xix. 28; J.R.A.S. ix. fig. 16.

Horseman.

śri bimbhsara deva
Sri Someswara deva.

Bull.

विशवारी श्री समस्त देव
Aśwari, Śri Samasta deva.

1 Cunningham, Gwalior Inscriptions, p. 62, A.D. 1093 and 1103. Rajendra Lala Mitra, J.A.S. Bengal, pp. 12, 16; Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 258.
No. 38. 5. Prithvi Raja Deva.

Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs. (Ariana Antiqua, xix. fig. 18; Prinsep's Essays, i. pl. xxv. fig. 21; xxvi. 30.)


श्री पृथ्वी राज देव

Sri Prithvi Raja deva.

Aswari, Sri Samanta deva.

It will be seen that in this new arrangement of these coins I have altogether abandoned any principle of continuous sequence, as well as any theory of limitation to one family or to one locality: in short, I hold that the right to issue this particular species of currency was conventionally confined to the Lord paramount among the Rajput States for the time being, and that the acknowledged Rajadhiraj (राजाधिराज) "King over Kings," or the "Diraj" of the vernacular, was alone entitled to this symbol of supremacy.¹ That the exercise of the right was frequently abused is

¹ "We may here briefly describe the state of Hindustan at this epoch, and for centuries previous to the invasions of Mahomed (four great kingdoms)—
1. Dehli, under the Tuars and Chohans; 2. Kanoj, under the Raoters; 3. Mewar, under the Ghelotes; 4. Anhulwara, under the Chauras and Solankhis. To one or other of these states the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. The boundary line between Dehli and Kanoj was the Exhibit of or black stream. Dehli claimed supremacy over all the countries westward to the Indus, embracing the lands watered by its arms from the foot of the Himalaya, the desert, to the Aravalli chain. The power of Kanoj extended north to the foot of the Snowy Mountains; eastward to Kasi (Benares) and across the Chambul to the lands of the Chundail (now Bundelkhand); on the south its possessions came in contact with Mewar (or Medya-war), "the central region," which was bounded to the north by the Aravalli chain, to the south by the Pramaras of Dhar, westward by Anhulwara, which state had the ocean to the south, the Indus on the west, and the desert to the north."—Tod, ii. 9, and i. 248. At p. 443, vol. ii., Col. Tod gives Chand's picture of the Chohan dominion—"From the seat of government (Rajasthán) Medoti (old Garra Mundilla) the oath of allegiance (As) resounded in fifty-two castles."
highly probable, but among these heroic races, who were sensitive to a degree on questions of honour and precedence, an assumption which could not be defended by the sword was likely to be of brief continuance. The old Kabul device of the Bull and Horseman, with its special Hindu associations, was apparently revived by Anangpál, at Dehli, in the days of his power; as other potentates came to the front, and other clans secured a temporary dominancy, his position changed, and, later in point of time, Dehli became a mere king-ship subject to Ajmír. It will be seen that I propose to assign the next coin, in the order of date, to Sallakahanapála I., the Chándel monarch of Mahoba, who

---

1 Have we anything in European chivalry to compare with the act of the Súktawat Chief, who is related to have voluntarily submitted himself for impalement on the spikes of the gate of a beleaguered town, to enable his own elephant to force an entry?—Tod, i. 150.

2 Chándel Dynasty (Mahoba, Kálinjar, etc.). Cunningham, Arch. Rep., 1864–5. A.D.

7th King, 960, Dhanga (Khajuráho Inscriptions, A.D. 954 and 999).
8th ,, 999, Ganda (Nanda Rai of Ferishtah? A.D. 1021).
9th ,, 1025, Vidyádhara deva.
10th ,, 1045, Vijaya Pála.
11th ,, 1066, Kirtti Varmma deva. Coins.
12th ,, 1085, Sallakahan Varmma deva (Mhow Inscriptions). Coins.
13th ,, 1105, Jaya Varmma deva (Khajuráho Inscriptions, A.D. 1116).

Coins. [Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxiv. 7, 8, p. 291. सी वर्म्म देव]

14th ,, 1120, Sallakahan Varmma deva? brother of Jaya.
15th ,, 1125, Prithví Varmma. Coins.
17th ,, 1163, Kirtti Varmma deva?
18th ,, 1167, Paramárdi deva (Inscriptions, 1167 and 1183 A.D.).
20th ,, 1206, Sandhira Varmma deva (Copper-plate Inscriptions, 1280 A.D.).
21st ,, 1280, Bhoja Varmma (Ajaygurh Inscription), 1288 A.D.
22nd ,, Vira Varmma (Maisey's Inscription, No. ii.), 1316 A.D.
we learn from inscriptions extended his conquests into the Gangetic Doáb; and to his grandson Madana Varmma deva I assign the coins bearing his leading name, in preference to the nearly contemporary Madana Pála, of Kanauj, whose territory was supplied with a different description of coinage, as well as on account of the serial consistency, if the earlier pieces are rightly attributed to his grandsire, whose power he seems to have inherited in added stability. The assignment of the money of the Chohán kings Someswara and Prithvi Rája requires no confirmation; but our special

General Cunningham adds, the coins of this dynasty are "extremely rare, as I have obtained only seven specimens in gold, and nine in copper, during a period of more than thirty years. . . . . The gold and silver coins are all of the well-known type of the Rathors of Kanoj, which bear a seated figure of the fourarmed goddess Durā or Páreati on the obverse, and, on the reverse, the king's name in three lines of Medieval Nágari characters. The copper coins bear, on the obverse, a two-armed male figure, which appears to be that of the monkey god Hanumán; and, on the reverse, the king's name in Nágari characters." Arch. Report, 1864–6, pp. 85–88.

General Cunningham was under the impression that the Trailokya Varmma Deva, of the Chándel list, might be identified with the "Dilki and Milki" of Ferishtah. The more complete details of the actors and events of this period, furnished by the work of Minháj us Siráj, seem to show that though the association of Trailokya with the Milku or Milkdeva (میلکدیو) the son of Fisalr of Gwalior (Elliot, ii. 327, Persian text, p. 174 بلبل or میلکو پسر میلی بسیل; بسیل مالکت; the Tarikh Mubarak Sháhi, which copies Minháj us Siráj, has MS. Sir H. Elliot, A.H. 629 = A.D. 1231), might be possible, notwithstanding the obscurity of the patronymic, the name of Dilki and Milki (دمکی و ماکی و اورانه بود), of A.H. 646 = A.D. 1247, can scarcely apply to the same individual, who is described as residing "in the vicinity of the Jumna, between Kálinjar and Karra," whose dwelling place no Muhammadan army had ever reached.—Tabakát-i-Násiri, pp. 211, 291. See also Elliot, ii. 348–366; iii. 76.

concern at present is with the issues of Cháhar Deva. We have independent evidence of his supremacy at Narwar, in A.D. 1246;\(^1\) and in 1234 we first find him encountering the troops of Altamsh, under Nuṣrut-ud-dín Tábasí. On this and subsequent occasions of his conflicts with the Muslims, extending up to A.D. 1253, with the capture of Narwar, by Balban, in 1251, he is described by Minháj us Siráj, as بزرگترین رايان اجاري 
"This Rána Aḥári," who was بزرگترین رايان اجاري 
"The greatest of the kings of Hindustán," etc.,

---

\(^1\) "In my account of the ancient coins of Narwar, I have brought forward specimens of Cháhada Deva which are dated in various years, from S. 1303 to 1311, or A.D. 1246 to 1254, and specimens of his son Asala Deva which range from S. 1311 to 1336, or from A.D. 1254 to 1279. As these are corroborated by several existing inscriptions there seems to be no reason to doubt that at least these two Rajas must have been independent princes. But there are also similar coins of a third prince, named Malaya Varma Deva, who, from the dates of S. 1280 and 1290, or A.D. 1223 and 1233, must have been the immediate predecessor of Cháhada Deva. His coins were found at Narwar, Gwalior, and Jhansi; but as there are only five specimens, it is not certain that they belong to Narwar. Indeed the name of Varma would rather seem to point to Kálinjar. It is possible, therefore, that Cháhada himself may have supplanted the Parihá dynasty. But I am rather inclined to think that Malaya Varma Deva must have dispossessed the Parihárs, and that he was shortly afterwards ejected by Cháhada Deva, who was most probably the founder of a new dynasty, as the genealogy of the family opens with his name... Cháhada was succeeded by his son Asala Deva... His money also is common. I found his name on a Sati pillar at Bai, near Káliharas, S. 1327 or A.D. 1270, during the reign of Suri-mat Asala Deva... From all these various sources the chronology of this Narwar dynasty may be arranged with considerable precision, although the dates of accession cannot be exactly determined—1. Cháhada Deva, A.D. 1238—1254.
4. Ganapati, A.D. 1291—1298. As no coins of the last two princes have yet been discovered, I infer that they must have been made tributary by the Muhammadan kings of Dehli."—Arch. Report, 1864–5, p. 30. See also General Cunningham's "Coins of the nine Nágas, and two other dynasties of Narwar and Gwalior."—J. A. S. Bengal, vol. xxxiv. (1865), p. 116.
and other similar expressions, showing that he was the recognized leader and lord paramount of the Hindu princes of central India, struggling to preserve their kingdoms from the foreign invader. The term अर्जुण is susceptible of two interpretations, the one as the correspondent of अग्रासर

and the other as a name of a garment, अर्जुण.

[The Sindhu of Narwar, A.H. 632] . . . . . . . . [Nusrat-ud-din Tabasi adds, in his own person] अन हनूदक अर्जुण चन्द्र ब्रम में

[The Eldest of the Sindhis, A.H. 646, A.D. 1248, p. 292.]

And on another occasion the same Mahadeva Bhringa declared that the king of Nalanda, अर्जुण, had been the founder of the dynasty of Nalanda.

And he, the eldest of the Sindhis, who was Zoroastrian, had been the founder of the dynasty of Nalanda.


And in the time of the elder dynasty, अर्जुण, was the founder of the dynasty of Nalanda.
Acha vára, "established custom, usage;" the other, and more probable meaning, as चाचरा चाचर्या, "A spiritual guide," under the vernacular variants of Acha ráj and Acha rí. We know that many of the chiefs of these Rajput tribes

(1251 A.H., A.D. 649, A.D.)

روش گردید که شهامت و جهانگیری النگان
معظم تا چه اندازه بود که این جنین خصمی را معهور و منهزم گردید و قلعه برک [نرور] را که حسس نامدار است از دست تصرف او


ورای رنگنبره بابر [جاهر] دیو که اعظم را یان و اصل و برگت ترین
مولک هند است لشکر کشید (1253 A.H., A.D. 651, A.D.)

تمامی آن لشکر رای جاهر دیورا آگرچه بس انبه و با صلاح و اسب

p. 299. Calcutta text.

Also Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 351, note 1, 366, 370.

The Tarikh-i-Mubarak Sháhi, compiled circa A.H. 838, which closely follows Minháj us Siráj, in the epitome of the earlier reigns of the Sultáns of Dehli, in giving its version of the encounter with Cháhrar Deva, speaks of him as

هرچگونی که معظم ترین کفاران دیار بود

The other Rájas, from Prithvi downwards, are merely described severally as

Malak, or Malak, or Ráj, or Ráj, or Malak, or Ráj.

"In the very early periods, the princes of the Solar line, like the Egyptians and Romans, combined the offices of the priesthood with kingly power, and this whether Brahmánical or Buddhist... and in ancient sculpture and drawings the head is as often adorned with the braided lock of the ascetic as with the diadem of royalty (even now the Rana of Mewar mingles spiritual duties with those of royalty, and when he attends the temple... performs himself all the offices of high priest of the day)." Tod, i. 27, 562.—Ráj Rájá, title of prince of Marwar; Ráj Ráj Indra of Amber; ii. 187.—Rawal, title of the prince of Jessúlmér; ii. pp. 249, 277.—Ranas of Mewar desdás or Viceréyents of Siva; i. 517.—Rana of Mewar, heir to the throne of Rana, called Hindúa Sooraj, or Sun of the Hindus; i. 311, 232.—The ashári, however, may by some sort of possibility stand for Acha ría, a term derived from Achar in Oodípur, i. pp. 213, 216.
in later days affected hierarchal honours, calling themselves *Mahants*, etc., and the famous Samarsi was designated as the "Regent of Mahádeva." 1

The coins described below illustrate—1, The independent position of Cháhar Deva as *Mahárája Adhirája*; 2, His concession of supremacy to Altamsh; 3, The establishment of Altamsh's generals in Ajmír; and, 4, The contrast in the orthography of the Dehli coins of that Sultán, and the transliteration of the name current in Rajputána.

**Coins of Cháhar Deva, as paramount Sovereign.**

**No. 39.** S.C. (copper in excess). Weight, 50 grs. A.A. xix. 16.

**Horseman.**

\[ \text{Sri Cháháda Deva.} \]

| \text{Bull.} |
| \text{Bull.} |

\[ \text{Cháhar Deva, as Tributary to Shams-ud-dín Altamsh?} \]

**No. 40.** S.C. (copper predominates). Weight, 48 grs. (No.15, pl.1.)

Ariana Antiqua, xix. 31, 34, 37. Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvi. 31.

**Horseman.**

\[ \text{Sri Cháháda Deva.} \]

| \text{Bull.} |
| \text{Bull.} |

\[ \text{Altamsh's own proper Coins, struck at Ajmír?} \]

**No. 41.** S.C. (of inferior value). Weight, 50 grs.

Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 333.

**Horseman.**

\[ \text{Sri Hamírah.} \]

| \text{Bull.} |
| \text{Bull.} |

\[ \text{Sri Samasorala Devé.} \]

---

1 Tod, i. 267. Minháj us Siráj, at p. 149, Calcutta text, speaking of Lakhmaniah of Bengal, uses a curious expression in regard to his position as Khalífa.

\[ \text{و خاندان ایشان را راپیاءی هند برکت داشتندی و بمنزرت خلیفْه هند شهرانتی .} \]

\[ \text{Inter alia, see notice of "Acháj Malí Bhadur," Elliot, ii. 547.} \]
ALTAMSH’S Imperial Delhi Coins.

No. 42. S.C. Weight, 48 grs. (No. 16, pl. 1.)

Samvat, 1288 = A.D. 1231 = A.H. 629.

Ariana Antiqua, xix. 32, xx. 3. Prinsep’s Essays, xxvi. 34, 39, 41.

HORSEMAN.

Sri Hammirah.

BULL.

Suritāṇ Śrī Samasadiṇ.

On the side of the Bull, ९२७ं.

These issues vary materially in the intrinsic value of the different pieces, ranging from nearly pure silver to copper, with a mere trace of the higher metal.

The legends on these coins differ occasionally in the definition of the Hindi version of the Sultan’s name and titles: some specimens have सुरितान श्री समसदिन Suritāṇ Śrī Samasa dīn, and occasionally दीप dīn. Among other peculiarities, coins with these latter legends insert what are apparently dates, under the hump of the recumbent Bull. The isolated numbers hitherto observed extend only to ९ = 4 and ७ = 6, which may be supposed to indicate the years of the reign. The practice of introducing the full Samvat date, in the available spaces in the general outline of the Tughra device, seems to have been an amplification of this preliminary modification of the old Hindu symbols and their ultimate elaboration into numeral dates, as above given.

The subordinate die modifications peculiar to the epochal and geographical ramifications of the ancient device of the Hindu kings of Kábul are otherwise interesting, and may lead, under closer and more exact observation, to an improved classification of the different mintage. In the strictly initial section of these issues, comprising the silver money, the symbol on the Bull of Siva is confined to his own special trident or trisul. Anangapála introduces a sword or club in place of the trident (Ariana Antiqua, xix. 15; Prinsep’s
Essays, pl. xxv. figs. 14, 15), and at times resorts to a four-petalled flower (J.R.A.S. ix. 9). Madana Pala retains the trisul but slightly altered (xxv. 16), though in other cases he varies the device (xxvi. 27), and in one instance reverts to the best form of the old Brahman trisul (J.R.A.S. ix. fig. 13), with the exceptional adjunct of a clearly defined र = 2. Prithví Rája and Cháhar Deva admit of a further alteration, and the ancient trident assumes almost the form of an opening flower (xxv. 21, 30, 31). Muhammad bin Sám, without rejecting the modernised form of the old symbol, in some cases affects a rose-like flower similar to that employed by Añanga (xxv. 20).

One of the most instructive exemplifications of the then prevailing system of adoption, or assimilation of local types, is afforded by another mintage of Altamsh’s, of earlier date, which is directly identified with the capture of Rantambhór, in A.H. 623 (Samvat 1283 = A.D. 1226), from Cháhar Deva’s predecessor, Malaya Varmma Deva (A.D. 1210–1235).¹ The obvious imitation of the style and arrangement of the legends of the local (Narwar?) money may be traced on the Hindi face of the Indo-Muhammadan pieces; and the substitution of Ghaznavi Persian legends for the imperfect design of the typical horseman of the Khábul Brahmans, in conventional use in the patrimonial states of the Mahoba Varmma dynasty, is also suggestive, and, taken in connection with the fact that this new issue was not sustained beyond the single annual date now quoted, would seem to show that the exceptional currency was designed to mark the event of

¹ General Cunningham, J.A.S. Bengal, vol. xxxiv. (1865) p. 127, and Archæological Report, 1864–5, p. 30. [The name is not given in any historical account; the identity of the owner of the fortress is assumed from the connection established by the coins.]
the conquest of the celebrated Hindu stronghold, so vauntingly reported by the contemporary historian:¹ in short, we may fairly infer that the coinage in question was intended as a kind of Numismatic Fateh Námah, or "announcement of victory;" its superscriptions, couched in the conjoined languages and alphabets of conquerors and conquered, were made more emphatically to point to the epoch of the surrender, by the repetition of the date, in the eras special to either nationality. These stamped manifestoes of the new lords of the soil penetrated more readily throughout the land, and brought home to the comprehensions of the primitive races, among whom they were designed to circulate, the actual change in the ruling power, far more effectively than elaborate proclamations by sound of trumpet or beat of drum, which would have secured a short lived and less abiding expression of triumph.

One of the peculiarities of this issue, which also gives it an independent value, is that it furnishes the single instance, in the entire range of Altamsh’s Kufic or Persian coins and

¹ و در شهر سنه ثلث و عشرين و ستامه عزيمه فتح قلعة رتبه
مصمم نوبود و آن قلعة در حصانت و متنات و استحکام در تمام
مماکت هندوستان مذكور و مشهور است و در توابع اهل هند
جنین آورده، اند که هفتاد و اند باشاح بایی آن قلعه امده بودند
و هیچ یکی را فتح آن حصار میسر نشد بعد از مدت جند ماه در
شهر ثلث و عشرين و ستامه برست بندگان او بفضل آفریدگار
فتح شد

Tabukat-i-Nasiri, 175

Elliot's Historians, ii. 324; Perishtah (Brigge), i. p. 210; Elphinstone (edit. 1866), p. 374. See also note to coin of Shahr Sháh, from the same mint, ṣafra, for a description of the fortress itself.
inscriptions, of a counterpart definition of his original Türkî name, the correct expression of which is still undetermined; and though the Hindi version may carry but little positive authority in the matter, it gives us probably the pronunciation as orally delivered by his Türkî officials to the Indian Pandits who transliterated the name for the local die engravers.

Malaya Varma Deva, of Kālînjar, Narwar, etc.? 

No. 48. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 to 56 grs. Samvat, 1282 = A.D. 1225. 1

Prinsep’s Essays, pl. xxv. fig. 17; Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1865, pl. xviii. figs. 25, 26, p. 126.

A

crudely executed
figure of the
Kābul horseman.

Sri Mat Malaya
Varma Deva.
Sam(vat) 12...

Shams-ud-dīn Altamsh, on the conquest of Rantambhor. 

No. 44. Silver and copper. Weight, 53 grs. Samvat, 1288,
A.H. 623 = A.D. 1226. (No. 14, pl. i.)

 CENTRE.

السلطان ایلتمش

MARGIN.

ضرب ... عشیرین وستماهی

1 Other dates extant on coins, S. 1280, 1283, and S. 1290.
Cháhara Deva. Narvar Coins.

No. 45. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 to 59 grs.

Samvat, 1303 = A.D. 1246.

Engravings, J.A.S. Bengal, 1865, pl. xviii. figs. 27, 28, p. 126.

- Figure of the horseman, scarcely recognisable.

Sri Mat Cháhada Deva.

Sri Hamirah. Horseman.

No. 46. New variety. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.

My cabinet.

Obverse—السلطان الأعظم السمس السلطان

Reverse—Horseman, as in Muhammad bín Sám’s coin, No. 5, pl. i.

No. 47. Silver and copper. Weight, 46 grs. Common.

No. 17, pl. i.

Obverse—شمس الدنيا والدين السمس

Reverse—Sri Hamirah. Horseman.


No. 18, pl. i.

Obverse—شمس الدنيا والدين ايلسمش السلطان

Reverse—Sri Hamirah. Horseman.

No. 49. Copper. Weight, 44 grs. Rare. Multán.

Obverse—Square area, within a circle, with a dotted margin.

Rent dell sultan

Reverse—Area, as in No. 19, pl. i.,  فرب ملتان

1 Other dates range on down to S. 1311.
The orthography of Multān on the coin is simply ملتان without any dots, which for a long time made me hesitate in admitting the present reading, but which is now fully established by the legend on coins of Uzbeg Pāî; and I have singular confirmation of the disregard of the true sounds of m and b, prevailing at this period, in the fact that many MSS. of the Tabakât-i-Násiri—the original of which was of nearly contemporaneous composition—define the name as بلتنائ, a circumstance which has led to amusing confusion in the printed edition prepared in Calcutta by Maulawis Khadim Husain and 'Abd-al-Hai (1864), whose geographical knowledge of Northern India seems to have been strangely defective.

No. 50. New variety. Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs. Rare.

Obverse—Horseman, with traces of Sri Hamidrah, in Hindi.

Reverso—Legend in square

Kufic letters.

 shovel

الدنيا والدين

ابو المظفر المطمش

1 There are otherwise many variants of the name. Huen Thang (A.D. 640) is said to give the Chinese transcript of Mihlbastin (Paris edition, i. 210; iii. 173, 401). Mas'audi (A.D. 912) has بيت الذهب وهو المولتان (Paris edition, i. pp. 151, 375). Alibiruni calls it مؤنطان المعمور (Reinaud, 212). The astrolabe described by M. Dorn (St. Petersburg) givesION. The Marâsid Al I'tîlîa' supplies مولتان, and a variant in ملتان. See for early accounts of the place Elliot's Historians, i. pp. 23, 27, 29, 35, etc.


*Obverse*—Horseman, with the word "السلطان" at the top of the field, as in No. 30, pl. i., of the succeeding issues.

*Reverse*—Square area. Legend in crude Kufic:

السلطان

عظم شمس

الدنيا ولدين

No. 52. Copper. Weight, 26 grs. Rare. No. 19, pl. i.

*Obverse*—عدل.

*Reverse*—السلطان.

No. 53. Copper. Weight, 24 grs. Common. No. 20, pl. i.

*Obverse*—عدل سلطان

*Reverse*—حضرت دهلي.

No. 54. Copper. Weight, 28 grs. Rare. No. 21, pl. i.

*Obverse*—شمس.

*Reverse*—श्री समस दीप Sri Samasa din.

No. 55. Copper. Weight, 25½ grs. Rare. No. 22, pl. i.

*Obverse*—عدل. Ornamental Kufic letters.

*Reverse*—شمس.

No. 56. New variety. Copper. Weight, 40 grs. Rare.

*Obverse*—عدل in open Kufic letters, with a six-pointed star above and below the word, encircled with a dotted margin.

*Reverse*—شمس with ornamental *tughra* scrolls and dotted margin.

No. 57. Copper. Weight, 25½ grs. No. 23, pl. i.

*Obverse*—سلطان.

*Reverse*—التمش.
THE COINS OF


Obverse—عَدُلِيٍّ in a circle with two stars and dotted inner margin. Reverse—A modified outline of the ancient typical Bull, with चौसम? or चौसम:

I was on the point of closing the long descriptive list of the coins of Altamah, when Colonel Guthrie opportunely received from Major Stubbe, among his latest acquisitions in India, the most remarkable curiosity of the entire Pathán series at present known. The gold piece in question was apparently struck at the important strategical position of Nagór,¹ in the second year of Altamah's reign.


Above the Horseman,

Below the Horseman,

Margin—[علي المعظم
شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو المظفر المسما
التقب بزما
امير المومنين

The authoritative portrait of Altamah, on horseback, is highly interesting, giving, as it does, so many curious details of costume and equipment. As a work of art, the die is defective in the extreme; but still it has its merit in revealing an original and independent representation of the monarch. The general design follows one of the exceptional models of the coinages of Ghor and Herāt,² where the horse is seen at full charge, and the rider with upraised mace, the special

¹ Lat. 27° 10', long. 73° 50'; about 60 miles N.E. of old Mundor (Jodhpur), and 60 N.W. of Ajmir. Tod, ii. 16, 16; Elliot, ii. 328, 342, 370; Aîn-i Akbari, ii. 80. Minhāj speaks of Mundor as in the Siwalik, and he frequently adverts to "Hānśī and the Siwalik" in conjunction, while, on the other hand, he seems to exclude Pinjore from that range.

² J.R.A.S. xvii. p. 205, No. 57; and, doubtfully, No. 53 plate, fig. 9.
weapon of the great Mahmūd. The form of the saddle, the seat of the horseman, the chafran or head-armour of the steed and his erect tail, all seem to point to Tūrki ideals. The head-dress of the king is likewise peculiar, but the oblitereted outline on this piece does not admit of our tracing the crest, whether of helmet or of crown; the flowing fall at the back of the head is remarkable, and has something of a Sassanian air; the well-grown beard of the king completes the picture.

It is, moreover, specially to be noted that as the device follows Ghori models, so the coin itself adheres to the standard of the Northern dināra, and has nothing in common with Indian weights.

If the leading device is faulty in its treatment, the definition of the letters of the legends is still more imperfect; the legends themselves are also clearly in the initial or transition stage, from the fixed tenor of the old routine to the adaptation of new associations. The المعظم points to a moderately early period of the reign of the sovereign, but the hitherto unexampled use of the term Al-kutb, i.e. the "Freedman," or dynastic dependent of Kutb-ud-din Aibāk, more distinctly limits the date to a period when Altamsh had not quite emancipated himself from the halo of his late master's reign. The بُنَّواَن أمير الومینین "in the time of the Commander of the Faithful," which follows the القطب, is also an unusual form, but the expression is quite legitimate, and is replaced later in the day by the more enduring synonym of في عهد "in the time of," or "during the domination of." The reservation in regard to the name of the Khalif is also suggestive—conquest in India had been too quick, and the new kingdom was still too isolated, for the Muslim adventurers in that ultima thule to have been taught the personal designation of the Pontiff, to whom all civilized Muslims confessed allegiance. The proposed reading of the two words on the field may require justification; the ضرب is certainly more like مرب, but the superimposed dot settles the question; the نکور also might be preferably transcribed نکر, and Nagor itself is usually written with the long a ناکور. Moreover, if these two words ran together in a full marginal legend, the prefix ب would be indispensable, but in the open field, in parallel cases, the name itself was left to stand alone in its monogrammatic form. The marginal legend, the most important record of all for the absolute determination of the history of the piece, is not only incomplete, but the outlines of the letters are unusually crude and ill formed. The difficulties, however, are limited to the word preceding the obvious اسماء, and to the unit or decimal preceding the equally clear وستمانی. The former is but of little import, and we may, for the present, admit Dinar, or some of its equivalents; but the date is of the first consequence, and all things considered for ثمان نسم, an optional alternative, best meets the requirements of the case.

Inscriptions of Shams-ud-din Altamsh.

F. Inscription over the doorway of the second story of the Kutb Minār.

امیر با تمام هذه العمارۃ الملك المنتد من السما شمس الحق
والدین ایلمشم السلطانی ناصر امیر الومینین
G. Inscription on the Upper Circlet of the Second Story of the Minaret.

السلطان الأعظم شهنشاه المعظم مالک رتاك الامم مفرح ملك
العرب و العلم من الله ففي العالم شمس الدنيا و الدين غياب
السلام و المسلمين تاج الملك و السلاطين باست العدل في العالمين
على الدولة القاهرة جلال الملة الباهرة المويد من السماء المظفر على
الإعداء شهاب سما الإغفاء ناجر العدل و الرازة عجز ممالك الدنيا
و مفرح كلمة الله العلیا ابو المظفر ايلیتسم السلطاني ناصر امیر
المؤمنین خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه واعلى امرة وشانه

H. On the third story over the doorway, and on one of the bands, similar laudatory titles are repeated, with the addition of
يمين الخلافة and other minor variations; and finally the epi-
graph (I.) over the doorway of the fourth story attributes the
entire structure (with obvious error) to the time of Altamah.

The modification of his titles and designations alone would
indicate the deferred execution of this inscription.

امربهذه العمارة في ايام الدولة السلطان الأعظم شهنشاه المعظم
مالک رتاك الامم مولى ملك الترك و العرب و العلم شمس الدنيا
و الدين معز السلام و المسلمين ذوالامين و الامام وارث ملك
سليمان ابو المظفر ايلیتسم السلطان ناصر امیر المؤمنین

I. Inscription of Altamah on one of the centre arches at the
Kuth, date A.H. 629.

J. There is also an imperfect inscription of Altamah on the lower
belt of one of the minarets of the mosque at Ajmir. Gen. Cunningham
gives the following as the still legible portion:

سلطان السلاطین الشرق اب المظفر ايلیتسم السلطاني ناصر امیر المؤمنین

Archæological Report, 1864-5, p. 9.—The Emperor Bâbar has preserved a
notice of an inscription of Altamah, which he saw on the gate of the Ursodhi, at
Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh, heir apparent of Altamsh.

(See p. 45, supra.)

No. 60. Silver. Weight, 163·1 grs. Unique. British Museum.

**Obverse.**

السلطان الأعظم
ناصر الدين والدين
ابو المنظفر محمود
شاه بن سلطان

**Reverse.**

في عهد الإمام
المستنصر بالله امير
المؤمنين لله

Margin, illegible.

The incidental details of the legends restrict the assignment of this piece to one of two individuals, the eldest or the youngest son of Altamsh, the latter of whom was authoritatively designated by the identical name and title of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd,¹ in 626 A.H., after the decease of his brother, the cherished heir apparent to the newly-established Muslim empire in the East. The introduction of the formula, "during the reign of (the Khalif) Al Mos-

¹ سلطان اسلام ناصر الدين محمود جنانچه وارث اسم ولقب أواست
Tabakát Násir, p. 181; Blāqī and Nāṣir, p. 201.
tansir billah," on the reverse, limits the ultimate date of the possible issue of the coin, not so much to the fifth month of the year A.H. 640, when that Pontiff died, but with clear local effect to A.H. 641, when the knowledge of his death was officially declared by the substitution of a new name in the mintages of the capital of Hindustán.

The younger son, who was destined eventually to succeed to the throne of his father at Dehli, in A.H. 644, after the intervening reigns of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz Sháh, Rízíáz, Mu'izz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh, and Alá-ud-dín Mas'úd Sháh, in all, however, extending only over a space of eleven years posterior to the death of Altamsh, must, under these conditions, have been but of tender years, and, though, at this juncture, promoted to the titular honours of an elder brother, in no position to exercise authority in his own person, and still less likely to have had medallic tribute paid to him by his father, should such motives be suggested in reference to the unique specimen under review. To the first-born, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, no such objections apply: he was very early invested by his sire with the administration of the important government of Láhor, and in A.H. 623 advanced to the higher charge of the dependencies of Oudh, from which quasi outpost he was called upon to proceed against Hisám-ud-dín 'Awz (No. 4 in the list of Governors, p. 8), who had already achieved a very complete independence in the province of Bengal. Here his arms were fortuitously, but not the less effectually successful, so that he had honours thrust upon him even to the Red Umbrella and its attendant dignities, whatever the exact

---

1 Silver coins of Alá-ud-dín Mas'úd. 
2 His title is usually limited by Minháj us Siráj to ملک مسطار (pp. 177, 181, 201); but on one occasion مسلطان crops out incidentally in the Court list, where, in his place among the sons of the Emperor Altamsh, he is so designated (p. 178).
measure of power these heraldic insignia carried with them. He was, moreover, specially associated with the Pontifical recognition of the Indian empire, and was permitted to share the Khil'ats (or robes of investiture) forwarded on the occasion from Baghdad.

I should prefer, therefore, to attribute the issue of this piece to the close of his career: the lowest range of the date, as its legend declares in indirect terms, is antecedent to 641 A.H., but the technical and manipulative treatment of the crude Kufic epigraph brings it into close connexion with many of the introductory specimens of the Imperial Mint, and the tenor of the legend equally removes it from the terms of the later phraseology imported into the Dehli series. We have seen that there was some confusion as to the correct orthography of the name of the Khalif on the coins of Altamsh (Nos. 29, 30), in the irregular addition of بالله and باصر الله to the name of Mustanṣir; but the introductory coin No. 28 defines the title simply as المستنصر امير المومنين "Al Mustanṣir, Commander of the Faithful," a definition which is adhered to on the money of Riziah and her successors. In this particular the present specimen follows the exceptional example of some of Altamsh's coins, No. 30, and appends to the name the ultimately discarded بالله. The imperfect arrangement of the legend, necessitating a filling-in of the vacant space, at the conclusion of the ordinary sentence, with an extraneous word, also identifies the piece with Altamsh's tentative issues, and the caligraphic conjunction of the initial ل lâm with the body of the succeeding ال ālām in امام indicates the teaching of a similar school of die engravers, which is rendered more marked by the insertion of so many short vowels, a practice which was not long persevered in.
The adjunct of "Sháh" after the name of the prince, and the abstinence from the use of the title of Sultán at this point, is suggestive, as also is the tenor of the final order in lieu of the imperial order, which may possibly refer to the still current employment of the simple order of the days of his more humble pretensions, to be seen on so many of the father's coins, pl. i. figs. 20, 23.

ALTAMSH'S ALIEN CONTEMPORARIES on INDIAN SOIL.

The alien intruders upon Indian territories, whether kings or generals, who have left numismatic evidence of their presence in or near the dominions of Altamah, number no less than seven. Their careers can scarcely be made to follow

1 Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, the second son of the then ruling Emperor, is called by his own special biographer, Minhaj us Siraj,

Sultán al-mausum Naṣr al-din wa al-dim al-muhammud al-sultan
(pp. 9, 177, 178, 201, etc.), which is in contrast to the nominal adjunct so constant with his predecessors, Firuz Sháh, Bahram Sháh, Mas'ud Sháh. On one occasion only does the additional Sháh appear in a substituted list of Altamah's court (p. 178), where the text gives—1. Sultan Nasir-ud-din . . . 2. Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud; and at the end, after the name of Rukn-ud-din Firuz Sháh, comes "Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Sháh."

2 William Erekine, in his latest work on "Balábar and Humáyún" (London, 1854), gives a summary of the various Mongol and Türk tribes, and their early seats, which has an important bearing on the successive invasions of India.

"The tribes which we include under the name of Tatar (properly 'Tátár'), consist chiefly of three great divisions or races, all differing from each other in manners, institutions, and language. 1. The Tunguses and Manchus in the east of Asia, north of China. 2. The Mongols, or, as they are called by the Persians and Indians, the Moghuls, who occupy chiefly the middle portion north of Tibet, nearly as far west as Turfan, and part of the desert between that and Tsaid; and 3. The Turks, who for many centuries have possessed large regions that extend on the west of the Mongols from the desert of Kobi, having for their southern boundary the mountains of Khâshgar and Pâmür, Khorâsan, the Caspian and Black Sea; the Don and Volga on the west, and Siberia on the north. But some few tribes, both of Mongols and of Turks, are to be found in the limits thus
any very exact sequence, but the general order of their action on the history of Hindustán will perhaps be sufficiently preserved in the arrangement now adopted.

II. Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Khárizmi.
III. Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin.
IV. Changiz Kháín.
V. Hasan Karlagh.
VI. Uzbeg Páí.
VII. Násir-ud-dín Kubáchah of Sind.

The dynasty of the Khárizmian kings, from their first dawn of independence to their last scion, the heroic Jalál-ud-dín, is as follows:

A.H. COMMENCED A.D.
1. Kutb-ud-dín Muhammad bin Anuštágí, 491 ... 9th Dec. 1097.
2. Jalál-ud-dín Ataiz (آنز) ... 521 ... 17th Jan. 1127.
3. Táj-ud-dín I Arslán (أيل أرسلان) bin Ataiz, 551 ... 25th Feb. 1156.
4. Sultán Sháh bin I Arslán ... 567 ... 4th Sept. 1172.
5. Alá-ud-dín Abúl Muzaffar Takash bin I Arslán ... 589 ... 7th Jan. 1193.
6. Alá-ud-dín Abúl Fath Muhammad, bin Takash ... 596 ... 23rd Oct. 1199.
7. Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin, bin Alá-ud-dín Muhammad ... 617 ... 8th Mar. 1220.

marked out as peculiarly belonging to their respective ranges. The Túrks are the most extensive and numerous of the three races” (vol. L p. 9, 10).

"Alá-ud-dín’s troops were chiefly Túrkman and Cancales” (D’Ohsson, i. 196; Price, ii. 405).

"Chagís Kháín’s grand army was a mixed assemblage of many tribes and races. The Tétak tribe formed the advance” (Erakine, i. p. 384).

Saif-ud-dín Aghrák’s forces, during his governorship of Pesháwar in 617 A.H., were composed of “Khoulloudjes (Arabe) and Túrkmanes.” Yamín Malik’s troops, the same period, were Túrk “Cancales.”—D’Ohsson, i. 299, 300, 303.

1 Ibn Asir, Kdamil Àlameddín, Tornberg’s Arabic text, p. 103; Freqhn. Num. Muham. 145, and Opuscula postum, by Don, 1855, pp. 58, 252; Price, Mahomedan Hist. ii. p. 389; Petis de la Croix.
The silver coins of this Sultán, of which there are three varieties of types, scarcely affect the series of Indian issues, beyond the monogrammatic record of the ancient Mint of Perwán, whose proximate silver mines contributed so much to the currencies of the south. The mixed silver and copper coins, on the other hand, are strangely identified with the early traditions of the Kábul Brahmans, and show how firmly
the dominant heraldic device held its own, both among their own home tribes for succeeding generations, and equally received acceptance from so many foreign invaders of the soil.

No. 62. Copper. Weight, 68 grs.

Obverse.
Horseman in Tughra, to the left.
Legend arranged in vacant corners of the general device.

Some specimens have outer margins with بسم الله, etc.


Obverse—Horseman in Tughra.
Reverse—Full front face in Tughra.

The palpable and obvious legends usually inserted in the vacant spaces around the leading device are seemingly omitted in this specimen, but on closer examination the flowing lines of the figure of the Horseman are seen to be composed of crypto-writing, arranged with considerable skill, so that an ordinary observer would scarcely detect the departure from the standard design of the earlier mintages. It is more difficult, however, to say what is and what is not designed to be conveyed in this elaborate monogram, but I fancy that I am

1 These cyphers or monogrammatic enigmas found much favour with the Turks, as may be seen in the Ottoman Sultan’s complicated Tughras composing the ordinary central device of the currency of Constantinople. The earliest example, in this series, is that of Urkhân bin Usmân, A.H. 728 (Marsden, No. 379). The Tughra or monogram of سليمان بن إبراهيم خان (A.H. 1099) is described by Marsden “as produced by a fanciful distortion of the characters that express the name” (p. 404).
able to trace a considerable portion of the authorized Muhammadan *Kalimah* محمد رسول الله 1

On the reverse is to be seen a most eccentric Chinese-looking pattern, which resolves itself, on examination, into a full-front human face. The Arabic word عدل occupies the vacant space on the forehead, while the eyebrows, nose, and cheek-bones are formed after the composite design of a strung bow, with the arrow in position pointing downwards, its forked point representing the nostrils. Two simple dots below the bow-string, one on either side of the arrow, answering for the eyes, complete the picture. Traces of Kufic

1 My comments, in 1868, on a parallel piece, were to the following effect:—

"In the absence of the coin itself, it would be rash to speculate upon the true purport of this obverse, or the tenor or language of the partially-visible legend. The reverse figure of the horseman, however, offers tempting material for the exercise of analytical ingenuity.

"That the lines of which the device is composed were originally designed to convey, in more or less intelligible cypher, some Moslem formula, there can be little question. How much latitude in the definite expression of the letters was conceded to the needful artistic assimilation to the normal type, it may be difficult to say. But, though I should hesitate to pretend that my eye could follow the several letters of the full *Kalimah* محمد رسول الله, I have no doubt that those words are covertly embodied in the lines forming portions of the general outline. The Kufic مسند is palpable, when reading upwards from the front of the butt-end of the spear; portions of the رجل may be traced along the spear itself, and the rest may be imagined under the reasonable latitude already claimed; and, lastly, the اللام may be conceded in virtue of its very obvious final دل, which appears over the horse's hind-quarters.

"The practice of reticulating words and names into device embellishments for the coinage was in high favour with the Sâmâni mint-masters; and we have numerous instances of a similar tendency among the Muhammadan races who succeeded to much of the civilisation of the Buhârâ empire, with the modified boundaries or altered seats of government, incident to their progress towards the richer provinces of the south. To confine myself to a single exemplification, however, I may cite the Ghaznavi (Lahor) currency, with the recumbent Bull in Tughra on the obverse, and with a Kufic legend on the reverse. In the lines of this ancient and revered Hindû device may here be read, in all facility and in two several directions, the name of the prophet of the Arabs, مسند."—Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxxiii. fig. 2.
writing are to be seen on the margin outside the square frame which encompasses the face.

No. 64. Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 grs. For engraving, see Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. fig. 4.

**Obverse.**
No device.
Legend in a square area.

السلاطين
عظم سكندر
المانسي

**Reverse.**
Bull in Tughras, much debased, and similar in outline to the Peshawar coins of Muhammad bin Sám (No. 12). Traces of Hindi letters at the top علاء at the foot علاء؟

No. 65. Copper.

**Obverse.**

السلاطین
العظم ابن
الفخ محمد

**Reverse.**
The Kurman style of Bull, with the word كرمان inscribed on its side.

No. 66. Variety, with the Mint كرمان introduced below the Bull.

No. 67. Silver and copper.

**Obverse.**
No device.
Legend within a square.

السلاطين العظم علاء الدين والديين

**Reverse.**
Horseman, to the left.
محمد بن السلطان تكش

No. 68. Silver and copper. Weight, 53 grs.

**Obverse.**
as in No. 67.

**Reverse.**
Horseman to the right.
محمد بن السلطان

bاميان

1 606 A.H. "On inséra dans son monogramme (Tougras), à la suite de son nom, l'épithète d'ombre de Dieu sur la terre, et l'on voulut, selon la coutume, ajouter à ses titres celui de second Alexandre. Il préféra le surnom de Sindjar, qui lui parut de meilleur augure, parce que le prince soldjoukide avait régné quarante-un ans."—D'Ohsen, l. 182.
No. 69. Silver and copper. Small coin, Dehiwal form.

**Obverse.**

السلطان
عزالدنيـاو
الديـن سکدر
المـالـی

**Reverse.**
The usual Indian type of Horseman to the right.

Traces of سبکه:

No. 70. Variety, in copper. Engraved as No. 8, pl. xx.

Ariana Antiqua.

Other varieties of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad's coinage, to which it is unnecessary to refer in detail, bear the names of the mints of پرثور, پشوار, Zamindawar, Hirát, Parshor (Pesháwar), طالقان, سفورتان, Tülkán, and Şufürkán (Shubbergán). See J.R.A.S. xvii. p. 203, etc.

**Coins of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarin.**


E. I. Museum.

**Obverse.**

جلال الدنـیا
والدين منـکبیرن
بن السـلطان

**Reverse.**

النـبـاصر
لدین اللـه
امیرالمؤمنین

---

1 Almost all the Oriental authorities concur in writing this name as Mankbarni, and D'Ohsson explains its meaning under that transcription as Mangon, “l'éternel,” sîrî ou sîraî, “donné.”—Dieu-donné, i. 195. The final consonant, in the name, on this coin is absolutely identical in form with the terminal letters of دی، الدین and سلطان، بن. There are, however, no dots, and the last syllable may possibly be intended for ن، which compromise I have adopted throughout.
No. 72. Silver and copper. Weight, 45 gns. Rare.

Obverse—Horseman to the left, in broad lines.

Reverse—Legend in square Monumental Kufic

No. 73. Silver and copper. Weight, 44 gns.

Obverse—Horseman to the left, treated more after the Indian style.

Traces of श्री, etc.

Reverse—In ordinary Persian letters,

Coins of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin (minted in India).

No. 74. Silver and Copper. Weight, 54 gns.

Horseman.

श्री इमरान: श्री बच्चाब्दरी

Sri Hamirah. Sri Jalaladin.

N.B.—I had some doubts, in early days, as to whether these coins should be preferably attributed to Bishtā, Jalál-ud-dín Firūs, or to Jalál-ud-dín Khārijān Shāh. I have now definitively fixed upon the latter assignment on more exact Palaeographic grounds, in addition to the arguments already brought forward against the claim of Firūs upon the typical evidence.—Pāṭān Sultāns, 1st edition, p. 30.

No. 75. Copper.

Obverse. Reverse.

السلطان المنصور بن السلطان العظم

Obverse—Dotted margin within double lines.

Reverse—Dotted margin inside a single circle.

Coins of Changiz Khán.

No. 76. Silver. Weight, 47 gns. Rare. India Museum.

العدال المنصور

العظم لدين الله

امیر المومین جنرخان
No. 77. Silver and copper. Weight, 63 grs.
(Similar in treatment.)

Same legend.

No. 78. Copper. Kurmán.

Similar legend.

The name of Kurmán is written in precisely the same combined form as that in use on the later coins of Alá-ud-dín; that is to say, with the end of the ر run into the succeeding م.

*Saif-ud-dín Hasan Karlagh.*

Saif-ud-dín Hasan Karlagh,¹ one of the leading generals of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarnin, was left in charge of the dependencies of Ghor and Ghaznî by that Monarch on his departure

---

¹ Lorsque Ogoux fils de Cara-khan... était en guerre avec ses parents... il triompha de ses ennemis, conquit plusieurs pays, et devint un monarque puissant. Il convoqua, pour lors, une assemblée générale, où il témoigna sa satisfaction à ses parents, à ses officiers et à ses troupes, et donna à ceux de sa famille que l'avaient secouru, le nom d'Onïgours, qui veut dire, en turc, alié, auxiliaires. Ce nom demeura à tous leurs descendants, quoique, dans la suite, diverses circonstances leur aient fait donner des noms particuliers, comme ceux de Coriouse, Calladies, Kipteas, etc.; mais le nom générique d'Onïgours ne leur en a pas moins resté.—D'Ohsson (quoting the Jam‘î ul Tuwarîkh), i. 436. On compte encore parmi les branches des Ogouzes: 1, Les Onïgours; 2, les Céncaliz; 3, les Kipteas; 4, les Carlouks; 5, les Calladies; et 6, les Agatchéris. Ces nations turques habitaient la partie occidentale de l’Asie centrale. Le territoire de Onïgours s’étendait jusqu’aux monts Altâi; à l’est de cette chaîne on trouvait des peuples qui appartenaient, les uns, à la race turque, les autres, à la race tatarée ou mongole (l. p. 423–4).
from India, en route for I'rák, in A.H. 620. He is noticed casually by Minháj us Siráj about the year A.H. 624, as securing his possessions from the plundering Moghuls of Oktai, by coming to terms with the invaders, and he seems to have been able to hold his own, in an uncertain way, till A.H. 636, when the Moghul advance in force finally drove him down towards Sind and Multán. This occurred during the reign of Rizálah, and his eldest son seems to have been deputed to attend the court of that Queen, where he was received with distinction, and complimented with the charge of the dis-

1 The following is the Arabic text of Abulfeda relating to Hasan Karlagh, iv. 384:

و لما عزم جلال الدين علي العبادعلي جهه العراق استناب پاہولن
اژیک علي ما كان يملكه من بلاد الهند و استناب معه حس قراق
والقب وفا ملک وفي سنة سبع و عشر و رضماية طرد وفا ملک
بهولن اژیک وراعلة وفا ملک علي ما كان يليه پاہولن من بلاد الهند


2 Tabakát-i-Nasiri (Calcutta text) p. 388.

ملك سيف الدين حس قزل رحمة الله عليه جند كرت جهن
ديد كه استيال كفارا جر بطرق خدمت دفع نمبوت كردا
ایسان بوجه خدمت پيش بار آمده و شجعان قبول كردا

Khádemat is here used in the sense of tribute, as in the recognized Khádematná, etc. شجعان is a word the derivation of which is not quite clear, but the meaning here seems to refer to "receivers" or collectors, rather than to Prestors, or "the Police," as Johnson interprets the term شجعان.

3 Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 392.
district of Baran (now Bulandahahr); shortly afterwards he disappeared, with little ceremony, and rejoined his father. Saif-ud-dín Karlagh was eventually killed, during this same year, at the siege of Multán, by a troop d'élite of Eiz-ud-dín Balban, Kishlu Khán, the governor of Uchh and Multán, on

1 As the town of Uchh has of late sunk into obscurity, I quote a brief account of its monuments from a description of Uchh-Sharif, in 1836, by Munshi Mohan Lal:—"*Uchh,* surnamed *Uchh-Sharif,* or holy Uch (lat. 31° 12', long. 72° 3'), which, being near the junction of the united streams Hesudrus, Hyphasis, and Hydaspes, attracts the notice of geographers, contains numerous sepulcres of the Muhammadan saints. The oldest of all is that of Sháh Saif ul Hâqqâri. A miserable wall without the roof enrours the dust of the above saint. If I write the respective names of the saints of *Uchh,* along with their incredible miracles, I fear to enlarge my remarks; however, I presume to lay before you the endeavours of my feeble pen in regard to Sháh Stid Jalál and his reputed descendants. He died 600 years ago, and is said to have lived to the age of 160. His tomb, which is inside a large but gloomy room, is elevated about five spans from the surface of the ground. It is a very simple building, adorned with the poor, frail and old canopy. Both of his sides have ten graves of his offspring. They are distinguished by one rising above the other, which fill the entire position of the room. None of them have any kind of inscription.

"The tomb where the body of the Makhdúm rests is a very poor structure, but raised about seven feet high from the ground, which is concealed by numerous other graves. There is nothing admirable in the shrine of the Makhdúm. Three small openings give light inside the apartment. The following Persian inscription, written on the door, presents us with the date of the Makhdúm's death:

تاریخ کشت جمال جهان بیجمال شاه
تاریخ بود هفستصد و هشتاد و پنج سال

"When the world was covered by darkness without the countenance of the Sháh (or Makhdúm). The date was 785 of the Hijri era.'

"The mausoleum of Makhdúm Jahantán Jahan Gasht is annually visited by the pilgrims of the distant country. It is very odd that the tombs of the saints of the holy *Uchh,* who possessed such boundless reputation and respect in days of old, have been not adorned with any kind of architectural beauty, either by their posterity or believers, except that of 'Bibi Jind Vadi,' (or the lady of the long life). It is situated on the verge of a precipice, which commands the old bed of the Punjab rivers, and gives a romantic view. The southern part of this magnificent sepulchre has been unfortunately swept away by the late inundations. The door opens towards the East, and has a sight of the other two cupolas. They excel in material and handsome the others of *Uchh,* except that of 'Bibi Jind Vadi.' 'Bibi Jind Vadi' was one of the descendants of Sháh Stid Jalál,
the part of Rizíah. Saif-ud-dín's generals, however, having succeeded in concealing the fact of his death, were able to secure the surrender of the town.\(^1\)

*Saif-ud-dín Al-Hasan Karlah.*

No. 79. *Silver.* Weight, 169·5 grs. (Six specimens E. India Collection.) A.H. 633, 634.

لا الله إلا الله
محد رسول الله
المستنصر بالله
امير المؤمنين

Dotted margin . . .

سيف
الدنسيل والدين
ابو المظفر الحسن
قلخ

Margin—

ذه هذه الدرهم في شهر

ستة وثلاثين وستماية

These coins are apparently Camp Mintages, as they bear no trace of the name of a Mint city: in their weight and general outline they seem to have been imitations of Altamah's new currency.

of whom I have already spoken. The dome in which she sleeps is erected of burnt bricks, which are cemented by mortar. The whole of the edifice is ornamented by various hues and lapis lazuli of the celebrated mines of Badekshán. The size of this grand building may be estimated at about 50 feet high, and the circumference 25.”

\(^1\) Tabakát-i-Násiri, p. 270.
No. 80. Copper (or mixed copper and silver). ¹
Rajput
Horsemman
with बी इनरें: ¹
Sri Hamirah.

No. 81. Silver and copper. Coin in the East India Collection.
Rajput
Horsemman.
Traces of
बी इनरें:

If this coin is correctly attributed, it would prove that Hasan Ḵarlagh’s father’s name was Muhammad.

No. 82. The most curious coins of Hasan Ḵarlagh, however, are those of the “Bull and Horseman” type, with Hindi legends, which follow the model of the Dehlivâlas of Kubâchah of Sind. The name is oddly expressed, and the letters themselves are peculiar in their forms; but I have little doubt that the correct reading of the legend is as follows:

स्री हसन जुरच śrī Ḵasan Kurla.

These coins, I believe, have never either been figured or published. They are common enough, as I have some six of them in my own limited collection.³
Nāṣir-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Hasan Karlagh.

I anticipate the due order of epochal sequence, in order to dispose of the coins of Hasan Karlagh's son in immediate connection with those of his father.

India (1863-4), certain speculations upon the attribution of these pieces, which are in many respects so opposed to my own deductions as to make me desire that the General should state his case in his own words, without further comment on my part, beyond a momentary expression of dissent from the association of the Bilingual coins of Nāṣir-ud-dīn (Arian. Ant. 432; Prinsep's Essays, i. 37, pl. ii. 14), with the other specimens, which, on paleographical grounds, I should be disposed to sever, both in time and locality, from the rest of the crude Sindian issues.

"The first invasion of Indo-Scythians must have caused a very general displacement of the ruling races . . . The vanquished would naturally have sought refuge in the less accessible districts around, and to this period, therefore, I would refer the settlement of the Auras and Janjubas in the Salt Range to the south, and of the Gakars in the hilly tracts of Pharwala and Dangali to the north-east.

"Or their subsequent history but little is recorded; we know only that they were divided into several branches, and that they had all become Muhammadans. In the time of Bāber, the ruling tribe, called the Karlukī Hazāras, held the districts on both banks of the lower Suhán River, under their chiefs Sangar Khán Karluki and Mirza Malī Karluki. At a still earlier period the chiefs of this tribe, Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad, had asserted their independence by striking coins in their own names. The coins of the father are of the well-known Bull and Horseman type, with the legend in Nāgari letters, 'Sri Hasan Karluk.' The coins of the son are of three different kinds, two with Persian characters only, and the third with Persian on one side and Nāgari on the other. On the last coin there is a rude figure of a horse surrounded by the chief's name, Nāṣir ud-dīn sāb ud din, in Persian letters, and on the reverse his name in three lines of Nāgari letters, Sri Muhammad Karluk. On one of the Persian coins this chief calls himself Muhammad bīn Hasān Karluk (محمود بن حسن كارلخ), and on the other he takes the titles of uš-Mašt uš-Muṣ'am Muhammad bīn Hasān. From the types and general appearance of these coins their date may be fixed with certainty as coeval with those of Altamish and his sons, or from a.d. 1210 to 1265. The accuracy of this date is strongly confirmed by Feraštah's account of the first campaign of Nāser-ud-dīn Mahmūd, the youngest son of Altamish. In July, a.d. 1247, Mahmūd proceeded to Multān, and then to the bank of the Chenāb, from whence he sent his Vāzir towards the mountains of Jud and the provinces on the Indus. . . . According to this account, the rebellion lasted for about twelve years, from the death of Altamish, in a.d. 1235, until the close of Mahmūd's campaign in the end of 1247. It is to this period that I refer the assumption of independence by Hasan Karluk and his son Muhammad. The age of the coins, as I have observed, corresponds exactly with the date of this rebellion, and the coins themselves before are found in greatest number in the rebellious districts of the mountains of Jud" (pp. 8, 9).
There is little to be gathered concerning the history of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad, the son of Hasan Karlagh. He seems to have succeeded to his father's dominions in Sind, and to have been held in consideration as a powerful monarch.¹ He was still reigning on the arrival of the Ambassadors of Hūlagú Khán in A.H. 658.²

Násir-ud-dín Muhammad bin Hasan Karlagh.

No. 83. Copper. Weight, 53 grs. Coarse Persian legends covering the entire surfaces of the coin.

No. 84. Copper. Weight, 46 grs. Small coin, with dotted margins, similar to the pieces of Jalál-ud-dín (No. 47, J.R.A.S. p. 383, vol. ix.) and Changis Khán (p. 385, ibid.).

Ustég Pat, Commandant in India, on the part of Jalál-ud-dín Mankbarin.

General Cunningham, who, in the course of his official duties, was once permanently stationed at Multán, secured, during his residence at that ancient city, among many other local curiosities, some small coins hitherto unassigned, which, in spite of a somewhat unorthodox orthography, I am in-

¹ Tabakht-i-Násiri, p. 320.
² Ibid. pp. 316–321. See also Elphinstone's History of India, p. 379.
clined to appropriate to Usbeg Pai, the commandant associated with Hasan Karlagh on Jalál-ud-din’s departure from India. They may be described as follows:—

No. 85. Silver and copper (or copper?). Weight, 25 grs.
(2 specimens.)

Circular area. | Square area, with dotted lines and dotted margin.

"Yuzbak Pai."²

Marginal legend defaced.

"Struck at Multán."

SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF KUBÁCHÁH.³

A.H. 600. Appointed to the Government of Uchh by Mu’izz-ud-din, shortly after his defeat at Andkhod; takes possession of the entire country from Sirhind, Kohram, and Sirsuti, to Daibal and the sea; and assumes the ensigns of royalty.⁴

¹ See ante, p. 93; and Elliot’s Historians, ii. pp. 395-6, 554, 553.
²可谓是 "a foot," is quite authorized.
³ The derivation of this name, or rather lašā, or nickname, is uncertain. Taking it as coming from کب "coat, cloak, or jacket," it would mean "small or short tunic," possibly a postin (پوستین), but if we are to accept the Hindi transcription of Kubácháh, it would answer to "rather fat," "plump."
⁴ The Tuhfat ul Kirám (A.H. 1188) gives the following details regarding the tributaries of Kubácháh:—"During the reign of Arám Sháh his dominions were parcelled into four divisions: one of which, comprising Multán, the whole of Sind and Uchh, became subject to Násir-ud-din Kubácháh. At that time the following seven Ránás in Sind were tributary to Multán:—1. Ráná Buhmar Sai’ta Ráthor, of Dabra, in the district of Durbela; 2. Ráná Sanír, son of Dhamáj, of the tribe of
A.H. 613. Lâhor taken by Shams-ud-dîn Altamah, who appoints his eldest son, Nâsir-ud-dîn Mahmûd, to the charge. Kubâchah encounters the troops of Tâj-ud-dîn Ilduz, and is defeated. Many celebrated personages take refuge at his Court. Jalâl-ud-dîn defeated on the Indus, in Rajab, 618 A.H. He subsequently enters Sind; and his general, Uzbez Pâî, overcomes Kubâchah near Uchh.

621. The Mughals under Tûlî Nauîn besiege Multân for forty days.


624. Minhâj us Siraj, the future author of the Tabakât-i-Nâsiri, arrives at the Court of Kubâchah at Uchh.

624. Rabî’ul awwal, Shams-ud-dîn, presents himself before Uchh. Kubâchah is besieged in the Fort of Bhakar.

625. (27, Jumâd ul awwal), Uchh surrenders. (Jumâd al Akhir), Bhakar taken. Kubâchah drowns himself.¹

No. 86. Silver and copper, with a large proportion of silver.

Weight, 50 grs.

86a. Silver and copper, the copper predominating. Weight, 53 grs.

For engravings see Ariana Antiqua; Prinsep’s Essays, xxvi. 28, 29; Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iv. pl. xxxvii. 28, 29.

HORSEMAN.

Sri Hamirâh.

Subordinate Mint mark below the Horseman ω.

BULL.

Sri Kubdohâ Surîdân.

At times, when space will allow, the final ঝ is duly inserted.

Kureja Samma, residing in Tâng, lying within the district of Rûpâh; 3. Jaisar, son of Jajji Mâchhi Solanki, of Mâniktara; 4. Wkia, son of Pannûn Channûn, who was established in the valley of Siwi; 5. Channûn, son of Dity, of the tribe of Channa, resident at Bhág-nai; 6. Jinya, son of Wariâh, of Jam, or Hemakot; 7. Jasodhan Akra, of Mîn-nagar district of Bâmbarwa.”—Elliott’s Historians, i. 340.

¹ Minhâj us Sirâj, Persian text, pp. 142, etc; Tâj ul Maâsr, MS.; Elliott’s Historians, i. 340; ii. pp. 155, 201, 233, 241, 281, 302, 326, 396, 554, 563; Desguignes, i. 414, “Cobah”; D’Ohsson, iii. 4, “Caradjia.”
These coins seem to be direct imitations of the original Dehliwálas; they vary in the apparent quality of the metal, from nearly pure silver to a very close approach to simple copper, in the same way that the composite pieces of Altamsh exemplify the prevailing system of giving effect to the gradational values of the public money, by the mere modification of the proportions of silver and copper assigned to each division of the currency, without any corresponding alteration in the weight, form, or stamp of the discriminated pieces, or any indication calculated to guide the trader beyond the mere glint and superficial touch of the coin tendered.

Kubáchah's circulating media seem to have been exclusively confined to this species of coin, which, though possibly minted according to the varying boundaries of his dominions, from Sirhind to Bhakar, are invariably termed Dehliwálas (دھلیوال), and evidently constituted the only coined money in ordinary use, as we find his son, 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad, presenting Altamsh with ten million Dehliwálas as a peace-offering; and when the contents of Kubáchah's treasury came to be examined by his conquerors, they are reported to have found the large sum of fifty million pieces ("500 laks") of this description of money.

No. 87. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.
For illustrations see Ariana Antiqua, pl. xx. 19; Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvi. 47; J.A.S. Bengal, iv. pl. xxxvii. 47.

Horseman.
With the local form of

Below the Horse there is occasionally a small device, varying from O to the star, so frequent on the parallel Ilduz series.

1 M.S. Táj ul Maásir; Elliot's Historians, ii. 242; Prinsep's Essays, i. 326.
The Hindi legends on these bilingual coins are marked by several peculiarities in the outlines of the letters, which remove them from eastern sites and the normal style of writing current in Dehli and Ajmír, and associate them more directly with the proximate localities of Sind and the lower Punjab. The व b is formed like a modern व p, with a dot in its centre; the च ch is similar to an ordinary Bengali च c, in which respect it accords with Cháhar Deva's Ajmír type of the letter. The य y in the Hamtrah follows the fashion of the Gupta Inscription at Allahabad, and reverses the ordinary turn of the lower limb of the letter.


Rukn-ud-dín Firúz Sháh, after having been exercised in the duties of government during his father's lifetime, at Budaon (625 A.H.) and Láhor (630 A.H.), became heir apparent on the decease of his elder brother, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, in 626 A.H., and finally succeeded to the masnad in Sh'ábán, 633 A.H. His brief reign of six months and twenty-eight days, marked only by his indulgence in low tastes and debaucheries, may be said to have been altogether barren of public events, with the exception of the various coalitions of the nobles, organized to defeat the intrigues and cruelties of the Queen Mother (Sháh Turkán), which indirectly led to the Sultán's dethronement.

The Persian coins of this king are rare; engravings were given in my original work on the Pathán Kings (see pl. i. Nos. 24, 25, 26), but the attribution of the pieces was confessed to be uncertain. New examples, however, have fully confirmed the assignment then proposed; and enable me to
improve the previous reading from the Sultan al-Mumin al-Din bin al-Sultan to the following, which is taken from one of Col. Guthrie's coins.

No. 88. Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.

Horseman.
With traces of
Sri Hammirah.

The Sultan al-Mumin al-Din bin al-Dini al-Mumin bin al-Sultan.

The numeral of the earlier described coins is quite correct, the Sultan, like his father before him, having advanced his honorary title. The imperfect rendering of the name may be authoritatively corrected into the usual "al-Dini al-Mumin bin al-Sultan." I am now also able to cite specimens of Rukn-ud-din's Hindi currency.

No. 89. Silver and copper. Weight, 51 grs. Very rare.
Stewart collection, B.M.

Horseman.
Sri Hammirah.

Bull couchant.
Suriyâ Sri Ruknâ dîn.
On the Jhâl of the Bull III?

The celebrated Queen Regnant of Muhammadan India—Rizíah, the daughter of Altamah—succeeded to the possession of the capital on the fall of Sháh Turkán, the mother of Rukn-ud-dín, in the third month of A.H. 634. The ministers at her father’s court had been scandalized at the preference he had proposed to extend to a daughter, in supercession of the claims of adult male heirs to the throne; but the Sultán justified his appointment—the execution of which was, however, evaded—alike on account of the demerits of his sons, and the gifts and acquirements of his daughter, who had been brought up under a degree of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordinary Muslim households, aided by the advantages incident to the exalted position occupied by her mother as the chief and independently-domiciled wife. The sovereignty of females, it must be remembered, was not altogether at variance with the ideas of the semi-nomad race, whose leading court in Central Asia gave a tone to the feelings of their Muslim fellow countrymen, so many of whom were now domesticated in the south. From the days of Tomyris the right to govern was admittedly open to the sex, and proximate examples were offered for Indian imitation in the persons of the two princesses of Khárizm, Malikà Turkán (567 A.H.) and Turkán Khátún, the latter of whom held more absolute sway1 than

1 D’Ohsson, i. 198, etc. The use of an independent seal and signet shows that there was no possible reserve in the claims put forth. The tenor of the legend of which has been preserved. "Son monogramme (Tougra), qu’elle écrivait de sa main sur ses ordonnances, se composait de ces mots: Protectrice du monde et de
her own son, 'Alá-ud-dín, whose outposts encircled nearly half of Asia.

Rizáh's direct rise dated from the capture of the Queen Mother, so that, in effect, the transfer of dominion was from one female to another. The author of the Tabakát-i-Násiri, a forgiven rebel,\(^1\) enlarges warmly upon the many merits and accomplishments of his Sovereign, lamenting, however, that all these excellencies should have been nullified by the single defect that the court chroniclers of the period were unable to return her birth in the list of males.\(^2\)

After the brief reign of Rukn-ud-dín Firúz, who freely exemplified by his misconduct his father's prophetic reproach, Rizáh succeeded in establishing her supremacy, and Eastern eyes witnessed the singular spectacle of an unveiled and diademed Empress—the first in India—directing the hosts of Islám under the canopy of the immemorial regal seat on an elephant. Rizáh's early inauguration was attended with no inconsiderable danger and difficulty, arising from the opposition of the Vazír and the organized military resources of the various governors of provinces, who hesitated in conceding their allegiance. Eventually, however, to quote the expression of Minháj us Siráj, quiet was established throughout the empire, and Rizáh's sway was acknowledged from

---

\(^1\) (A.H. 635). "There being no possibility of resistance, this well-wisher of the victorious government, Minháj-i Siráj, together with the Chief Justice of Gwalior and others, came out of the fort and proceeded to Dehli."—Elliott's Historians, ii. 335.

\(^2\) اما جبرم از حساب مردان در خلقت نصب نیافت بود اینهمه

Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 217. Text, p. 185.
"Daibal to Lakhnautí." Things were thus prosperous with her, when the drawback of her sex first developed itself. It was not that a virgin Queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged herself in a submissive Prince Consort, or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the Palace Harem—but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction, and led her to prefer a person employed about her Court, an Abyssinian moreover,¹ the favours extended to whom the Túrki nobles resented with one accord.

In A.H. 637, the Empress proceeded in person to quell an outbreak on the part of Ikhtíar-ud-dín Altúníah, governor of Sirhind. In the engagement that ensued, Jalál-ud-dín Yakút, the Abyssinian, was killed, and Rizíáh, as a prisoner, possibly with scant ceremony, found herself introduced into the Zandána of the conqueror, who shortly afterwards advanced upon Dehli in the hope of recovering the sovereignty, to which he had thus acquired an adventitious claim; but his army was in turn defeated, and he himself and Rizíáh met their deaths near Kaithal, in the month of Rabí’-al-Áwwal, A.H. 638.²

¹ A like prejudice against this race does not seem to have been felt by Arabs in Baghádád, as the Khalif Mustánšir, whose name figures in the place of hierarchical honour on the coins of Rizíah, had a successor born to him by an Ethiopian slave. It is true that Must’assim did not do much credit to his hybridism.—D’Ohsson, iii. 207, 243.

² Tabákát-i-Náširi, pp. 183-5, 251; Elliot’s Historians, ii. 334; Briggs’s Férísháth, i. 230; Ibn Batútah, iii. 167-8. The traveller from Tángiers (in or about 734 A.H. = 1333 A.D.), remarks, “Son tombeau est actuellement visité par des pèlerins, et regardé comme un lieu de sanctification. Il est situé sur le bord du grand fleuve appelé Djéfn, à une parâsange de la ville de Dihly.” See also SyÚd Ahmad’s “Ásár-ús-Sunnadeed,” p. 65, and Journal Asiatique (1860), p. 395.
No. 90. Silver. (Pl. i. fig. 27, and pl. vi. fig. 1). Weights, 165 
grs. and 167 grs. Lakhnauti.\footnote{It would seem from the orthography adopted in this the earliest record of the name of Lakhnauti (لکھنوتی) that the original Semitic transcription was designed to follow the classical derivation of Lakhmayavatt (لخمیاوات), which was soon, however, adapted to the more colloquial Lakhman (لکھم) by the addition of an \( \bar{a} \) after the \( k \), as لکھنوتی; in which form it appears under the first local Sultans (coins of Kai Kāda, pl. vi. fig. 2). Minhāj us Sirāj deposes to its elevation to the rank of the capital in supercession of Nuddeah by Muhammad Bakhtīār in the following terms—چجوں محمد بختیار آن مملکتاں ضابط—کرد شہر نویدها خربر بکذشت و بر موضعی کے لکھنوتی است (printed text, p. 161). The same author, at p. 162, gives a full account of the remarkable size, advancement, and general topography of the city as existing in 641 A.H. on the occasion of his own visit. It is difficult to say when the name of the town was changed to Gosw, a denomination which is never made use of by the older authorities. Ab’al Fasāl says, “Formerly it was called Lucknount, and sometimes Gour” (A.A. ii. p. 11); while Bedaoni gives a ridiculous version of the origin of the designation as being derived from Ghori گوری. He states—و محمد بختیار معااب و بخشانی گفا را ویران ساختہ مساجد و خواتین و مدارس کرد و دارالملک بنام خویش تنمیر فرمود کہ کور نام دارد. The obvious imperfection of the critical philology of the derivation, however, debars its reception, as does the}
No. 91. Silver and copper. (Pl. i., Nos. 28 and 29.) Weight, 47 and 49 grs. Very rare.

**Obverse**—سلطان الأعظم رضية الدنيا والدين

**Reverse**—Horseman and Sri Hamirah.

Until lately, the term Riziah was looked upon as conveying a name and not a title. The coins above quoted appear to demonstrate the contrary to be the fact: the silver medal negatively, inasmuch as it does not give Riziah as a name; and the copper coins positively, in displaying the Riziah joined to the ud dunya, etc. The Tabakát-i-Násiri, in enumerating the names of Altamah’s family, designates her as سلطان رضي الدين الساطر الدنيا والدين, and heads the chapter of her biography with the same designation of الساطر الدنيا والدين.

It will be remarked that the coins give the title of Sultán in the masculine gender, whereas all the rest of the Persian legend is duly couched in the feminine. This curious affectation of the superior sex in regard to her regal position accords with the accounts of Indian writers, that “changing her natural apparel” she “assumed the imperial robes.” Moreover, Minháj us Siráj generally speaks of her as بادشاه (p. 195).

Caustic alternative of كور = “grave,” which the often deserted site, under the speedy action of water and a semi-tropical vegetation, may have deservedly earned for it. But it is quite legitimate to infer that as قرة was the ancient name for central Bengal (Wilson, Glossary, *sub voce*; Albtrní, Reinsaud, Mem. sur l’Inde, p. 298), and so intimately associated with the tribal divisions of the indigenous Brahmanas, that the designation originated in the popular application of the name of the country to its own metropolis, and that the town continued to be called غمان in vernacular speech in spite of the new names so frequently bestowed upon it by its alien lords.
MINARET AT GOUR, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF BENGAL.

"One of the most interesting of the antiquities of the place (Gour) is a minar, standing in the fort. For two-thirds of the height it is a polygon of twelve sides; above that circular, till it attains the height of 84 feet. The door is some distance from the ground, and altogether it looks more like an Irish round tower than any other example known. . . . It is evidently a pillar of victory—a Jaya Shamba—such as the Kootub Minar at Delhi, and those at Oeo, Dowlatabad, and elsewhere. There is, or was, an inscription on this monument, which ascribed its erection to Firdu Shah. If this be so, it must be the king of that province who reigned in Gour A.H. 702-715, and the character of the architecture fully bears out this inscription."—Fergusson, ii. 528.

THE PROVINCIAL COINAGE OF BENGAL.

As Altamsh seems to have been the first to provide an imperial coinage for Hindustán, so his daughter Rizíah would appear to have taken the initiative in extending the silver

1 Initial Coinage of Bengal, 1866.
currency to the kingdom of Bengal. At least, as far as can be seen, her coins, minted at Lakhnauti, are the earliest specimens extant of the provincial issues of the south.

When Muhammad bin Sām had so far consolidated his early successes in India into a design of permanent occupancy, leaving a viceroy and generalissimo in Dehli, in the person of Kutb-ud-dīn Aibek, while his own Court was still held at Ghaznī, the scattered subordinate commanders each sought to extend the frontiers of the faith beyond the limits already acquired. In pursuance of this accepted mission, Muhammad Bakhtīar Khaljī, Sipahsādīr in Oude, in A.H. 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of Nuddeah, superseding that city as the capital, and transferring the future metropolis of Bengal to the proximate site of Lakhnauti, where he ruled undisturbed by higher authority, till his own career was prematurely cut short in A.H. 602.

Considering the then existing time-honoured system of valuations by shells— which would certainly not invite a

1 Ibn Batutah gives an account of the collection of the cowrie shells in the Maldivi Islands, from whence they were exported to Bengal in exchange for rice; the gradational quantities and values are detailed as follows: 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shell Name</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100 cowries</td>
<td>700 sāf (कसी)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>12 dindīr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

four dindīr were estimated as worth one gold dindīr, but the rate of exchange varied considerably, so that occasionally a dindīr would purchase as many as twelve dindīr, or twelve lakhs of cowries (French edition, iv. p. 121; Lee's Translation, p. 178). The Akbari notices that all the accounts of Subah Orissa were kept in cowries. Gladwin's Translation, ii. 16. The rates of exchange are given as follows:—

"4 cowries = 1 gunda, 5 gundas = 1 boory, 4 boories = 1 pun, 16 pun = khawun, (sometimes 20 puns go to a khawun), and 10 khawuns = 1 rupee." Sir H. Elliot mentions that "in India, in 1740, a rupee exchanged for 2,400 cowries; in 1756, for 2,600 cowries; and (1845) as many as 6,500 could be obtained for a rupee" (Glossary of Indian Terms, p. 373). "They were estimated in the revised currency scheme of 1833 at 6,400 per rupee" (Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 2). Major Bennell, who was in Silhet in 1767–8, speaking of the cowrie money, remarks: "I found no
THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.

hasty issue of coin—Muhammad Bakhtiar's acknowledged subordination to Kutb-ud-din, who, as far as can be seen, issued no money in his own name, it may fairly be inferred that if a single piece of money was produced, it formed a part only of an occasional, or special, medallic mintage, constituting a sort of numismatic proclamation, or assertion and declaration of conquest and supremacy alone, emblazoning probably the titles of the supreme Suzerain, and purposely avoiding any needless interference with the fixed trade by adventitious monetary complications, which so unprogressive a race as the Hindus would naturally be slow to appreciate.  

other currency of any kind in the country; and upon an occasion, when an increase in the revenue of the province was enforced, several boat loads (not less than 50 tons each) were collected and sent down the Burrampooter to Dacca." As late as 1801 the revenues of the British district of Silhet "were collected in cowries, which was also the general medium of all pecuniary transactions, and a considerable expense was then incurred by Government in effecting their conversion into bullion" (Hamilton's Hindostan, London, 1820, i. p. 196).

1 The author of the Tabakat-i-Nasiri has preserved some curious passages regarding the early coinages in Bengal. First he tells us, that on the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans they found quasi-indigenous Cowries sufficient for all the wants of trade, in contrast to the Jital, which constituted the recognized money of the neighbouring provinces of Hindustān. (p. 149.)

Subsequently, speaking of Muhammad Bakhtiar Khilji's arrangements in his new government, he goes on to say—

... and the measure, os wrote the king, which established a mint, with the title of the diners of the king...

The context of this passage would clearly imply that the coins, if any were really produced, were not issued in his own name, nor even in that of Kutb-ud-din, though in the tribute forwarded to that viceroy, he clearly acknowledges fealty. The intentional discrimination is seen in the terms of the sentence relating the assumption of independence by 'Ali Mardān, who is reported as saying:

chitrārāmāntāt, a phrase which appears indirectly to mark the arrogation of "umbrellas and public prayers," with a reserve about the numismatic symbols

...
This will, perhaps, be the most fitting occasion to review cursorily the rise and progress of the local coinage, and to summarize the leading features of the Bengal scheme, which has but an irregular and fitful bearing upon the Imperial currency.

The artistic merits of the produce of the southern mints, though superior in the early copies to the crude introductory issues of Altamsh, seldom compete with the contemporary design or execution of the Dehli die-cutters, and soon merge into their own provincialisms, which are progressively exaggerated in the repetition, until, at last, what with the imperfection of the model, the progressive conventionalism of the designers, and the ignorance and crude mechanical imitation of the engravers, their legends become mere semblances of intelligible writing, like Persian shikastah, easy to read when one can divine what is intended, but for anything like precision in obscure and nearly obliterated margins a very untrustworthy basis for the search after exact results.

The different local mints each followed its own traditions, and the school of art stood generally at a higher level in the eastern section of the kingdom, especially when Sonárgaon was held by its own independent rulers. The lowest scale of die execution, exemplified in the provincial series, was reserved for the capital of the united provinces under the kingship of Sikandar (Firúzábád, 769 A.H.). The numismatic innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak were felt and copied in the south, especially in the reproduction of the titular legends; but his own coins struck at the “city”—he would not call it the capital—of Lakhnautí, evince the haste of royalty. And the gradations are still more clearly defined in the acknowledgment of Altamsh by Ghias-ud-din 'Auz, in 622 A.H., where it is stated—

"رقبة خدمت در رقبة اتقيد آورد و سي زصير بل وهشتاد لک مال بداد و خبطم و سکه بنام مبارک شمسي کرد." p. 171.

Digitized by Google
and carelessness of a temporary sojourn, and, still worse, the hand of a local artist, both which short-comings may be forgiven to a monarch who, in his own imperial metropolis, had raised the standard of the beauties of Arabic writing, as applied to coin legends, to a position it had never before attained, and which later improved appliances in other lands have seldom succeeded in equalling.

The Bengal Sultáns, mere imitators at first, were original in the later developments of coin illumination, and the issues of the fully independent kings exhibit a commendable variety of patterns in the die devices, damaged and restricted, however, in the general effect by the pervading coarseness and imperfection of the forms of the letters. Then, again, the tenor of the inscriptions is usually of independent conception, especially in the refusal to adopt the ever-recurring kalimah of the Muslim mints, and in the suggestive mutations of titles assigned to the lieutenants of the prophet on earth, whose identifications they did not seek to trace, and whose very names they did not care to learn. So also was their elaboration of the titular adjuncts of the four Imáms uninfluenced by northern formula; many of which conventionalisms survived for centuries, till Shír Sháh, in the chances of conquest, carried these traditions with him, and incorporated them into the coinage of Hindustán, during the exile of the temporarily vanquished Humáyún.

The standard of the Bengal coinage was necessarily, like the pieces themselves, a mere imitation of imperial mint quantities, and the early issues will be seen to follow closely upon the proper amount in weight contemplated in the Dehli prototypes; but one of the curious results the Kooch Behár collective find determined is, that though the first kings on

the list clearly put forth money of full measure, their pieces were, in most cases, subjected to a well-understood Indian process of boring-out, or reduction by sweating, to the exact weight to which we must suppose subsequent kings had lowered the legal standard of their money, so that, although some of the silver pieces of Kai Káús and Fírúz have escaped the debaser's eye, and preserve the completeness of their original issue denomination, the great majority of the older coins have been brought down to the subsequent local standard of 166 grains, at which figure, in troy grains, the bulk of the hoard ranges; or, in more marked terms, 166 grains is the precise weight of the majority of the very latest and best preserved specimens, which must have been consigned to their recent place of concealment when very fresh from mints but little removed from the residence of the accumulator of the treasure, and may be held to represent new and clean coin which could scarcely have changed hands.

The intrinsic value of the money of these Sovereigns follows next in the order of the inquiry. This department of fiscal administration might naturally have been expected to have been subject to but limited check or control, when regulated by the uncertain processes of Oriental metallurgy; but, in practice, it will be seen that some of the native mintmasters were able to secure a very high standard of purity, and, what is more remarkable, to maintain a singularly uniform scale in the rate of alloy. In the case of the imperial coins subjected to assay in Calcutta, specimens spreading over, and in so far representing a sequent fifty-six years of the issues of the northern metropolis, vary only to the extent of six grains in the thousand, or 0.6 per cent. As the Dehli coinage proves superior, in point of weight, to the southern standard, so also does it retain a higher degree of purity;
the 990 and 996 of silver to the total of 1,000 grains, sinks, in the earliest examples of the Bengal mintage, to 989, from which figures it experiences a temporary rise, in possibly exceptional cases, under Bahádur Sháḥ, who may be supposed to have brought down, with his reinstated honours and the coined treasure so lavishly bestowed upon him by Muhammad bin Tughlak, on his restoration to the government of Sonárgaon, certain implied responsibilities for the equity and fulness of his currencies; while in the subsequent irregularly descending scale, 'Azam Sháḥ’s officials arrived at the most unblushing effort of debasement, in the reduction of silver to 962 grains.

Colonel Guthrie has obtained the following data from the assay of the various coins composing the Kooch Bahár hoard: "When the Bengal Asiatic Society made their selection of coins from the trove, they set apart four of each description for the mint, two being for special assay, two for the mint collection. The result of the assay was as follows (1,000 represents absolute purity)"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>DEHLI COINS.</strong></th>
<th><strong>BENGAL COINS.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Kai Kobád (A.H. 686) 990 and 996.</td>
<td>2. Bahádur Sháḥ...988 and 993.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Gházi Sháḥ of Bengal...989.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Ilíás Sháḥ (1st type) 989 ; (2nd) 982 ; (3rd) 988.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. 'Azam Sháḥ (1st type) 981 ; (2nd) 989 ; (3rd) 962 ; (4th) 977 ; (5th) 985.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A question that has frequently puzzled both Oriental and European commentators on the history of India has been the intrinsic value of the current coin at the various epochs they
had occasion to refer to, so that the most exact numerical specifications conveyed but a vague notion of the sterling sum contemplated in the recital by any given author. Numismatists have been for long past in a position to assert that the Dehli Tankah contained absolutely 173 grains, which would presuppose a theoretical issue weight of 174 or 175 grains, and a touch of nearly pure silver; but assuming this specific coin to have been a white or real "Tankah of Silver" (تنکه نقرة) a doubt necessarily remained as to what was to be understood by the alternative black Tankah (تنکه سیاه). Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, in his Tabakát-i-Akbari, seems to assign the introduction of these black Tankahs to Muhammad bin Tughlak, who notoriously depreciated the currency to a large extent before he resorted to the extreme measure of a forced currency, though it may be doubted whether any such depreciation would have been thought of, even if there had been time to effect the conversion, at the very commencement of his reign, to which period Nizám-ud-dín attributes the issues of these pieces, in the apparent desire of explaining the bare possibility of the possession of such numerical amounts as are stated to have been squandered in largesses by the newly-enthroned monarch. However, the real adulteration of the coin need not have extended much beyond the point indicated by the superficial aspect of his own Bengal mithages, and 'Azam Sháh’s coins of the same locality probably exceed that accusatory measure of debasement; while, on the other hand, Muhammad bin Tughlak, on reverting to specie currencies, after his futile trial of copper tokens, seems to have aimed at a restoration of the ancient purity of metal in his metropolitan issues, as I shall have occasion to quote a coin of his produced by the Dehli mint in A.H. 734, which has every outward appearance of unalloyed silver, and equally retains the fair average weight of 168 grains.
All these evidences would seem to imply that the Bengal ratio of purity was intentionally lower, and that a very slight addition to the recognized alloy would bring the local issues fairly within the category of black Tankahs. Such a supposition of the inferiority of the coinages of the southern kingdom appears to be curiously illustrated by Bāber’s mentioning that, in a.H. 932, a portion of the revenues of the district of Tirhūt, a sort of border-land of his empire which did not extend over Bengal, was payable in Tankah Nukraḥ, and the larger remainder in Tankah Stāḥ,¹ an exceptional association of currencies in a given locality, which can scarcely be explained in a more simple and reasonable manner than by assuming the lower description of the conventional piece to have been concurrent with a better description of the same coin, which constituted the prevailing and authorized revenue standard of the northern portions of the Mughal conqueror’s Indian dominions.

Seventh King (a.h. 637–639; a.d. 1239–1241).

The virtual accession of Mu’izz-ud-dīn Bahrām Shāh dates from the defeat of Rizlah, at Sirhind, in Ramazān 637 a.H., when the party advocating his claims became supreme in the capital, and was not deferred until after her murder by the Hindūs, at Kaithal, in Rabī’ul ḍakhir 638 a.H. This reign demands but scant preliminary comment, except to mark the second instance of the correctness of Altamāsh’s estimate of the ineptitude of his own sons.

¹ "Tirhūt-tribute (khandmatdu) of the Tirhūṭī Raja: 250,000 silver tankas (tankah nukraḥ) and 2,750,000 black tankas (tankah stāḥ)."—W. Erskine, Bāber and Humāyūn, ii, p. 541.
THE COINS OF

SUMMARY OF THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN.


639. (8 Safar). Badr-ud-dín's plot against the Sultán defeated; he is ordered to quit the capital. General disaffection is engendered against the Sultán in consequence of his severities in checking these conspiracies.

639. (16 Jumáá'dal 'ákhir). Lábor captured by the Mughals. Minháj us Siráj, at the Court of Dehli, appointed Kází of the kingdom. The army under the Vazír, Mahzab-ud-dín, marches to the Beás to oppose the Mughals.

639. (19 Sh'abán). The Vazír intrigues for the deposition of the Sultán, and returns with the army to the gates of Dehli.

639. (8 Zílk'adáh). The city is taken; the Sultán captured, and slain on the 17th.

Mu'izz-ud-dín Bahram Sháh.


Square area.

في عهد الإمام
المستنصر أمير
المومنين

Margins—

Obverse inner margin, in the spaces between the square area and the circular marginal line, in four detached divisions—

نامار أمير امو منين

1 The author mentions, incidentally, the distribution of a "sum of 3000 chitals" among some rioters the night before the surrender.
A second similar coin (considerably oxydized) weighs 169 grains. There are several coins of this mintage now known. I have a dated specimen of the same year, 638, and two new specimens of Bahrám's silver currency are quoted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1863, p. 35.

No. 93. Silver and copper mixed. Weights, 54 and 56 grs. Pl. i. figs. 30 and 31. Very rare.

*Obverse*—السلطان الأعظم معز الدنيا و الدين

*Reverse*—Horseman and (possibly) بُن سلطان

No. 94. Silver and copper. Weight, 54 grs. (Plate i., No. 32.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horseman</th>
<th>Bull</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sri Hamimrah</td>
<td>Suritán Sri Muqaidín.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These coins, as an almost constant rule, have the figure $\text{٦} = 6$ on the Bull's housings. If there are any other numerals, contributing to a full date, elsewhere run into the device, I have as yet failed to discover them.

No. 95. Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs. (Variety of 32, plate i.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horseman</th>
<th>Bull</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ची है....</td>
<td>.... मुलज</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This coin is of coarser execution than the ordinary specimens of this series. It also varies materially in the forms of the letters; the *i* follows the ancient rendering of that vowel $\bar{a}$,2 and the *j* adheres to the older shape of $\text{♂}$.  

1 In my previous readings I rendered this name as मुयासदिन Muyasadin. I now see that the third letter is an $\text{♀}a$; it is exceptional in its outline, but it accords with some examples of the exceptional $\text{♀}a$ on 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'add's coin, No. 101, infra.

2 Princep's Essays, pl. xxxviii, xxxix., fifth and ninth centuries A.D.; and the *j*, fifth and seventh centuries A.D.
No. 96. Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs. New.

(Variety of No. 30, plate i.)

Horseman.  ❧ السُلطان
Above which appears ❧ الاعظم معـ
              ❧ الامام الدولة
              ❧ بالرشاش

Eighth King (A.H. 639-644; A.D. 1241-1246).

The uncertainty of successions to Eastern thrones is prominently displayed in the present instance, in the elevation of two kings in one day. 'Izz-ud-dín Balban, a son-in-law of Altamsh, supported by a faction, assumed the sovereignty immediately on the decease of Bahrám; but, before night, he was supplanted by 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd, a son of Rukn-ud-dín Fírúz, upon whom the choice of the more influential nobles had fallen.

Summary of the Reign of 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd.

A.H. 639. 8 Zī'k'adah. Accession.

,, 640. Arrogance and assumption of the Vazír Mahzab-ud-dín, who is killed by the party of the Túrki noblesse on the 2nd Jumáda'l Awwal, 640 A.H.

,, 641. Minháj us Síráj, having resigned his office of Kázi, leaves Dehli on the 9th Rajab, on his two years' visit to the Court of Tughán Khán at Lakhnautí. 'Alá-ud-dín Mas'aúd, during these two years, extends and consolidates his sway. The Sultán releases his uncles, (Jalál-ud-dín and Násir-ud-dín), from confinement, and provides them with governments.

14 Safar. The author returns to Dehli, and is reinstated in some of his old offices.

Rajab. The Mughals, under Manguti, attack Uchh. The Sultán advances against them, but they retire without fighting.

644. The camp life and military associations are supposed to have had a bad effect upon the Sultán’s morals, and he takes to evil courses and uncontrolled cruelties; disorganization engendered in consequence. The chiefs and nobles invite Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd to occupy the throne.

23rd Muharram. The Sultán is imprisoned and dies.

1 I need scarcely say that I totally discredit the reported invasion of Bengal by the troops of Changiz Khán, in 642 A.H. (Elliot’s Historians, ii. 264–344; Dow’s Hindustan (London, 1770), i. p. 342; Briggs’s Ferishta, i. 231; Elphinstone’s History of India, 377). The error, so largely adopted, seems to have arisen from the mistranscription of the original text of Minháj us Siráj, where جاجنگر خان has been substituted for the leading passage—

و در شوال سنة اثنتي وربعين وستمائه كفار جاجنگر بدر كهنو ملدند

Stewart, in his history of Bengal (London, 1813, p. 62), had already pointed out that Ferishta was wrong, but he himself was mistaken in placing Jāñnagar in Orissa, instead of in Tipperah. The Persian text printed in Calcutta (p. 199) frankly admits the variant of جاجنگر in a foot-note, without venturing to correct the obvious inaccuracy in the body of the text, which the tenor of the concurrent events related at page 245 would fully have justified. (See also pp. 167, 163, 243, and Ferishta, Bombay lithographed edition of the Persian text, i. 122.) The author of the Tarikh-i Mubarak Sháh avoids the mistake by refraining from noticing the reported invasion. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, in his Tabakát-i Akbari, however, reproduces the error, and indulges in some speculations as to the route by which the Mughals entered Bengal (MS. text). In this he is followed by Badaoni, who adopts his text almost unchanged (Calcutta text, p. 88). An amusing muddle, which the Calcutta editors might have avoided by a moderate exercise of critical acumen, also occurs in their making Changiz Khán fight the battle of Farwán, north of Kábul, in the intra Gangetic town of Budaun (Calcutta text of Tabakát-i Násiri, p. 348). See also Dr. Lee’s Ibn Batutah, O. Tr. Fund, 97.
THE COINS OF

'Ald-ud-din Mas'ud Shāh.

Square areas inclosed in circles.


The marginal legends are the same on both faces.

N.B. The Khalif Al Mustansir died in 640 A.H.

No. 98 (pl. i. fig. 33). Silver. Weight, 167·5 grs. Dehli, A.H. 641.


Marginal legends duplicated—

No. 99 (pl. ii. fig. 34). Silver and copper. Weight, 50 grs.

Obverse—


Rev. Over the Horseman, 

No. 100. Silver and copper mixed. Coarsely executed dies.
Weight, 50 grs. (My cabinet.)

The Bull of Siva. 

Horseman, in toghra.

Legend—


See also the coin of the Khalif Mustansir, No. xxviii.a, p. 52, super.
No. 101. Silver and copper mixed. Finely cut and well finished dies. Weight, 46 to 50 grs.

Date, Samvat, 1300 = 1243 A.D. = 641 A.H.

Bull. Horseman.

Legend as above. Sri Hamirah.

On the Jhul of the Bull ग; on the headquarters, ॐ ॐ = 300.

For engravings see Prinsep's Essays, pl. xxvi. fig. 33; J.A.S.B. vol. xxxiv. (1865), pl. xxxvii. fig. 23.

A very remarkable outline is given to the initial ब, in the title of the Sultan, on these coins, the nearest approach to which, in modern type, would be represented by a combination of र or प, with a medial य prefixed to it, but shortened-up, so as to admit of the insertion of a dot at its foot, thus य. A similar outline (usually without the dot) is retained on the coins of 'Ala-ud-din Muhammad Shah (pl. iii. fig. 60). The earlier example of possibly the same letter, on the introductory Kabul silver series, adverted to in the note, p. 58, might be imitated in type by य or य. These dates were first detected by Gen. Cunningham. At the outset I was inclined to question the determination, as I had met with a coin of 'Ala-ud-din's, belonging to Major Simpson, which gave three dots after the ब, but I now see that this apparent increase was due to the imperfect execution of the die. Besides which, the discovery of a similar system of dating in the Vikramaditya era on the coins of Altamsh (p. 71) fully confirms the present system of interpretation.

No. 102 (pl. ii. fig. 35). Copper. Weight, 49½ grs.

Obverse—

Revorse—

No. 103 (pl. ii. fig. 36). Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs.

Obverse—

Revorse—Rude figure of a horseman of the Narwar type.

These coins partake of many of the characteristics of the unique
mintage of Arám Sháh, which may be traced not only in the peculiar reverse, but in the general coarseness of the die manipulation and the eccentric forms of the Persian letters.

No. 104 (pl. ii. fig. 37). Copper. Weight, 56 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الآعظم مسعود السلطان

Reverse—Rude figure of a horseman.

No. 105 (pl. ii. fig. 38). Copper and Silver. Weight, 41 grs.

Obverse—Bull. मछादिन Aladdin.


The annals of the major portion of the reign of "Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd," the second son of Altamsh of that name, have been preserved in elaborate detail by his special biographer, Minháj us Siráj, whose history extends only to A.H. 658, though an occasional prayer for Mahmúd's successor seems to show that the author survived his Sovereign. With a temporary intermission, the affairs of the kingdom were guided throughout by the strong will of the Vizír, Bahá-ud-dín Bañban, Ulugh Khán. It was, perhaps, as well for Násir-ud-dín that he had such support, for he seems, like the other sons of Altamsh, to have been but little fitted to dominate over his own turbulent nobles or to coerce the imperfectly conquered native races nominally subject to his sway. Though unassailed in repute, his tastes tended rather to an obscure and retired life, associated with the exercise of his penmanship, in the reproduction of Kuráns.


2 Ibn Batutah, on his visit to Dehli, had an opportunity of admiring one of these specimens of royal caligraphy.—French edition, iii. p. 169.
in which he excelled: a faculty which possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance upon the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters.

Summary of the Events of the Reign of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. 1


645. Capture of Nandana. The army advances to Karrá; attacks upon دلکی و ملكی. (See note, p. 66, ante.)

646. Ulugh Khan proceeds against Cháhar Deva. Bahá-ud-dín Aibeg killed before Rantambhor (11th Zil hijjah).

647. The Sultán gives his daughter in marriage to the son of Ulugh Khan.

648. Izz-ud-dín attempts to take Multán from Shír Kháñ, the brother of Ulugh Kháñ.

649. Izz-ud-dín revolts at Nágor; he is ultimately captured by Shír Kháñ at Uchh.


650. The Sultán proceeds towards Uchh and Multán; intrigues commenced against Ulugh Kháñ.

651. Ulugh Kháñ ordered to his estates in the Siwálik Hills and Hánse. The royal army proceeds against him, and Hánse is given to Sháháddah Rukn-ud-dín. Ulugh Kháñ establishes his head-quarters at Nágor, and carries on the war against Cháhar Deva. Shír Kháñ crosses the Indus.

1 Tabakát-i-Násiri, text; and Elliot's Historians, ii. pp. 345, et seq.; 365, et seq.
2 Gen. Cunningham identifies this place with Deco-kali, or the Na-po-ti-po-kin-lo of Huen Tsang, i.e. Nava deva kula, close to Rájgír, the fort of Alha and Udal, about 4 miles S.E. of Kanauj.
A.H. 652. Operations in Sirmūr and Pinjor, passage of the Jumna and the Ganges (at Miyápūr), and march along the foot of the hills to the Ramgunga, and on to Badáon. Confederacy of nobles in support of Ulugh Khán. Manoeuvring of the armies in Sirhind; peace made.

,, 653. The Sultán distrusts his own mother, who was married to Kutlugh Khán. Minháj us Siráj again appointed Kázi of the kingdom. Kutlugh Khán revolt, but is obliged to retreat before Ulugh Khán to Kálinjar.


,, 655. Izz-ud-dín Balban revolts. Kutlugh Khán joins him near Sámanā; they march to Dehli in the absence of the royal army, but are unable to hold their ground.

,, 656. The Sultán proceeds against the Mughals, who had entered Multán, but returns to Dehli without an encounter.

,, 657. The main army marches southward; repose and quiet in the capital. Tribute received from Izz-ud-dín Balban Uzbek in charge of Lakhnautí.

,, 658. Ulugh Khán is sent to coerce the Mewáis; operations against Malik, chief of certain turbulent Hindus, near the capital. Ambassadors arrive at Dehli from Hálákú Mughal.

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

,, 664. (11 Jumâd'al awwal.)
Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd dies.

Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd.

No. 106 (pl. ii. fig. 39; and Marsden, No. dxxiv).

Silver. Highest weight 168-8 grs. 25 specimens (4 specimens average 168-2 grs. and numerous coins touch 168 grs.) Dehli.
Dates observed, 654 A.H., 655, 656, 657, 658, 660, 662, 663.

1 Zía Barni, Persian text, Calcutta edition, p. 25; Tarikh Mubárak Sháhi MS. [length of reign given as 19 years, 3 months, 16 days]; Badsoni, Calcutta text, p. 94; Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 246.

2 The italic figures indicate the date of the particular coin described in the text and figured in the plate.
Násir-úd-Dín MAHMÚD.

السلطان الأعظم

ناصر الدنيا و الدين

ابو المظفر مصمود

السلطان

N.B.—Some of the coins retain the old term Sikka, "coin," in lieu of the Al Fissat, "silver." The early coins use the affiliative bin, the later ones ابن.

No. 107 (pl. ii. fig. 40). Silver and Copper. Weight, 51 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الأعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين

Reverse—

In front of the Horseman, سري هامتمرا. مصمود.

Above the Horseman, مصمود.

In the year 1854, a large hoard of these coins was discovered at Hánsí. I availed myself of the opportunity to have twelve of them (= 584 grs.) assayed by the usual native process of blowing-off the copper with lead. The result arrived at gave a total of 149 grains of silver, or an average of 12.4166 grains of silver per coin.

No. 108 (pl. ii. fig. 41). Copper? Weight, 54 grs.

Obverse—As above.

Reverse—The Narwar type of Horseman.

**Obverse.**

نامي
عدل

**Reverse.**

ضرب
دهلي

I have detached the subjoined coin from the ordinary suite of the mintages of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, because I am not quite certain about the finality of its attribution: it will be seen to differ from the ordinary pieces of Mahmúd in the more ample legend, the general style of the Persian characters, and in the adherence to the old practice of filling in one entire surface with the king's name and titles, as in the coins of Rizílah (pl. i. fig. 27, pl. vi. fig. 1), an arrangement which, in the metropolitan series, had for some time past given place to the insertion of duplicate marginal legends on either surface of the piece. This peculiarity may prove to be a mere indication of its issue from the Lakhnautí mint, where the earlier coins of Rizílah are now proved to have been struck; moreover, as bearing upon this point, it may be noted that the introductory coins of the local kings of Bengal (pl. vi. fig. 2, etc.), though they do not implicitly follow this older model, yet in no case do they display the duplicate marginal legends adopted in the northern capital. If these coins, then, are to be accepted as the produce of Bengal dies, the additional matter inserted after the Sultán's name may be expected to allude to some imperial intervention in the affairs of the southern province; or we may possibly have to seek for the name of the local Viceroy in the illegible portion of the obverse now engraved.
K. Inscription of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, engraved over the doorway of the Minaret\(^1\) at Allygurh, dated 10th Rjab, A.H. 652.

\[\text{Inscription}\]

\[\text{Translation}\]

This edict was issued during the reign of the greatest Sultan of the world, Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, following the death of his predecessor. He was succeeded by his son, who continued his rule. The inscription is dated 10th Rjab, A.H. 652.

\[^1\] It is with much regret that I learn that this ancient monument has been wantonly destroyed. With a feeling akin to shame, I have to add, that this was the deliberate act of my fellow-countrymen, the English officials in charge of the district in 1861.
It may seem to savour of the credulous antiquary if I confess to the belief that this interesting memorial represents the hand-writing of H. M. Nasir-ud-din himself. I do not affirm that he either outlined the characters on the stone, or even wrote out the full-size working copy; but I am under the impression that he indulged his favourite taste in designing both the matter and the manner of this record,—from the supreme monarch alone could have come such free laudation of the Vizir, in a document bearing their names in close juxtaposition. Many of the titles, from Kutlugh Khan onwards, had, we know, already been bestowed by the amiable king upon his prime minister, the effective guardian of his kingdom. Balban, all powerful as he was, would scarcely, in the presence of his sovereign, have called himself ملك العالم and Malik of Maliks of the East and China; and equally, at this time, might have desired to avoid the confession of his own quondam purchase by Shams-ud-din Altamsh. It must have been a relief to the King to be emancipated from the dull routine of copying Kurâns, and to be called upon to compose an original document which should give free scope to his practised penmanship. The writing, as preserved on the stone, is obviously peculiar, departing notably from the ordinary Kufic and Arabic characters employed by his predecessors at Dehli, and bearing traces of an individually developed style, accustomed to indulge in vagaries of calligraphy, which might not have been admitted in a more rigid school. But in estimating the real merits of the autograph of this regal penman, by the document before us, we must make the double allowance of the possible crudity of the stonemason’s work, and the obvious imperfection of the cloth impression from which the above Dallastype is reproduced.

Mahmúd leaving no male issue, the facile succession of his powerful vizír followed almost of course. Balban’s advent to the imperial throne marks an epoch in the political history of Muhammadan India, in his attempt to destroy the influence of the Túrkí nobles, who had formed a sort of ill-cemented military oligarchy, embracing forty of the slaves of Altamash,¹ who had risen to prominence during the weak governments of his successors. In effect, once a slave, now a king, the first use of his power was to endeavour to root out the very race of Túrkí bondmen among whom he himself had lately been numbered. In his own altered circumstances, legitimacy was to become paramount. The inalienable succession of his own heirs was now to be secured. The contingency under which he had risen was, for the future, to be rendered impossible. To this end blood was not spared; and in this spirit the lives of his own near relations were sacrificed with but little compunction. Further to secure his position, he organized a searching and all-pervading system of espionage; and having brought his army to the highest state of efficiency, seems, under the same inspiration, to have determined not to venture far away from his capital.

Instructive accounts have been preserved of the insecurity of the metropolis at the time of his accession, caused by the daring of the Méwátí, who penetrated into the streets almost at will, so that “the western gates of the city had to be shut at afternoon prayer.” Balban adopted vigorous and

effective measures against these plunderers, and, for the moment, so to say, exterminated the race. About this period, the disorganization of the neighbouring kingdoms, consequent upon the destructive inroads of the Mughals, drove illustrious men of varied nationalities to seek refuge in India. There, under a warmer sun, were assembled all the brightest ornaments of the Asiatic world, and, among them, no less than fifteen sovereign princes. So that, for a time, the old Hindú capital became the centre of Muhammadan civilization; and Dehli, imitating the viceregal court of Multán, shone with a splendour but little anticipated for it by its Muslim occupiers of a few short years before.

The unsparing rigour of the Emperor secured his supremacy almost unquestioned throughout his long reign, with the exception of the serious revolt of Tughral, the governor of Bengal (No. 15, page 8), who assumed the style and titles of an independent king, and succeeded in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length the Sultán proceeded against him in person, and one of his commanders coming upon the forces of the rebels somewhat unexpectedly, in a dashing spirit of chivalry, though at the head of only forty troopers, entered their camp at headlong speed, and struck panic into his adversaries by his very rashness. In the precipitate flight which ensued, Tughral was captured and slain, and the recovered kingdom of Bengal was placed under the charge of Násir-ud-din Bughrá Khán, the second son of the Sultán, by whom he was, at the same time, invested with many of the insignia of royalty. Balban's loss of his cherished son and heir, Muhammad, the governor of Multán, who fell in the hour of victory, fighting against the enemies of his race, the Mughals (A.H. 684), hastened the end for which, at the age of eighty, nature must already
have prepared the way; and the Emperor, in the language of his people, took the road to another world.

It will be seen that my sketch of this long and important reign deals with generalities alone, and is altogether deficient in the annals outlined on previous occasions: an explanation of this reserve is to be found in the change of the guiding historical authority. The loss of Minhāj us Sīrāj, who was an eye-witness to many of the facts he relates, a participant in many of the public events he chronicles, and a candid and conscientious narrator, is ill supplied by Zīā-ud-dīn Barni, a writer of little merit, wanting in arrangement, time-serving in his representation of incidents; and, as regards this particular section of his biographies, a mere hearsay compiler of crude tradition nearly a century after date.  

1 This is no new discovery of mine. I denounced our author in no limited terms in 1846 (Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.R.A.S., N.S., ii. p. 180); and as an immediate test, I may add that of the two exceptional dates given in the entire twenty years of Balban's domination, one is manifestly wrong. See also Colonel Lee's notice of this author, J.R.A.S., N.S., iii. p. 441; and Sir H. Elliot's and Prof. Dowson's remarks on the same subject, Elliot's Historians, iii. 98.

2 Zīā-ud-dīn Barni, in his Tarikh-i Fīrūz Shāh, gives the following account of his own work:— . . . "I deemed it advisable to exclude from this history everything which is included in the Tabakât-i Nāsiri, . . . and to confine myself to the history of the later kings of Dehli. . . . It is ninety-five years since the Tabakât-i Nāsiri, and during that time eight kings have sat upon the throne of Dehli. Three other persons, rightly or wrongly, occupied the throne for three or four months each; but in this history I have recorded only the reigns of eight kings, beginning with Sultan Ghīās-ud-dīn Balban, who appears in the Tabakât-i Nāsiri under the name of Ulugh Khān.

First. Sultan Ghīās-ud-dīn Balban, who reigned 20 years.
Second. Sultan Mu'in-ud-dīn Kaikubād, son of Sultan Balban, who reigned 3 years.
Third. Sultan Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrūz Khiljī, who reigned 7 years.
Fourth. Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, who reigned 20 years.
Fifth. Sultan Kub-ud-dīn, son of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn, who reigned 4 years and 4 days.
Sixth. Sultan Ghīās-ud-dīn Tughlāk, who reigned 4 years and a few months.
Seventh. Sultan Muhammad, the son of Tughlāk Shāh, who reigned 20 years.
Eighth. Sultan Fīrūz Shāh, the present king, who may God preserve.
I have not taken any notice of three kings, who reigned only three or four
The numismatic illustration of this period is likewise less diversified, the long repose of Mahmūd's reign allowed the mint arrangements to settle themselves into a fixed system, and the public money accordingly assumed a more permanent form, enlivened by commemorative medals or new adaptations of local currencies. Balban's rule is, however, identified with the first appearance of a gold coinage following the ordinary silver models already in circulation.

**Ghāds ud-dīn Balbān.**

No. 111. (Marsden, xxv.)


Circular Areas.

No. 112 (pl. ii. fig 42).

*Silver.* Highest weight, 167·5 grs. (Five specimens average 167·3 grs.). *Dehli.* Dates observed, a.h. 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 673, 674, 678.

months. I have written in this book, which I have named Tarikh-i Firḍz Shāh, whatever I have seen during the six years of the reign of the present king, Firḍz Shāh; and after this, if God spares my life, I hope to give an account of subsequent occurrences in the concluding part of this volume."—Elliott's Historians iii. p. 93.
Areas as usual in the current silver coins, consisting of a double lined square within circular marginal lines.

Margins as in the gold coinage, with the exception of the term Al Fizzat, which replaces the Al Sikka.

An innovation is to be noticed in the coinage of Balban, in the rejection of the words fi 'ahd, "in the time of," "under the auspices of," hitherto prefixed to the name of the Khalif on the medals of his predecessors. The last Abbasside Khalif, Must'asim, was put to death in 656 A.H. by the Mughal conqueror of Baghadád, Húlákú Khán. It has been the subject of remark, as exhibiting an apparent inconsistency, that Balban and other monarchs should have continued to quote the name of this prominent martyr of their faith long subsequent to his decease; its retention, however, may be considered as appropriate, as it was clearly intentional; for, pending the appearance of an acknowledged successor to the throne of Muhammad, no course could have been less open to objection than a continuation of this simple record of the last who had borne the mantle of the Prophet.

No. 113 (pl. ii. fig. 43). Copper, or silver and copper? Weight, 47½ grs. Common.

Obverse—السلطان الأعظم غياث الدين والدين

Centre—بلين Balban.
Margin—سُلْطَانُ الْمُفْتَرِضُ الْخَلِیفَةُ السَّلِیمَةُ مَفْتَرِضًا. Sri Sultán Gvasu dín.


Obverse—السلطان الأعظم

Reverse—غياث الدين والدين

No. 115 (pl. ii. fig. 45). Silver and copper. Weight, 26 grs. Rare.

Obverse—عدل غياثي

Reverse—حضرت دهلي
L. Inscription of Balban, a.h. 682—A.D. 1283.

The single Persian inscription of Balban hitherto discovered is engraved on the walls of the Jám’i Musjid at Gurmuktisar, in the Mirat district (lat. 28° 46’, long. 78° 10’). It is to the following effect:

مني هذه العمارة في عهد السلطنة السلطان الأعظم شاهنشاه
المعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر بلين السلطان ناصر امير
الموميين . . . . سنة اثني وثمانين وستمائة 183

But the most important record for the illustration and due assignment of the preliminary adaptive issues of the Pathan dynasty is furnished by an inscription at Pálam, in the Dehli territory, engraved during the reign of Balban, under the auspices of Uṭar, the son of Haripádi, and dated in Samvat 1333. This epigraph reproduces the Muhammadan names of nine of the leading monarchs of the race, in Devanagari characters. The inscription is historically unimportant, but it is curious in the preservation of the local nomenclature of the several kings, and the casual application of Indian titles of honour, ending with the Amir, assigned to the reigning Sultán. A full transcript and a translation of this inscription (in Urdú) were published by Syud Ahmad Khán in 1854, but as I was not quite satisfied with its data and details, I availed myself of the assistance of Ramsurn dás, the then Deputy-Collector of Dehli, who was so obliging as to secure for me a new and more exact version. This recension differed

1 This legend was copied for me, many years ago, by Syud Ahmad Khán.
2 This is an item of some importance in the discussion of the correct determination of the applicability of the title of Amir, on the early Dehli coins, to the reigning sovereign, to which I have adverted at p. 51.
materially from the text given in the *Asār us Sunadeed*, as may be seen from a comparison of the orthography of the names now given. I have unfortunately lost the revised document itself, but I had copied all that was of immediate value into my note-book, from which I extracted the names already published at p. 331, vol. ii. of my edition of Prinsep’s *Essays* (1858). I am the more particular in stating these facts, as I regret to learn from Gen. Cunningham that he had made many inquiries for the inscription on the two different occasions of his later visits to Dehli, “but that it could not be found, and was supposed to have disappeared in the Mutiny.”

M. Inscription of Uṭar (उटर) son of Haripāl (हरिपाल) originally recorded on the *Baoli* at Pālam (Lat. 28° 35', Long. 77° 8') in the Dehli territory, dated Sāwan badi 13 (बदी माघ १२३२) Samvat 1333 = 1276 A.D., A.H. 675.

1. शहाबुद्दीन *Sahābuddin*.
2. कुताबुद्दीन *Kutabuddin* with the title of भोपाल: *Bhopal*.
3. शमशुद्दीन *Samshuddin*.
4. फरेहशाह *Pherosh Shāh* with the title of बभावनिशिपति *Bhāva Bhāmī Pati*.

5. बहादुर *Bahadur* (Rislah).
6. नौजव़न *Nauzān*, title नृप: *Nirpa*.
7. बहादुर *Bahadur*, title नृपति *Nirpati*.
8. नशीरुद्दीन *Nashiruddin*, title प्रिथविद्र *Prithividra*.
9. बहादुर *Bahadur* *Gyāsadìn*, title श्रीसंगर *Sri Hammira*.

Mu’izz-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām is here called by the title he bore as commander in his early campaigns—both the brothers, Shams-ud-dīn, the senior, and Shahāb-ud-dīn himself, adopted new titular designations on the elevation of
Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sām (afterwards Ghīās-ud-dīn) to the throne of Ghaznī.¹

It will be seen that Arām Shāh, the third king of the ordinary lists, is not allowed a place in this summary. Rizīfah is designated by her title of Jalāl-ud-dīn, and neither her ordinary name nor her second title of رضیه الدین which appears on her Persian copper coinage (Nos. 28, 29, pl. i.), are alluded to.

Nripati, “king,” is the title applied to the great Mahmūd of Ghaznī on his Mahmūdpūr (Lahore) coins previously noticed.²


Once again the frequent tale of a dissipated king, with virtually ruling ministers, has to be told; varied only in the present instance in the extreme lengths to which the monarch carried his debaucheries, and his escape from the toils of one vizir only to fall under the subjection of a second, who eventually usurped his crown. We have seen that Balban’s surviving son, Nāsir-ud-dīn Mahmūd, Bughrā Khān, had already been installed in the kingdom of Bengal, which he seems to have been unwilling to quit, even for the higher honours of

١ قبل ازسلطنت محمد بن سام را شمس الدین میگفتند و برادرش شهاب الدین میخوانندند حجی بن سریر جهاندیاری تمکن یافت ملقب بسلطان غیاث الدین گشت و برادرش را معز الدین لقب دادند

² P. 48, suprd.
the imperial succession. The Sultán had, therefore, provided that Kai Khusrá, the son of his first-born "martyred" heir, should fill the throne of Dehli; but the party in power at the capital secured the immediate elevation of Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád, the son of Bughrá Khán. The youth is described as of an amiable disposition, and as having been brought up with such extreme strictness, that the liberty and licence of his new position proved too much for his self-control. Licentiousness was readily infectious at an Oriental Court, and the new monarch found no want of panderers and companions in his orgies.

The government was soon surrendered to the deputy, Nizám-ud-dín, one of whose earliest acts was the disposal of Kai Khusrá, as a preliminary to clearing the way for his own designs on royalty. The Nau Mughals, who had settled at Dehli, and who formed an important element in the body politic, were next assailed and massacred in detail, and few nobles felt themselves safe from the machinations of this all-powerful minister; reports of his designs even reached the Sultán's ears, only to be discredited and disregarded. But the most subtle scheme, for the furtherance of his own aims, conceived by Nizám-ud-dín, was the sowing of distrust between the father and the son, and persuading the latter to advance in force towards Bengal. The armies came

---

1 Balban had been urgent in pointing out to him how much more importance, in a political sense, attached to the possession of the northern capital—which in the limited experiences of those days seemed for ever designed to remain as the central stronghold of India. He added, in the same spirit, that "whoever held Bengal must needs be subject to the ruling power at Dehli."—Ziá Barní. Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 123.

2 "When Bughrá Khán heard that his son ... paid no heed to his letters, he resolved to go and see him, and wrote him a letter announcing his intention... This letter awakened the Sultan's affection... and several letters passed... It was at length arranged that the Sultan would go to Oudh, and that his father
in sight of each other near Oude, and encamped on either bank of the Sarjú; after certain preliminary peaceful advances, Bughrá Khán sent his second son, Kai Káús, to pay the introductory visit to his brother; this was responded to by Kaikubád sending over his own infant son, Kaiuoms, to be presented to his grandfather. This, again, led to the old king trusting himself frankly within the limits of his son's camp; and at the public Durbár, held on the occasion, natural affections so asserted their sway, in defiance of the pompous restrictions and ceremonials of Oriental Courts, that reconciliation was at once complete, and the two monarchs vied with each other in the endeavour to surrender the place of honour. The meeting, however, scarcely changed the political position of either party. Bughrá Khán was permitted to return undisturbed to Bengal, whose local throne was filled should come from Lakhnautí and meet him on the banks of the Sard. The Sultán's intention was to proceed privately (jaridá) to the Sard, but his minister opposed this, . . . observing that 'the journey was long, and that he ought to travel in state with an army. . . . Old writers had said that in pursuit of dominion fathers will slay their sons, and sons their fathers. Ambition for rule stifles both paternal and filial affection. . . . The Sultán's father had struck coins, and caused the kásuhs to be read in his name,—besides, he was the rightful heir to the kingdom, and who could foresee what would happen at the interview. The Sultán ought to proceed with his army in all state and grandeur. . . . The Rais and Ránas would then come to pay their respects; but if he travelled with haste, all reverence for the kingly office would be lost.' . . . His advice was taken by the Sultán, and he directed his army and travelling equipage to be prepared."—Zitá Barni. Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 130.

1 This remarkable interview has been made the subject of a poem, in 4,000 couplets, entitled the "Kirán es S'adain," by the celebrated Yämín-ud-dín, Abál Hasan, Amír Khusrú Dshahí, which was composed under the auspices of Kaikubád himself in a.H. 688. Those who are disinclined to encounter the tedious efforts and dull repetitions of Persian poetry may consult with advantage an exhaustive review and analysis of this work, by Professor E. B. Cowell, in the Journal As. Soc. Bengal for 1860, pp. 225–239. The date of the effective start of Ma'izz-ud-dín, from Delhi, on his march southward, is calculated by Professor Cowell to have been Rabi' ul awwal, a.H. 686, p. 230.
by his family after him for two generations, while the empire of Dehli speedily passed into the hands of an alien race.

But little remains to be said about Kaikubád's reign. On his return to his capital the objectionable vizír was quietly poisoned, and his place supplied by Jalál-ud-dín Khíjí, governor of Sámaná. The Sultán having now become paralysed, his son, of tender years, was placed on the throne, under the title of Shams-ud-dín, and the old Balbání Túrks rallied round him in the hope of saving the kingdom from the power of the Khíjís; but their measures to that end were of little effect, for Jalál-ud-dín having got possession of the person of the young prince, sent one of his followers to put an end to the dying Sultán, whose body was ignominiously cast into the Jumna.¹

*Mu'izz-ud-dín Kaikubád.*

No. 116 (pl. ii. fig. 46; Marsden, doxovii).

Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Average weight of 5 coins, 164·2 grs.

Dehli. Dates, 687 A.H. and 688 A.H.

السلطان الإفظم
معز الدنيا والديس
المستعصم امیر
ابو المظفر كيقباد
السلطان

Margins—

ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة سبع وثمانين وستة

¹ The Táríkh Mubírak Sháhi gives the date of this event as the 19th Muharram A.H. 689, Kaikubád's accession having taken place in A.H. 688, and not, as erroneously stated by Zíá Barní, in 685. As this is the single date given in the entire reign, it might have been hoped that it should be rightly given.—Elliot's Historians, iii. 125.
No. 117 (pl. ii. fig. 47). Silver and copper. Weight, 54 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الأعظم معز الدنيا والدين—Kaikutbudda.

Reverse— skeptical Sri Sultan Mu'jadin.

The old initial form of the letter ﷱ i is remarkable.

No. 118 (pl. ii. fig. 48). Copper. Weight, 51 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الأعظم

Reverse—معز الدنيا والدين

No. 119 (pl. ii. fig. 49). Silver and copper, or copper?

Weight, 59 grs.

Obverse. | Reverse.

عُلّم | نحشت

مغزى | دهلي

Twelfth King (A.H. 689-695; A.D. 1290-1295).

Jalal-ud-din Firuz having accomplished the revolution which transferred the imperial throne from the Turks to the Khiljis, proceeded with considerable caution in the consolidation of his own power. Among other prudent measures, he retained the young prince Kaimours as the ostensible Sultan for more than three months, and succeeded in inducing Malik

1 Zia Barmi professes to speak of the events of this reign as coming under his own personal observation (text, p. 175), and yet his opening date for the accession of Jalal-ud-din Firuz, i.e. 688 A.H., has to be corrected into 689 A.H. on the authority of Mr. Khurus. The Tarikh Mubarak Shahi concurs in this latter date. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad retains the 688, but Budaoni corrects his own version of the date into 689 (text, p. 166). Fereishtah has 687 A.H. (Briggs, i. 283. Bombay text, i. 164.)
Chhajú, the nephew of Balban, to leave the capital and proceed to his fief at Karra; and, as he distrusted the good-will of the people of Dehli, he removed his court to the site of the new town of Kilághari, on the Jumna, which had already been partially occupied by Kaikubád.¹

In the second year of Fírúz's reign, Malik Chhajú broke out into open revolt, and, aided by the old Túrki party and numerous contingents of Hindustáni troops, advanced towards the capital.² The Sultán, on the other hand, was warmly seconded by his Khiljí adherents, and his disciplined warriors easily defeated the indigenous levies; he then endeavoured to gain over the captive nobles by clemency and conciliation, even Chhajú himself was spared. In reply to the expostulations of his courtiers, he attempted to justify this unwise leniency by his unwillingness to shed Muslim blood, and the hope that he might thus convert enemies into friends. The single instance in which retributive justice was allowed to run its course was infelicitous, as the individual who was sacrificed chanced to be a pious Darvesh, Sidi Maulá.

¹ The exact site of Kilághari was S.E. of Humáyún's Tomb and N. by W. of Khírrábád, which latter positions are duly marked in the plan of Dehli which illustrates this work. In 1808 the Jumna had materially changed its old bed, which lay much to the westward of the course here indicated, following a bend inwards, which left Kilághari on a bold promontory.—Journal Archeological Society of Dehli, A.D. 1853, p. 52. Cunningham's Report, 1862–3, p. 38.

² Malik Chhajú is stated to have affected all the honours of kingship under the title of Mughí-ud-dín.
by name, whom certain conspirators had designed to place upon the throne.

'Alá-ud-dín, the nephew and son-in-law of the Sultán, who had been entrusted with the districts of Karra, etc., on the defeat of Chhajú, found himself on reaching his government within much of the pernicious influence of the hostile Türkí adherents of his predecessor, and listening to their persuasions, he seems to have commenced the series of his most successful campaigns against the Hindú kingdoms of the south, mainly with a view to the acquisition of sufficient wealth, by plunder, to enable him to equip such a force as should completely overpower the royal army. Eventually, however, deceit was preferred to overt insurrection; and the Sultán having been deluded into visiting 'Alá-ud-dín in his camp, at Karra, was assassinated while clasping the hand of his treacherous nephew.¹

Jaldî-ud-dín Firuz Shdh.

No. 120. Gold. Weight, 167 grs. Unique. B.M.

This is a most crude and ill-executed piece, which, though bearing the name of Dehli on the margin, has every appearance of being the produce of dies prepared in 'Alá-ud-dín's southern camp, with a view to the ready conversion of plunder into coin. The legends imitate, in their tenor, the conventional epigraphs of the silver coinage, but the characters are badly formed and at times unintelligible. This is particularly the case with the marginal legend, where the word سکه has to be taken for granted, and the date appears as 680 a.h., which is clearly an error. The gold of which the piece is composed is unrefined and unequally wrought.

¹ Among the casual incidents mentioned by Zia Barni as occurring during this reign, may be noted the famine after the death of Sidi Maulá, when wheat rose to the price of a "jital per sir"; the Sultán's expedition in person to Rantambhor in 689 a.h.; the inroad of the Mughals in 691 a.h.; the Sultán's march to Gwalior in 695 a.h.

Small square area, with broad margin.

Square area, occupying the entire surface of the coin.

Margin—

No. 122 (pl. ii. fig. 51). Silver and Copper. Weight, 52 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الأعظم جلال الدنيا والدين

Reverse (Centre, فیروز شاه)

Margin, بی سوختا بپاچاپردः Sri Sultán Jaldudin.

No. 123 (pl. ii. fig. 52). Copper. Weight, 67 grs.

Obverse—السلطان الأعظم

Reverse—جلال الدنيا والدين

No. 124 (pl. ii. fig. 53). Silver and Copper. Weight, 29 grs.

Obverse—بیفیروز شاه

Reverse—بکشیرت دهلمی
THE COINS OF

THE CONTEMPORARY COINAGE OF BENGAL.

We now reach a period in the numismatic history of India when Bengal had arrived at the honours of a national coinage. The tangible produce of its mints henceforth runs in a parallel series with the Imperial issues, and continues to have an illustrative bearing upon the Chronicles of the Sultáns of Dehli up to the epoch when Firúz Sháh III. (A.H. 754) had to abandon for ever, on the part of his dynasty, any pretence of interference with the southern section of the old dominion. The special interest of the Dehli Patháns in the Bengal currencies only recommences towards the final close of the rule of the race, when Shír Sháh Afghán carried up to Northern India certain modifications and novelties in the current coin, which were again imitated and adopted, simultaneously with the far more material fiscal reforms introduced from below, by Akbar on his recovery of India in A.H. 1003; regarding either of which appropriations this great Mughal’s laudatory biographers are discreetly silent.

The passages quoted below,1 from Ibn Batutah, will put

1 "C'est le Sultan Fakhr eddin, surnommé Fakrah, qui est un souverain distingué, aimant les étrangers, surtout les fakirs et les soufs. La royauté de ce pays a appartenu au Sultan Nâssir eddin, fils du Sultan Ghiyâth eddin Balaban, et dont le fils, Mo'izz eddin, fut investi de la souveraineté à Dihly. Nâssir eddin se mit en marche pour combattre ce fils; ils se rencontrèrent sur les bords du fleuve, et leur entrevue fut appelée la rencontre des deux astres heureux. Nous avons déjà raconté cela, et comment Nâssir eddin abandonna l'empire à son fils et retourna dans le Bengale. Il y séjourna jusqu'à sa mort, et eut pour successeur son (autre) fils, Chams eddin, qui, après son trépas, fut lui-même remplacé par son fils, Chihâb eddin, lequel fut vaincu par son frère, Ghiyâth eddin Behâdour Bodrah. Chihâb eddin demanda du secours au Sultán Ghiyâth eddin Toghlok, qui lui en accorda, et fit prisonnier Behâdour Bodrah. Celui-ci fut
the reader in possession of all that is known of the obscure local history of the day. The information contributed by the acute African traveller is to be found in none of the indigenous authors, who, writing under Imperial inspirations, naturally disregarded the annals of a subordinate province, however important a part that section of India was destined to play in the future of the land. From these and other

ensuite relâché par le fils de Toghlok, Mohammed, après son avenement, à condition de partager avec lui la royauté du Bengale; mais il se révolta contre lui, et Mohammed lui fit la guerre jusqu'à ce qu'il le tua. Il nomma alors gouverneur de ce pays un de ses beaux-frères, que les troupes massacrèrent. 'Aly Châb, qui se trouvait alors dans le pays de Lacmaouty, s'empara de la royauté du Bengale. Quand Fakhr eddin vit que la puissance royale était sortie de la famille du Sultan Nâsir eddin, dont il était un des affranchis (ou clients), il se révolta à Sodcâwan [Sonargaon] et dans le Bengale, et se déclara indépendant. Une violente inimitié survint entre lui et 'Aly Châb. Lorsqu'arrivaient le temps de l'hiver et la saison des bœufs, Fakhr eddin faisait une incursion sur le pays de Lacmaouty, au moyen du fleuve, sur lequel il était puissant. Mais quand revenaient les jours où il ne tombait pas de pluie, 'Aly Châb fondait sur le Bengale par la voie de terre, à cause de la puissance qu'il avait sur celle-ci."—Vol. iv. p. 212. See also Lee's Translation, p. 195.

"Les autres émir s'enfuirent près du Sultan Chams eddin, fils du sultan Nâsir eddin, fils du sultan Ghiyâth eddin Balaban, et se fixèrent à sa cour. . . . Les émir fugitifs sejournèrent près du sultan Chams eddin. Dans la suite, celui-cimourut, légant le trône à son fils Chihâb eddin. Ce prince succéda à son père; mais son frère cadet, Ghiyâth eddin Behâdûr Bourah (ce dernier mot signifie, dans la langue indienne, le noir, (الأسود), le vainqueur, s'empara du royaume, et tua son frère Kothloû Khân, ainsi que la plupart de ses autres frères. Deux de ceux-ci, le sultan Chihâb eddin, et Nâsir eddin, s'enfuirent près de Toghlok, qui se mit en marche avec eux, afin de combattre le fratricide. Il laissa dans son royaume son fils Mohammed en qualité de vice-roi, et s'avança en hâte vers le pays de Lacmaouty. Il s'en rendit maître, fit prisonnier son sultan Ghiyâth eddin Behâdûr et reprit avec ce captif le chemin de sa capitale."


Ibn Batutah himself was, however, by no means infallible; for instance, on one occasion he makes Behâdur the son of Nâsir-ud-din instead of the grandson (iii. 179, 210; iv. 213). Dr. Lee's version again, in omitting the intermediate name of Nâsir-ud-din, skips a generation, and makes Shams-ud-din Pirûz a son of Balban (p. 128).
incidental materials I have constructed a genealogical tree of the rulers of Bengal who succeeded Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, the son of Balban, whose undisturbed return into Bengal has been already noticed.

**Sultán Balban, Emperor of India.**

Muhammad *Shahid*.

Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, Bughrá Khán, of Bengal.

Kai Khurúd.

**Sultán**

Mu’izz-ud-dín Kai Khán, of Dehli.

Kalükubád, *Emperor of Dehli*.

Rukn-ud-dín, King of Bengal.

Shams-ud-dín Firdús Sháh, King of Bengal.

Sháháb-ud-dín Bughrá Sháh, Násir-ud-dín, Ghiás-ud-dín Bahádur, King of Bengal.

Kut lá Khán.

The coins of Rukn-ud-dín Kai Khán, discovered in the celebrated Kooch Baháár hoard,¹ had already enabled me to correct the erroneous statement of Zía Barni² as to the length of the reign of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd, Bughrá Khán, of Bengal, in virtue of the sustained series of dates 691–695, still legible on the pieces in question. The inscription I am now able to quote establishes more definitely Kai Khán's position as local

¹ Colonel J. C. Haughton, to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of this *trowaille*, was so obliging as to furnish me with some interesting details of the site of discovery and illustrations of the neighbouring localities:—"The place where the coin was found is about three miles S.W. of Deenbatta, not far from the Temple of Kunteasree (or Komit Eswaree) on the banks of the river Dhubia. Near to this temple is a place called Gosain Morace, a short distance from which are the ruins of Kunteur Bajá's capital, called Kunteasree-Pat, consisting of a mound of considerable extent, which has been surrounded with several ditches and walls, which are again protected at the distance of a mile or two by enormous mounds of nearly 100 feet high. The brass vessels, in which the treasure was deposited, were ordinary brass *lotakas*, to which the top or lip had not been fixed, but in lieu thereof the vessels were covered by canister tops, secured by an iron *spike* passing from side to side."

² Calcutta text, 461; Ferishtah, Briggs, i. 406; Jour. R.A.S. ii. N.S. pp. 180, 188; Stewart's Bengal, pp. 80, 118.
sovereign of Bengal in 697 A.H., confessions allegiance to the supreme Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, "Sikander us Sáni;" and it officially confirms the fact already testified to by Mír Khusru (p. 140, ante)¹ and Ibn Batutah, that he was the "son of Mahmúd, son of the Emperor" (Balban); a descent the coins are careful to indicate in the unusual iteration of

سلطان بن سلطان ابن سلطان

Rukn-ud-dín Kai Káús of Bengal.

No. 125 (pl. vi. fig. 2). Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Very rare.

Lakhnauti, A.H. 691, 693, 694, 695.

السلطان الآعظم

ركن الدنيا والدين أبو

المظفر كيکاوس سلطان

بى سلطان بن سلطان

Margin—عرج هذا الفناء بحضرة كلهن وستمس وستسماية—

N. Translation of an Inscription of Kai Káús found among the ruins at Gunga Rámpúr, near Dinájpúr.

"This Musjid was built in the reign of the king of kings, Rukn ud dusyá wa ud din, the Shadow of God upon earth, Kai Káús Sháh, son of Mahmúd, son of the Emperor, the right hand of the Khalifah of the Lord, Assister of the Amir ul Múminín, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his government—by instructions of the Khusru of the age, Shaháb ul Háq wa ud din, Sikandar us Sáni, the Ulugh A'áxim, Humáyún Zafar Khán . . . . of the empire, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his government, and extend his years, . . . . and under his own royal superintendence and orders, on the 1st of Muharram, A.H. 697."

I am indebted to Colonel Nassau Lees for the above rough translation of the original inscription, which was prepared by

1—Az píder 'Amín Sháh Jehán Kíkaus br brádhr . . .

him as a mere basis for a more complete rendering, when the text of the inscription itself could be defined and determined. Unfortunately there is no transcript or facsimile of the Persian epigraph in this country, so that neither Col. Lees nor myself deem it desirable to alter or amend in any respect the simple outline at present available.

BENGAL MINTS.

With a view to obviate needless breaks in the continuity of the leading subject of the coins of the Dehli Patháns, it may be as well to take this opportunity of disposing of the geographical relations of the southern mints, irrespective of the epochal order of their occupation as towns, or their elevation into quasi-capitals, invested with the faculty of coining the king's money.

The most interesting details furnished by the Bengal coins are those which illustrate the geographical distribution of the chief seats of government. Unlike the Northern Mulsims, who, in the difficulty of moving the Eastern hosts, conventionally deemed essential to an Imperial progress, over the imperfect highways of Hindustán, confined themselves ordinarily to one fixed metropolis, the kings of Bengal enjoyed facilities of river communication almost unprecedented: their various capitals, situated within easy distance of each other, were at all times accessible by water,—a differently constructed State barge secured at any season free approach to the seaboard cities of the great Ganges, or to the towns on the narrow channels of the western streams. These frequent regal visitations are incidentally recorded on the coinage of the day, by the insertion of the prefix حضرت to the name of the selected residence, which term colloquially marked the presence of royalty within the limits of the favoured fiscal division.
The leading mint cities were seven in number—No. 1, Lakhnauti; 2, Firuzabad; 3, Satgaon; and 4, Shahr Nau, in Western Bengal, afterwards called Jannatabad; with 5, Sonargaon; and 6, Mu'asamabad, in the eastern division of the province; and 7, Ghidaspur.

2. Firuzabad (Pandua), in addition to the preferential Hasrat, is styled variously Baldat and "fortified city," a specification which probably refers to the separate though closely proximate citadel of Akdalah, so celebrated in the military annals of the time.

3. Satgaon is distinguished by the prefix of عَرْضَة (Atrium), a term which, in India, came to be conventionally used for a tract or geographical division of country; a sense which would well accord with its application to Satgaon, as the third circle of government of Bengal proper. In the reign of 'Asam the mint specification is more directly brought into association with the town itself in the seemingly more definite localization involved in the word قَصْبَة.  

1 See note, p. 107, suprd.  
2 حَقَّرَة "Praesentia, Majestas; urbs, in qua est regis sedes." Dr. Blochmann has an interesting article on the Antiquities of Pandua in the Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, April, 1870, p. 120.  
3 عَرْضَة زمین in Persian means "surface of the earth." Sir Henry Elliot remarks, "The words used before Akbar's time to represent tracts of country larger than a پارویمان were انتاج ویلایت, دیار, عرض, خطره, شتی.  
4 Zik Barni, in introducing his narrative of Tughlak Shah's expedition to Bengal (a.m. 724), speaks of that province as consisting of the three divisions of "Lakhnauti, Sonargaon, and Satgaon" (p. 450, printed edition).

The Xin-i-Akbari, in the sixteenth century A.D. thus refers to Satgaon, "There are two emporiums a mile distant from each other; one called Satgaon, and the other Hoogly with its dependencies; both of which are in the possession of the Europeans."—Gladwin, ii. p. 15. See also Rennell, p. 57; Stewart's Bengal, pp. 186, 240, 243, 330.  
5 From قَصَبَة "amputavit;" hence قَصَبَة "oppidum, vel potior, praeclusa pars oppidorum."
4. *Shahr Nau* I suppose to have been the intitulation of the new city founded near the site of the old Lakhnautil; it is variously denominated as the simple *Arsat* or عَرَضَة المَعْمَرَة (populous, richly cultivated). This progressively less appropriate name may be supposed to have merged into the official Jannatábd, which follows in mint sequence.

5. *Sonárgaon*, as a rule, retains its ancient discriminative

---

1 The decipherment of the name of this mint (as Colonel Yule remarks) determines for medieval geography the contested site of Nicolò Conti's Cernove. The Venetian traveller in the East in the early part of the fifteenth century is recorded to have said that "he entered the mouth of the river Ganges, and, sailing up it, at the end of fifteen days he came to a large and wealthy city called Cernove... On both banks of the stream there are most charming villas and plantations and gardens..." Having departed hence, he sailed up the river Ganges for the space of three months, leaving behind him four very famous cities, and landed at an extremely powerful city called Maarazia, having spent thirteen days 'on an expedition to some mountains to the eastward in search of carbuncles,'... he returned to the city of Cernove, and thence proceeded to Buffetania."—The travels of Nicolò Conti, Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 10, 11.

See also Purchas, vol. v. p. 508; and Murray's Travels in Asia, ii. 11.

There are also many interesting details regarding the geography of Bengal, and a very full and lucid summary of the history of the period, to be found in "De Asia de João de Barros" (Lisbon, 1777, vol. iv. [viii.], p. 465, et seq.). At the period of the treaty of Alfonso de Mallo with "El Rey Mamud de Bengala" (the king whom Shtr Shâh eventually overcame), the name of Shahr Nau had merged into the old provincial designation of Gour, which is described as "A principal Cidade deste Reino he chamada Gouro, situada nas correntes do Gange, e dizem ter de comprido tres leguas das nossas, e duzentos mil vizinhos" (p. 468). Satigam makes a prominent figure on the map, and Sornagam is located on a large island within the Delta, the main stream dividing it from Daca, which is placed on the opposite or left bank of the estuary.

More modern accounts of the old city may be found in Purchas, i. 579; Churchill, viii. 54; also Rennell, Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan, London, 1788, p. 55; Stewart, p. 44; and in a special work entitled "The Ruins of Gour," illustrated with maps, plans, and engravings of the numerous Muhammadan edifices extant in 1817, by H. Creighton, 4to., London, Black, Parbury, & Allen. See also Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce*, Gour Brahmin.

2 The adjective (derived from *कोलिः* colit) will admit of other meanings, and, if understood as applying to a town, might signify "well built," locally *pakhra*. 
designation of جلال, Hazrat-i-Jalāl, a title which it eventually had to cede to its rival Mu‘azamábád.

6. Mu‘azamábád. There is no definite authority for the determination of the site of this city, which, however, seems to have been founded by Sikandar bin Ilís about 758–759 A.H., when his own coins record that he himself assumed the title of the المعظم, usually reserved for the reigning monarch, his father. I conclude that there was a gradual migration from the ancient Sonárgaon to the new city, which grew in importance from the governmental centre implied in the تا اباد of 760 A.H. to the بلدة المعظم, “the great city of Mu‘azamábád,” of about 780 A.H., till, on the disappearance of the name of Sonárgaon from the marginal records of the general currency, the new metropolis appropriates to itself the immemorial جلال of Eastern Bengal.1

I refer for the moment to No. 7, Ghitáspúr, which Col. Haughton informs me is near Gaur, about one mile N.W. of Maldah; and I take the opportunity of remarking that the sole remaining name of Jannatábád, an epithet which is erroneously stated to have been given by Humáyún to the re-edified Lakhnauti, is here seen to have been in use a century and a half before the later Mughal dynasty of India made its way into Bengal.

1 Dr. Blochmann remarks in regard to the site of this city—“The two mints, Mu‘azamábád and Ghitáspúr, of Thomas, can perhaps be verified; the former is probably the same as Mu‘azzampúr in Sonárgaon, the latter belongs to Lakhnauti.” Proceedings As. Soc. Bengal, April, 1870, p. 121.

2 An-i-Akbari, ii. p. 11; Stewart’s Bengal, 124. Bengal itself was called جنة الليل “The Paradise of Regions.” Ibn Batutah, iv. p. 210, says the Persians called Bengal دومن یک نیم “ce qui signifie,” en arabe, “un enfer rempli de biens.” (The original Arabic text quotes the passage in imperfect Persian as دورخست بور نعمہ). Mardean, Num. Orient. p. 578, gives a coin of ‘Alá-ud-Din Husain Sháh, of A.H. 917, purporting to have been struck at "Jannatábád."
The single item remaining to be mentioned in regard to the later mints is the substitution of the word قصبة in lieu of بلدة as the prefix to Firúzábéd, in parallel progress towards centralization with the mint phraseology adopted in the case of Satgaon.

Thirteenth King (A.H. 695; A.D. 1295).

On the assassination of his father, in the camp of ’Alá-ud-dín, in Ramazán, A.H. 695, Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhím was elevated to the throne of Hindústán. His mother, Malika-i-Jahán, who retained her influence in the city of Dehli, in her haste to secure a representative of royalty, selected him in preference to the proper heir, Arkali Khán, who was absent at his post at Multán. This gave Ibráhím a temporary existence as a king,—a dignity which otherwise, as a younger son and a minor, he was neither entitled nor fitted to hold. ’Alá-ud-dín, having already at his command a powerful army, and the wealth of the Dakhan supplying him with unlimited means of increasing his forces and conciliating wavering opponents, had merely to advance on the capital to put an end to the rule of the boy Sultán, whose safety was for a time secured by a precipitate flight to Multán.

 بلدة “regio,” also “oppidum.” The plurals are said to vary, in correspondence with the independent meanings, as بلدان and بلد.

ملك رکن الدين قدرخانرا ابراهيم شاه خطاب شد
—Tárīkh Mubarak Sháhí, MS.; and Zitá Barni, text, p. 184.
No. 126 (pl. ii. fig. 54). Silver. Weight, 167 grs. Dehli, A.H. 695. Unique. (Lord Auckland's collection, B.M.)

The modification in the general tenor of the legends of this piece seems to mark the confessed insecurity of the rule of the new king; the insertion of the name and titles of the late Sultan at full length looks like an appeal to the allegiance of the adherents of the father's throne, an apostrophe in favour of the direct line against the threatened claims of the too-powerful nephew. The usual record of the name and title of the long since defunct Al Must'asim is replaced by the attribution to the deceased Firuz Sháh of the ancient, but latterly disused designation of Nasir Amir al Mumínín.

No. 127 (pl. ii. fig. 55). Silver and copper. Weight, 52 grs. Rare.

Obverse—sultan al'azam rukn adninger un din
Reverso—ibrahim shah bina feruz shah

No. 128. Copper. Weight, 59 grs. New variety. Similar in types to No. 52, pl. ii. My cabinet.

Obverse—sultan al'azam
Reverso—ibrahim shah bina feruz shah

No. 129 (pl. ii. fig. 56). Copper. Weight, 38 grs. Rare.

Obverse—udal ibrahim shah
Reverso—bina feruz shah
'Alá-ud-dín's Arches at the Kuth (with the annexed Hindo columns in the background), from a sketch by J. Fergusson, Esq.

"The glory of the mosque, however, is not in these Hindo remains, but in the great range of arches on the western side, extending north and south for about 385 feet, and consisting of three greater and eight smaller arches; the central one 22 feet wide and 33 high; the larger side arches 24 feet 4 inches."—Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture, ii. p. 649.

Fourteenth King (A.H. 695-715; A.D. 1295-1315).

'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Shah went through the almost needless form of a double coronation; he clearly felt himself already Sultán of his own delegated domains, as well as of
his recently-acquired conquests in the Dakhan, from the mo-
ment he let fall the too-confiding hand of the monarch to
whom he owed so much, and whom he so foully ensnared
and murdered; he therefore lost no time in assuming the
insignia of royalty in his camp at Karra, on the 16th of
Ramazán, A.H. 695. This act, as it were, constituted the sym-
bolical assumption of the regal turban of the south; he had
still to win the jeweled tiara of Imperial Dehli. In the attain-
ment of this object he proceeded with his accustomed energy
and craft, but the scale seems to have been finally turned
by the empty treasury of legitimacy at the capital and the
superabundant resources of the spoiler of the Idolaters. His
catapults, instead of projecting hard stones against the city
walls, were employed, as toys, in scattering largesses among
the greedy multitude, for which purpose the unconverted
stars of the southern peninsula¹ were peculiarly appropriate.
The Maliks and Amírs, each in his own degree, received
retainers, in some instances to the amount of 50 mans of
gold. And so the Indian world welcomed him, it might be
said, in the words of the Latin poet—

"Æra dabant olim; melius nunc omen in auro est;"
Ovid Fast, i. 220.

On the 22nd Zíl hijjah, 695, the new Sultán was formally
enthroned in the ancient fort of Prithví Rája.²

I will not attempt to recapitulate the political events of
this long reign; they were of the ordinary character—insur-
rections,³ invasions of the Mughals, one of which claims a

¹ The daily distribution amounted to "five mans of star gold."
See also note under coin No. 131, page 169.
² Tárikh 'Aláí; Elliot's Historians, iii. 69.
³ One of these revolts was nearly fatal to the Sultán's life, another was so far
remarkable that, while the Sultán was occupied in the siege of Rantambhor, a
separate notice in some detail, and the repeated successes of Malik Nāib Kāfūr, who had latterly taken his master's place in command of the army in the Dakhan, and who, in the end, availed himself of that master's dying hours to forward his own intrigues against the lawful heirs of the throne. 'Alā-ud-dīn died of dropsy in his palace at Dehli on the 8th of Shawwāl, 715 A.H. 1

There are some incidents in 'Alā-ud-dīn's story which more nearly concern these numismatic chronicles, such as his assumption of the title of the Second Alexander, and a notion entertained of a new religion, of which he was to be the oracle, both of which items are testified to by the coins. But the most curious record of this Sultān's reign is his attempt to increase his too-costly army by administrative regulations which should lower the prices of provisions and other necessaries of life, while it crops out, in an obscure way, that he contemplated a simultaneous reduction in the silver tankah2 from 175 grains to 140, for the special benefit of his

turbulent man called Hāji Maulá succeeded in getting possession of the royal palace at Dehli, and absolutely elevated a puppet king, in the shape of a descendant of 'Ali, who, however, only enjoyed the doubtful dignity for a few days, for which he paid the forfeit of his head.—Elliot's Historians, iii. 176.

1 The death of 'Alā-ud-dīn is now pretty well determined as having occurred on the 8th of Shawwāl, A.H. 715. Although Mr Khusru, in one instance, makes it the 7th (Khizr Khān and Dewāl Rānī), in another of his works he fixes the death of the one king and the accession of the other at (زشوال دو جهار) or 8th of Shawwāl (Dīwān Baktiya Naktā) (Dehli Archeological Journal, 1868, p. 39). The Tārikh Mubārak Shāhi confirms the date of the 8th.

2 Forishtah's account of the weights and measures of this period is as follows: "In order to comprehend the true value of the money of that day, it is proper to state that a tankah was equal to a tola in weight, whether of gold or silver; and a tankah of silver was equal to 50 jitala. The jitala was a small copper coin, the weight of which is not now known: some conceive it was a tola, while others are of opinion that the jitala, like the pice of the present day, weighed 1½ tola. The
own payments to the *Sipāhis.* We have no specimens of these so inappropriately called *'Adalis,* but we meet with them on the first accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak (A.H. 725), to which occasion it may be as well to defer a more extended notice of them. The associate operation upon the prices of provisions has a far more general interest; as although the machinery employed implied a certain amount of force and compulsion, the main object was sought to be obtained by taking payment of the revenue in kind, the establishment of royal granaries, state advances to merchants, and other simple and obvious methods of facilitating the supply of the capital. So that, in effect, the official rates for the metropolis do not depart greatly from what might be styled the normal scale of prices, when distributed over an average of town municipalities; and this *quasi* -equity is indeed supported by the natural open-market rates obtaining at a later period, when money may have been supposed to have fallen in relative value.

*man of the time of Jalāl-ud-dīn (Firdaws) weighed 40 *ṣīr, and each *ṣīr weighed 24 *tola.*—Ferishtah (Briggs), vol. i. p. 360, Bombay text, p. 199.

1 I obtain this information, in somewhat of an obscure form, from the Tarikh 'Alī, otherwise called the Khasain ul Futūh, of Mir Khurru—a curious and somewhat rare prose work of that celebrated poet. The fancies and metaphors of Persian verse are here untrammelled by the requirements of metre, and the author has an opportunity, of which he has availed himself to the full, of indulging in quips and quirks, and verbal conceits, that a European interpreter scarcely thanks him for. The work is otherwise highly valuable as a contemporary narrative of some of the events of 'Alā-ud-dīn's reign, extending from A.H. 696 to 710. My own copy of the work was made for me at Dehli, in 1853, from the original MS. in the possession of Nawāb Aftān-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, of Lohār, under the supervision of our most learned "Ṣadr ul Ṣadr," Maulavi Sadr-ud-dīn, who has added an elaborate commentary and marginal notes to all the difficult passages. See also Elliot's Historians, iii. 67; J.R.A.S. iii. N.S., 116.

2 We learn incidentally that the *Mulkānis* were the leading traders of the day.

—J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 31.
The coins of

'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad’s Enforced Rates of Prices of Provisions, etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>703-716 = 1803-1815.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>حنطة</td>
<td>per man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>جو</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, in husk</td>
<td>شالي</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mash, вetch (Phaseolus radiatus)</td>
<td>مش</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakhúd, pulse (Cicer arietinum)</td>
<td>نخود</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moth, lentil (Phaseolus aconiti-folius)</td>
<td>مورته</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar, شکر تری</td>
<td>per str.</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown sugar, Gür</td>
<td>شکر سرخ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter, Ghi</td>
<td>روغن سترور</td>
<td>2½ str.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil of Sesamum, Rūgh گنجه</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt, نمک</td>
<td>2½ mans.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The jital, as will hereafter appear, is ½ of a silver tankah.

---

1 Calcutta printed edition of the text of Zitá Barni, pp. 305, 310, and independent MSS.; also Tabakat-i Akbari MS., E.I.H., No. 997, p. 61. Briggs’s return of the price of wheat is erroneous: the original had been corrupted into دومینی; hence the statement of “7½ jital per domumy.” Elliot’s Historians, iii. 192. The Bombay text of Ferashtah is right in the دومینی, p. 196. See also Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 26, Major Fuller’s excellent translation of Zitá Barni, with comments by Dr. Blochmann. I have adopted Dr. Blochmann’s emendation of the Persian text of the Bibliotheca Indica in as far as refers to دومینی 2½ “salt” in lieu of the printed شکر تری, which, however, is very constant in the various MSS.; but I retain دیدو even as I adhere to the pronunciation of Kohram, on the faith of the local speech of the present day.
of 175 grs.; at the exchange of 2s. per tankah, the jital would therefore correspond in value to 1½ farthing, or rather less, as the 2s. is a very high rate of exchange for the old silver piece. The Dehli str, of an approximate date, is stated to have been 70 miskáls, and the man 40 strs.\textsuperscript{1} Now, taking the weight of the miskál at the even average of 72 grains, the str would range at 5040 grains (or 720 grains less than the Troy pound of 5760 grains), and the man would amount to 201,600 grains, or 35 lbs. troy, and 28·8 lbs. avoirdupois, or a little over the quarter of a hundredweight, or less than half a bushel of wheat.\textsuperscript{2} To complete the evidence contributed by this foreign statistician, we must examine a second or alternative test, which he introduces, apparently for the more ready comprehension of the western world, in the form of a parallel estimate of the Indian man under its equivalent in Egyptian dirhams. Of these latter, 102\textsuperscript{3} are stated to correspond in weight with the Dehli str. Now, although the dirhams of the Mamlúks of Egypt of this period, in their tangible and once current form, would only lead to endless complications as bases of calculation,\textsuperscript{3} yet the quasi-theoretical scheme of the normal Arabian system of the relative weights of gold and silver coins, gives us a curious approximation to the return obtained from the simple calculation just

\textsuperscript{1} Le ritt (rott) de l'Inde, qui porte le nom de sir, pèse 70 mithkals, qui, estimées en dirhems d'Égypte, en valent 102\textsuperscript{3}. Quarante sir forment un man. On ne connaît pas dans l'Inde la méthode de mesurer les grains. —Not. et Ext. xiii. p. 212.

I see that Colonel Yule, in his "Cathay and the way thither" (Hakluyt Society) ii. 468, has adopted the French estimate of the man, i.e. 29·78 lbs.

\textsuperscript{2} A bushel of wheat is estimated to weigh 60 lbs. avoirdupois.—McCulloch, Com. Dict. p. 1397. Prinsep, with less exact data, made the bushel 80 lbs. avoirdupois.—Useful Tables, p. 113.

\textsuperscript{3} Eighteen specimens I have weighed in the B.M., ranging within the period of A.H. 666 and 747, vary to the extent of from 37 grains up to 63.
formulated. Whatever may have been the weight of the *miskāl proper* in various localities, in many cases the *dinar* continued to be a *miskāl* pure and simple; and theory was ordinarily consistent in recognising the weight of the silver *dirham* as 7-10ths of the gold piece. Under this aspect we have to examine a new scale of proportions: the latest and most exhaustive authority, M. Queipo, has fixed the actual weight of the representative Egyptian *miskāl* at 4.666 grammes, or 72.007 grains. This return will make the *dirham* equal to 50.405 grains, the *sir* = 51.74 grains, and the *man* = 206.983 grains, or over 29 lbs. . The estimate formed by the French editors of Ibn Batutah, in regard to that African traveller’s independent comparisons of Dehli weights with those of the west, arrives at a closely approximate return. The *man* of Dehli is stated, on repeated occasions in the Arabic text, to be equivalent to 20 Barbary *raīs*, or 25 Egyptian *raīs*, and the former are fixed by the calculations of the modern commentators as corresponding to two-thirds of a French kilogramme of 15,432.35 grains troy, or $\frac{1}{2}$ *raīs* = 1 kilogramme, which makes the *man* equal to 28.78 lbs. .


Ibn Batutah tells us that the *man* of Dehli was equal to 20 *raīs* of Barbary

**ii.** p. 74.

**iii.** p. 480.

**iii.** p. 382.


**and again**
I do not follow out in further detail these western comparisons, which are in a measure speculative, as I am satisfied to accept what may be termed the internal evidence as my test. Tried by this criterion, India at the present day furnishes a very complete series of man weights,\textsuperscript{1} which all the incidental changes of time and the imperfectly preserved units of scattered localities have but very slightly removed from the standard testified to by the intelligent travellers of the middle of the eighth century of the Hijrah.

Any attempt to determine with precision the authoritative weight of the man or other measures of grain, must be associated with the crucial test of corroborative coin equivalents. From time immemorial, in India, coins had been, to all intents and purposes, weights; pieces of money, in our sense of the term, having grown out of the archaic use of sections of metal of a fixed and determinate gravity, following the popular form of small square or oblong plates of silver, designated by the appropriate name of Purānas (पुराण “old”). But when these crude sections of metal, like the link of the

\textsuperscript{1} The local massa approximating to this weight still in use in 1821 A.D. may be cited in alphabetical order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lbs.</th>
<th>oz.</th>
<th>dr.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anjar, Bhuj</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjengo, Travancore</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangalore</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgaum</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellary</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carwa, Canara</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canara, ordinarily</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cochin, Malabar</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puna ( massa for metals )</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kot, Ajmir</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madurá</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangalore</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negapatam</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onor, in Canara</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ujjain</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quilon, Travancore</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sankaridrugar, Carnatic</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seringapatam—light</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trichinopoly</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

—Prinsep’s Useful Tables, p. 115; and Mr. W. H. Bayley's Ms. Notes.
knight's chain, passed into the more advanced grade of "coined money," they were still scrupulously made to contribute to the double purpose of measures of metallic value and officially recognized weights. Their importance, in the latter capacity, consisting in their furnishing readily available tests of any disputed higher weights or measures, so liable to be tampered with by shopkeepers from all time and among all nations. So completely was this their second mission accepted in the land, that in later days, under Sikandar bin Buhlól (A.H. 854–894), the idea was conceived of extending the already mixed duties of the public coinage into a means of determining measures of length, so that the sufficiency of the cloth merchant's yard should be instantaneously checked by the very money of the customer in which he was to receive payment. The earlier phases of these imperfect schemes of exchange, when primitive peoples were first emancipating themselves from the inconveniences of crude barter, and replacing undefined handful by specific measures of weight, may be traced back to the first contact of the Aryans and the Indigènes, when the pastoral tribes of the former impinged upon the urban communities of the latter, whose civilization partook so largely of the Turanian element. There is internal evidence in the composite table of weights preserved in "the Laws of Manu," of contributions from the independent resources of both races. Aryan thought, crudely developed at first, confined itself to the ever

1 There is a special injunction in Manu, addressed to the King—"Let all weights and measures be well ascertained by him, and once in six months let him re-examine them."—Manu, viii. 42.

2 'Alá-ud-din had great trouble with this class of his subjects; and among the punishments awarded for short weights, we find a very distinct provision for the pound of flesh. "Whatever was found deficient" in the articles purchased was made up by "flesh equal to the deficiency," cut from the seller's "two cheeks" [buttocks].—Regulation 4, J.A.S.B. 1870, p. 39. Elliot's Historians, iii. 197.
ready standard of barley—a grain they held in high honour, and beyond the cultivation of which their herdsmen do not seem to have progressed in the Vedic age.\(^1\) As intelligence advanced, and the subtle faculties of the exotic mind were brought into play, the tendency was clearly towards infinitesimals, so that the checks and counter checks laid down are found to include every shade of variety of the produce of the soil that human ingenuity could set against each other.\(^8\) It was the duty of barley to testify against mustard-seed if the latter failed in its full maturity; mustard, in its coloured varieties, had to qualify the poundage of poppy-seed, which again had to go through the severe trial of being pitted against impalpable dust. Encouraged by these tangible minutiae, the Aryan Brahmans seem to have ventured upon the introduction of fanciful and purely imaginary quantities, so that measures of weight vanished into thin air (to an extent to defy the keenest modern Microscopist).\(^3\) But in all

---

\(^1\) Wilson’s Big Veda, i. pp. xli., lvii.; and iii. p. xi. Max Müller (Chips, i. p. 31) renders this as “corn;” he does not say wheat. The adherence to reckoning by barley-corns is curiously shown in the later Vedic literature, where, in spite of the presence of the rṣā, “the bar of gold” is defined “as of the size of three barley-corns.”—Weber, Zeitschrift, xv. (1861), 139. Prof. Weber further remarks that the term masha is not found at all in texts supposed to be Vedic.

\(^2\) “Manu, viii. 131. Those names of copper, silver, and gold [weights] which are commonly used among men for the purpose of worldly business, I will now comprehensively explain. 132. The very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through a lattice is the first of quantities, and men call it a trasaṃvasa. 133. Eight of those trasaṃvasas are supposed equal in weight to one minute poppy-seed (nīhīyed), three of those seeds are equal to one black mustard-seed (rāja sarahapa), and three of these last to a white mustard-seed (gaurasarahapa). 134. Six white mustard-seeds are equal to a middle-sized barley-corn (yava), three such barley-corns to one kriṣṇala [raktika], five kriṣṇalas of gold are one masha.” etc.

\(^3\) “Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Nārada, trace all weights from the least visible quantity, which they concur in naming trasaṃvasa (त्रसार्वस), and describing as the very small mote which may be discerned in a sunbeam passing through ‘a lattice.’ Writers on medicine proceed a step further, and affirm that
cases of the more clearly defined weights of Manu, there
seems to have been a serious intent and supposed power of
proof by the test of seeds, balanced against other varieties of
seed. The altered conditions of culture, and the uncertainty
of the exact locality which furnished the data for ancient
calculations, may deny us the power of reconstructing the
general scheme; but there is no doubt that the early tables
were designed to supply a normal and ever ready criterion
by means of single or multiplied totals of indigenous grains,
which from time immemorial had centered in the convenient
goldsmith's \textit{rati}, which, though not exclusively Indian, was
of such universal acceptance throughout the continent as to
be essentially traditional; and it is from this starting point,
or unit in the ascending scale, that the purely Indian weights
proceed, each, in its turn again, following some readily acces-
sible product of nature peculiar to the soil.

'Alá-ud-dín, as we have seen, was particular about his
metric system, and probably the full force of ancient methods
of reckoning still survived in the existing weights, so that
some one description of current money ought so to fit in with
and confirm the estimated amount of the \textit{man} as to balance
into even sums, or an approach thereto. Neither the 175

\begin{itemize}
\item 30 \textit{paramdnus}, or atoms = 1 \textit{trasarénu} or \textit{vana}.
\item 86 \textit{vans} = 1 \textit{marichi}, or sensible quantity of light.
\item 6 \textit{marichis} = 1 \textit{rágíced}, or black mustard-seed.
\item 3 \textit{rágíceds} = 1 \textit{sheshapà}, or white mustard-seed.
\item 8 \textit{sheshapàs} = 1 \textit{yava}, or barley-corn.
\item 4 \textit{yavas} = 1 \textit{gunjd} or \textit{raktikd}.
\end{itemize}

A \textit{raktikd} is also said to be equal to 4 grains of rice in the husk."—Sir Wm.
Jones's Works, viii. p. 870.
grain tanka is (the old satarakika = 100 ratis), nor the newly-devised 'adalit of 140 grains (80 ratis), will divide into the equivalent number of grains now assigned to the man; but, strange to say, the ancient puranas, whose modern representatives abound in the coinage of the day, taken at the rate of 32 ratis, or 56 grains, fill in the exact sum of 201,600 grains, without even the break of a fraction, either in the totals of the sir or the man: 90 puranas represent the sir, and 3,600 give the measure of the man. The ratis, however, in either case are uneven, viz., 2880 and 115200; but this fact need not disturb the result, as the ratis in the higher measures of produce, as in the Ghi table, I shall have occasion to quote hereafter from the Jyotishya, run into all sorts of irregular totals.

It may freely be conceded that this intervention of nines and twelves is opposed to the scale of multiples in the quasi Turanian division of the Tables of Manu, where the dominant idea among the tangible weights is confined to fours and tens, culminating in three hundred and twenties and three thousand two hundreds; but if another section of the evidence is examined, it will be found that these 56-grain coins do not themselves accord with the theoretical scheme of the associate currency of the first half of the eighth century A.H. This is a question which will have to be treated more at large later in our inquiry, but it is adverted to in this place as it has an important bearing upon the point immediately at issue. On the other hand, if we examine the Tables of Manu in their lower or fanciful divisions, the mystic threes and ordinary sixes are found to be sufficiently frequent, from which figures alone we might infer that the Aryans had originated this portion of the combined table of weights.
From whatever source derived, India is seen to have achieved, in very archaic periods,¹ either out of her marked indigenous aptitudes, or her frequent chances of exotic inspiration, a very comprehensive system of weights and measures, extending to the elaboration of a binary Troy scheme,² associated with all the essentials of an independent Avoirdupois theory, which, perhaps wisely, avoided any recognition of measures of capacity.

'Ald-ud-din Muhammad Shah.

No. 130. (Marsden, No. 1.) Gold.³ Weight, 168.6, 169.5, and 166 grs. Delhi, A.H. 704, 709, 711.

Circular area.

สดวธุราณินิ

สมดิ์ณคภณ 

อิมิร้อมศี

The legend occupies the full face of the coin.

สัตพันธ

ตราคลาน 

อุลเดนโคและเดิน 

อิบทมทิฟ

รันนัก 


Margin—ضرب هذه السمكة بجحرة دلهلي في سنة تسع وسبعمائة

¹ The age of Manu is undetermined. Wilson attributes portions of the work to 800 B.C. (Translation, Rig Veda, i. p. xlvii.) M. Vivien de St. Martin says, "la période des temps héroïques," i.e. 13th and 12th centuries B.C. (Étude de Paris, 1859, and Revue Germanique, 1861, p. 80). Max Müller (Sanskrit Literature, pp. 61-133, and his Letter in Morley's Digest, p. cxcvii.). Prof. Cowell prefers "3rd century B.C.," but adds that it was "undoubtedly composed from older documents" (Elphinstone's India, p. 249). The Jyotisha Table, which is given in the general summary of Muhammad bin Tughlak's coin weights, is also supposed to date some centuries B.C. (Über den Veda-Kalender, Namen Jyotisham, von A. Weber. Berlin, 1862).

² There were separate tables for gold and silver.

³ Princep's assay of these gold pieces gives a return of touch or pure gold in 100 parts of 94.2. Jalal-ud-din (Firdawsi)'s gold is placed at 94.5, while Akbar's average mounts up to 100:100.—Useful Tables, ii. 50.
No. 131. Gold. Variety. (Small thick coin, pale gold.)

Weight, 158 gra. Size, 4, or 0·71 inch diameter. B.M.

Legends as in the Metropolitan pieces, but the Persian characters follow a different system of writing, and are very imperfectly defined. These coins seem to have been direct re-mintages of the southern gold huns, without any attempt at refining the metal up to the higher Delhi standard.¹ They furnish, in short, another instance of the facilities of the rough system of converting plunder into camp currencies on the instant.

I am indebted to Sir Walter Elliot, S.I., for the following note upon the southern "stare," the palpable plunder of the south:

"I do not think the 'Akhtar Zar' can refer to the Star pagoda, which had a very limited range, being confined to the province of Arcot, and appearing after the fall of the last of the independent Hindu kingdoms, when every petty Zamindar began to exercise the privilege of coining money.

"The currency of the Dakhan seems always to have been gold under the Hindus. The standard was the āna (in Dravidian, ḍhaṇa, poṣ), but the circulation was carried on chiefly by means of its fractional parts, the panams or funams, as is the case in Travancore—the only existing normal Hindu state—to this day. There, the dealings of the basar and the collection of the revenue are all made in funams; but as the labour and trouble of reckoning large sums in such a shape would be intolerable, the cashiers and serifs are pro-

¹ "By the attention of his Majesty (Akbar Shāh), gold and silver ḍhaṇas refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persian dakhāht, but they do not know above ten degrees of fineness; whilst in India it is called ḍhakhānī, as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old āna, which is a gold coin current in the Dakhan, was thought to be pure, and reckoned at ten degrees; but his Majesty has now fixed it at 8½: and the round, small gold dinār of 'Ālā-ud-dīn, which was considered to be 12 degrees, now turns out to be 10½."—Ain-i-Akbari, Blockmann, p. 18.
vided with wooden boards, the surface of which is studded with 100 or 1000 cavities, the exact size of a *fanam*, which they plunge into the heap of coin, and by a little manual dexterity, take up the exact sum and throw it aside.

"In early times, not only the *fanam*, but the half and quarter *fanam* were in use. I have specimens of all of these, bearing the impress of the Chalukya boar, the Pandyan fish, and other effigies of dates far anterior to the Star pagodas. There seems little doubt, therefore, that refers to the sacks of *fanams* which Malik Kāfūr brought from the south and poured out before the admiring eyes of the king of Dehli, and which the historian has aptly described as showers of "golden stars." Some of the halfve and quarters are just like little scales of gold, and a stream of them issuing from the bag in which they were kept would sparkle as they fell. The ancient coins are thinner and finer than the more recent examples.¹

"When the Dewānī of the southern districts first came into our hands, at the beginning of the century, the revenue was all collected in *fanams.*"

¹ The average weight of the gold *fanam* is 6 grains, of the half *fanam* 3 grains, and the quarter 1½ grains.

Tested weights of the gold *fanam*, half and quarter *fanams* of S. India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Description</th>
<th>Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three Buddhist <em>fanams</em>, with the impress of a lion and sword</td>
<td>38.0 = 6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One ditto, half ditto, with lion only (Num. Gl. I. 39)</td>
<td>29.0 = 6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Chalukya <em>fanams</em>, with the boar (Num. Gl. II. 6–9)</td>
<td>36.0 = 6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One ditto, quarter ditto (Num. Gl. II. 10)</td>
<td>15.0 = 7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One ditto, ditto</td>
<td>13.5 = 3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Choja <em>fanams</em></td>
<td>16.0 = 5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two ditto, half ditto</td>
<td>8.8 = 3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Chera <em>fanam</em>, with elephant</td>
<td>8.0 = 3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Pandyan ditto, with fish</td>
<td>12.3 = 6.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two ditto, ditto, with different type</td>
<td>12.7 = 6.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two <em>fanams</em>, with a fish and monkey</td>
<td>14.4 = 7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One ditto, ditto, a little different</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One quarter ditto, fish and monkey type</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six Velanṭṭi <em>fanams</em>, of more recent date, probably of the Bijanagar Rāj.</td>
<td>35.3 = 5.883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Bahduri <em>fanams</em>, coined by Haidar Ali, ruler of Mysor, at the Ikeri mint</td>
<td>22.8 = 5.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No. 132 (pl. iii. fig. 57; Marden, loc. cit.). *Silver*. Weight, up to 168 grs. *Common.*

**Dehli.** Dates observed, a.h. 695, 698, 699, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, and 715.

Legends similar to those on the gold currency. Areas as usual in the silver money, with a broad margin on the Reverse, as follows:

No. 133. *Silver* coins similar to No. 132, but struck at دار الإسلام (Dehli? ²) in a.h. 703, 705, 706, 708, 710, 713, 714. Weight, 166 grs.

No. 134. (Gold. B.M. a.h. 711.) Similar coins, in silver, minted at قلعه ديوگر Deogir, ³ in a.h. 714. Weight, 167 grs.

These coins are remarkable, as affording the earliest specimens available of the Muhammadan coinage of the lately conquered city of Deogir, a capital so peculiarly identified with the history of Alá-ud-dín’s early rise and eventual accession to sovereignty.

The year 711 impressed upon one of the pieces under review offers a date but little removed from the epoch of Náib Káfúr’s more comprehensive subjection of the central Indian provinces, of which Deogir then constituted the metropolis.

1 Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh seems to have coined money enough for many future generations, inasmuch as we find that on Timur’s conquest of Dehli, in a.h. 801, among other plunder specified “vessels of gold and silver, and money without count, on which was the impression of Alá-ud-dín Khilji,” Zafar Námah of Sherif-ud-dín ‘Ali Yezdi (A.D. 1424).—Translation by Captain Hollings in the Delhi Archaeological Society’s Journal (1852), p. 22.

² Ibn Batutah, iii. 261. دار الإسلام.

³ Now Daulatabad, in the Dakhan. Lat. 19° 57’, long. 75° 16’.—Hamilton’s Hindustán, ii. 147. The old name was Tagara. See also more full notes under Muhammad Tughlak’s mint cities.
No. 135 (pl. iii. fig. 59). Silver and copper. Weight, 55.7 grs.
Dates, 702, 703, 704, 705, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715.

*Obverse*—السَّلَطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ عَلَى الْدُنْيَا وَالْدِينِ

*Reverse*—ابن المظفر مُحمَّد شَاهُ السَّلَطَانُ ١٣٢٧

No. 136 (pl. iii. fig. 60). Copper. Weight, 55.4 grs. Dates, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711.

*Obverse*—السَّلَطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ عَلَى الْدُنْيَا وَالْدِينِ

*Reverse*—مُحمَّد شَاهُ

*Margin*—شَجَّرُ ٧٩٠

*Śrī Ṣultaḥ Ālāvādī, 710*

The coins, Nos. 135 and 136, are noticeable, as offering the first instance in the present series of the general use of Arabic numerals in recording dates, it having been hitherto the custom to write the numbers in the full length of their respective Semitic denominations.

No. 137. Copper. Weight, 67 grs.

*Obverse*—السَّلَطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ

*Reverse*—عَلَى الْدُنْيَا وَالْدِينِ

No. 138. Copper. Weight, 23 grs.

*Obverse*—عَدُل مُحمَّد شَاهُ

*Reverse*—بِحْضُرَتِ دِهَلَى
O. (Specimen) Inscription of 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, on the arches at the Kuthá, dated 10th Shaw'íl, A.H. 710.¹

میر خحسرو چنین می‌گوید: 'السلطان 'علی خسرو دوم سرکره‌ی دومین خلافت ناصر میر المومنین خلیفه فرمانورد شاه سلسله سکندر ثانی سلطان دوم هنگام خسرو شدند و جمعیت است عمارت

میر خحسرو چنین می‌گوید: 'السلطان 'علی خسرو دوم سرکره‌ی دومین خلافت ناصر میر المومنین خلیفه فرمانورد شاه سلسله سکندر ثانی سلطان دوم هنگام خسرو شدند و جمعیت است عمارت

The Sultán determined upon adding to and completing the Masjid Jámi′ of Shams-ud-dín, 'by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth, with lofty pillars,' 'and upon the surface of the stones he engraved the verses of the Korán in such a manner as could not be done even on wood; ascending so high that you would think the Korán was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven. When the whole work was complete from top to bottom, he built other masjids in the city, so strong that if the nine-vaulted and thousand-eyed heavens were to fall, as they will, in the universe-quake, on the day of resurrection, an arch of them would not be broken. He also repaired the old masjids, of which the walls were broken, or inclining, or of which the roof and domes had fallen. He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minár of the Jámi′ Masjid, which minár was then the single celebrated one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the masjid should be increased, that their might be ample room for the followers of Isám. He ordered the circumference of the new minár to be made

¹ See Vignette, p. 156, supra; and Syed Ahmad’s work, pp. 21, 27, 58, etc.
double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion, and directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one.' The stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the infidels were demolished to furnish a supply. He also ordered repairs to be made to all the other masjids and forts throughout the kingdom. As the tank of Shams-ud-din was occasionally dry, 'Alá-ud-dín cleaned it out and repaired it, and erected a dome in the middle of it.'—Elliot's Historians.

Further accounts of Alá-ud-dín's completion of the city of Sírí are to be found in Zió Barni; Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 22; and notices of the buildings at Dehlí are also given in Mír Khusrú's other work, the Kirán us S'adain, Lucknow edition, p. 22, *et seq*.

In speaking of the Mosque (at the Kutb) Ibn Batutah states—

"L'emplacement de cette mosquée était un boud-khánah, c'est-à-dire un temple d'idoles; mais, après la conquête de Dihly, il fut convertie en mosquée. Dans la cour septentrionale de la mosquée, se trouve le minaret, qui n'a pas son pareil dans toutes les contrées musulmanes . . . le Sultan Kothb eddín [read 'Alá-ud-dín] voulut bâtir, dans la cour occidentale, un minaret encore plus grand; il en construisit environ le tiers, et mourut avant de l'avoir achevé . . . le Sultan Kothb ['Alá] eddín avait formé aussi le projet de bâtir une mosquée cathédrale à Sírí, surnommé le sejour du Khalifat (ٍدارُ خِلافَة) ; mais il n'en termina que le mur faisant face à la Mecque, et le mihráb."—Paris edition, iii. 152.

COINS OF THE MOGHUL INVADERS.

As the leading object of those human locusts, the Moghuls, in their expeditions over the more civilized divisions of Asia, was mere plunder;¹ it was seldom that they left

¹ Bábar's Memoirs (Erakine), 69.
any record of their raids over the devoted lands beyond the devastation which marked their track. In the case of Khwájah Kutlágh, however, who pushed his forces up to the walls of Dehli, in 697–8 A.H.,¹ to be defeated ignominiously at last by Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh, the horde over which he ruled seem to have contemplated a more permanent occupancy of Southern soil, and to have established temporary head-quarters at Ghazní: here, and in less permanent camps, they put forth copper money, of which the following are specimens. In addition to these coins, with Persian legends, there are others of similar type and fabric, bearing Mongol characters, amid which the name of Argún² (A.H. 683–690)) can be distinguished, and which associate themselves with the former currency by similarly placed Tamghas, in the form of crude outlines of ः, and more directly with India, in the use of a coarse type of Devanagari letters on the margin.

No. 139. Copper. (My cabinet.) Ghazní.

Small circular centre.

Margin—

Marginal notes.

1 Fërishtah, Briggs, i. 329; Zia-i-Barni, p. 259, Calcutta text; J.A.S. Bengal, 1869, p. 199, and 1870, p. 43; D’Ohsson, ii. 620; Price, ii. 616; De Guignes, iii. 270; Elphinstone’s India, 391. A plan of ‘Alá-ud-dín’s intrenchment, on the occasion of Turghi’s investment of Dehli, in A.H. 703, is engraved, in illustration of Mr. Campbell’s article, in the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 217.

2 Argún, who held Persia and the proximate lands, is spoken of by Marco Polo as “King of India,” cap. i. § 5.

3 A Tibetan फ़ुँ = फ़ुँ e.l.

4 The Bombay lithographed edition of Wassif gives the correct pronunciation of the name as ﵿ. The father’s name is properly Dód.
No. 140. Copper. (Col. Stacey's collection. Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

Small circular centre.

Fifteenth King (A.H. 715; A.D. 1815).

The Eunuch Malik Nāib Kāfūr, the Hasdr Dināri of early days, when that sum had been recently paid for him, whom we have seen perfidiously watching the failing strength, if not accelerating the end of 'Alá-ud-dín, now proceeded to carry out his schemes with less reserve; setting aside unhesitatingly those who were fit to reign, even to the exclusion of the publicly installed heir Khizr Khán,¹ he selected as his puppet

¹ This young prince's name is held in pleasant remembrance in the land in connexion with one of the few bits of sentiment the age has left on record. At a time when the rude Turks had given place to the more assimilative Khiljīs, who were slowly domesticating themselves in their new home, and in their bolder raids into the depths of the south imperceptibly becoming Indianized, discovering in their progress that there existed a very archaic local nobility, whose chivalry they might well admire, they were led to seek for alliances with the daughters of these ancient houses. In the present instance, a damsel of gentle blood and great repute for beauty, the daughter of the Rāja of Guzerat, named Desal Dēvi, on whose behalf armies had already been set in motion, was captured, by hazard, with all her escort and conveyed to Delhi, where her own mother, Kamālid Dēvi, by a similar chance, was found established as the favoured wife in the Imperial Palace. In such proximity no wonder that the young heir apparent appreciated her charms, and was finally permitted to marry her in all form. The tale of their loves has been made the subject of a Persian poem, of 4,200 verses, the produce
a child, who was placed on the throne under the title of Shahâb-ud-dín 'Umar. Affairs seemed to be promising for the hero of so many southern campaigns, who had brought more plunder into the imperial treasury than even his most acquisitive master, when his own career was unexpectedly brought to a close by the swords of some Pâiks,\(^1\) thirty-seven days after the death of 'Alá-ud-dín. In the meantime, as the rightful successor had been deprived of sight by Káfúr, another brother of seventeen, by name Mubárak, was placed in the position of Regent for the youthful Sultán; but he did not long delay the almost inevitable consummation of a transfer of the crown to his own brow, and 'Umar's capacity to reign was determined for ever by the destruction of his eyes in his prison at Gwalior.

No. 141 (pl. iii. fig. 63). Silver and copper. Weight, 54·5 grs. Very rare. A.H. 715.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ابو المظفر} & \quad \text{السلطان} \\
\text{عمر شاه} & \quad \text{عظم شهاب المد} \\
\text{السلطان} & \quad \text{نـیا والذین} 715
\end{align*}
\]

of the prolific pen of Mr Khurru (715 A.H.), entitled "The Story of Khizar Khán and Dewal Râni" (Sprenger's Catalogue of Oude MSS. p. 470). The interest in her tale is, however, sadly shaken by her after fate—the penalty of her beauty—as the enforced wife of two succeeding Sultâns, one the brother and murderer of her husband, the other the foul Pariah, the Usurper, Khurru, against whom her proud Râjpút blood must, indeed, have risen.

\(^1\) Hindâstâni Local Infantry. The Pyks of our early wars, and Militia, later in the day, in Cuttack.
Sixteenth King (A.H. 716–720; A.D. 1316–1320).\(^1\)

Of all the dangers that beset an Eastern throne, in latitudes like Dehli, none are more fatal to youthful monarchs than the free license of indulgence inseparable from despotism. In a country where morals were confessedly lax, and sensualism was elevated into a study, if not a science; where the enforced idleness of the mid-day hours was eminently suggestive to southern blood, nurtured under a religion which demanded but few denials, and where kings, in their degree, claimed to be khalifs; no wonder that these spiritual superiors sought to anticipate the imagined rewards of the Turk’s paradise,\(^2\) amid the living Houries of the lower world. These, and the coarser vices which descended to odious practices and obscene outrages upon decency, may well be left for us behind the screen of the walls of an Eastern Harem. It is sufficient to say that while the Sultán occupied himself with every variety of degrading debauchery, all power in the State was surrendered to a Hindú, who had been elevated, in the first act of the reign, to the style and title of Khurru

---

1 Zit Barni dates the accession of Kutb-ud-din Mubarak in A.H. 717 (text, p. 331), but the Editors, very properly, correct this on the authority of Mr Khursu’s work, the , into 716. The Tarikh Mubarak Shāhī fixes the date, with apparent precision, to the 20th Muharram, 716 A.H. The Tabakát Akbari, Budaoni, and Ferishtah, all follow Zit Barni’s error.

2 Cap. l.v. “Revealed at Mecca. They shall repose on couches, the linings whereof shall be of thick silk, etc. . . . Therein [in the garden of heaven] shall receive them beauteous damsels, refraining their eyes from beholding any besides their spouses: whom no man shall have deflowered before them. . . . Therein shall be agreeable and beauteous damsels: having fine black eyes, and kept in pavilions from public view. Whom no man shall have deflowered, before their destined spouses, nor any genius [jinn].”—Cap. l.vi. “Revealed at Mecca. And there shall accompany them fair damsels having large black eyes, resembling pearls hidden in their shells: as a reward for that which they shall have wrought . . . and they shall repose themselves on lofty beds. Verily we have created the damsels of paradise by a peculiar creation . . . for the delight of the companions of the right hand.”—Sale’s Koran, edit. 1784. See also cap. 77.
Khán, and who imitated and emulated both the successes of Káfir in the south, and his mastery over the reigning monarch, till, in the end, he personally superintended the murder of his patron, within the private apartments of the palace, and, amid an indiscriminate slaughter of all possible adherents of the old Muhammadan dynasty, ascended the steps of the newly vacated throne.

The public incidents of the reign are comparatively unimportant. No Mughals harassed the soil, no famines afflicted the people, but the quiet and prosperity of the land, reflected in the luxury of the capital, excites the regrets of the contemporary historian, who pathetically adverts to the enhanced price of slaves of all degrees and denominations, and the inconvenient average advance of 25 per cent. upon the rates of provisions previously established by royal edict.

Kutb-ud-dín Mubarak Sháh.


Square area.
السّلَطَان ابن
السبطان الوثيق
بالله امیر الممثمين

Margin—
ضرب هذه السكك بقلعه قطب اباد في سنه ثمان عشرو سبعمايه

Entire surface.
الامام الاعظم
خليفة رب العالمين
قطب الدنيا والدين
ابو المطهر مباركشاه
Only three specimens in gold are known—Froehn. Num. Kuf. p. 81, pl. xxi., a.h. 720; Sir T. Metyalf’s collection, a.h. 719; Prinsep’s collection, B.M.

This coin presents us with the name of a new place of mintage. We have no direct means of ascertaining the locality indicated by the designation of Kutba’dad. This, however, is the less a subject of regret, as there seems good reason to suppose that the term was only momentarily applied to that portion of the many-citied Dehli, which had the honour of constituting the immediate residence of Mubarak Shah.

No. 143 (pl. iii. fig. 64). Weight, 170 grs. Circular piece. Dehli, a.h. 716, 717.

اسک‌سپدار الزمان

سلطان الاعظم

قطب الدنيا و الدین

امیر المومنین

أبو المظفر مباركشاه

Margin—

ضرب هذه الفئة بحضرته دهلي في سنة سبع عشر و سبعا وبًا.


السلطان ابن

الامام الاعظم

السلطان الواثق

خلفیة رتب العالمین

بالله امیر المومینین

قطب الدنيا و الدین

أبو المظفر مباركشاه

Margin—

ضرب هذه السکة بحضوره دار الخلافة في سنة ثمانی عشر و سبیعًا و بیمیًا.

*Square piece.* Dár ul Khiláfat, s.h. 717.

**Area.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mubarakshah al-Sultan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibn al-Sultan al-Walid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bala he amir al-muminin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Margin—**

ضرب هذه القصة بحضرة دار الخلافة في سنة سبع عشر وسدماية

Whatever 'Alá-ud-dín's designs in regard to new systems of religion may have amounted to, it remained to his son to disavow entirely the spiritual supremacy of all other Khalifs and successors of Khalifs, and to appropriate that title to himself. This is evidenced in coins, Nos. 142, 144, 145, 146, which display a simultaneous change from the comparatively humble epithet of "Right hand of the Khalifat," etc., in conjunction with the marginal record of "Struck at the capital, Dehli," to be found on the early coinage of the reign (No. 143), to the assumption of the style and title of "The most mighty Imám, Commander of the Faithful," as introductory to his own self-assumed sacerdotal designation of Al Wásik Billah, accompanied by a marginal legend, showing that Dehli in this change had arrived at the honours of a second Baghdad.

This arrogation of hierarchical honours is still more clearly developed on the legends of the coins of the year 718, wherein Mubárak calls himself "Supreme Pontiff," "Khalifah of the God of heaven and earth." So that while this eccentric young man was parading himself in female costume, to the scandal of all beholders, when the fit was on him; at
other moments he was devoting himself to superintending
the dogmas of Islám, and erecting mosques with a pious zeal
worthy of a better cause and more consistent teaching.¹

No. 147. Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. 716.
New variety. Unique. Mr. E. C. Bayley's collection.

*Obverse*—السلطان لأعظم قطب الدنیا والدين

*Reverse*—ابو المظفر مبارك شاه السلطان ۷۱۲

No. 148. Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs.
A.H. 716, 717. Rare.

*Obverse*—السلطان لأعظم قطب الدنیا والدين

*Reverse*—مباركشاه السلطان بن السلطان ۷۱۲

No. 149 (pl. iii. fig. 67). Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs.
A.H. 727, 718, 719, 720.

*Obverse*—الامام لأعظم قطب الدنیا والدين ۷۱۷

*Reverse*—ابو المظفر مباركشاه السلطان بن السلطان

No. 150 (pl. iii. fig. 68). Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs.
A.H. 717, 718.

*Obverse*—خليفة رئ العالمين قطب الدنیا والدين اب المظفر

*Reverse*—مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان الواثق بالله امير المؤمنین


*Obverse* {Square area,

Margin,}

*Reverse*—مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان

¹ Ferishtah says he built a mosque at Deogti, "which still remains."—Briggs, i. 389. He also appears to have completed the Makbarah of 'Alá-ud-din, with its Mosque and Madrissah, in 717 A.H.—Syud Ahmad, p. 27.
KUTB-UD-DIN MUBARAK SHAH.

No. 151a. A similar coin of mine, dated in A.H. 719, containing a large proportion of silver, weighs no less than 80.5 grains.


Obverse—Same legend as No. 149.

Reverse—خليفة الله مباركشاة السلطان ابن السلطان.

No. 153 (pl. iii. fig. 71). Copper. Square. Weight, 66 grs.

Obverse—الإمام الأعظم

Reverse—قطب الدنيا و الدين.


Obverse—عدل مباركشاة

Reverse—بحضرة دار لخلافة.

SEVENTEENTH KING (A.H. 720; A.D. 1320).

The leading point of interest, in the historical sense, of the present reign, is the sudden and unanticipated re-establishment of Hindú supremacy and the temporary degradation of Muslim prestige. Had the fortuitous representative of the ancient faith been a man of higher status and less objectionable antecedents, the subsequent chronicles of the land might have had to be differently told. If any member of the many royal races, who preserved their tribal integrity in defiance of foreign conquest, and who were already silently reassert-
ing their place and position against the diluted nationality of the Imperial Court,—if any such had initiated or been commissioned to lead a crusade for the recovery of India for the Indians, the followers of the Prophet might, per-
chance, have had to recede within the proper limits of Semitic Islám, now inconveniently placed behind the line those odious Mughals had drawn between Hindústán and the western world. As it was, the unclean Páriah,1 the favoured minion of the departed king, while outraging the new creed he pretended to have adopted, and needlessly offending the one class of supporters of the throne, whom the gold of the Dakhan had often won before, was unable to pretend to association with the high caste Hindú Rájas, whose resources and courage might, at this moment, have proved equal to the restitution of the ancient landmarks, could they but have accepted, as of old, a single prominent leader, to be Mahárája Adhirája of the scattered kingdoms and principalities which had latterly lost somewhat of their early facility of agglom-
eration. The Muhammadan biographer of the day is almost pathetic in his horror of Kuráns desecrated and used as seats, and pulpits degraded into pedestals for Hindú idols; or the equally grave offence, in the eyes of the faithful, of Khusru’s

1 برواری، پارسائی، “an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchmen, gatekeepers, porters, etc. Of the three terms for this people—
پارسائی، خیر، سهار, “the first is a courteous or conciliating term; the second is a term of reviling; the third a mere appellative without implication.”
Molesworth’s Maráthi Dictionary. “The Purwary is a Hindoo outcast, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town.”—Brigge, Ferishtah, i. p. 387, note.

Captain Grant Duff, in enumerating the divisions of castes and trades of the normal village system in the Dakhan, speaks of the Mhar or Dher as the very lowest order of Shunkerjatee except the Mang; .... the Mangs are not so in-
telligent as the Mhars; .... both the one and the other .... are exceeding filthy in many respects.”—History of the Mahrattas, London, 1826, p. 31.
taking to wife the Hindú Princess Devāl Dévi, the widow of
the late Sultán, and the coincident distribution of other
Muhammadan women to Idolatrous masters. Amid all these
overt acts, the Usurper seems to have outwardly professed
Islám; he styles himself Nāsir-ud-dīn, "Defender of the
Faith," Wālī ʿAmr al Māminin; but whether he refers in
this term to the late Sultán or to some imaginary "Com-
mander of the Faithful," is not clear; and his titles were
repeated in the public prayer with as much formality as if he
had been a most orthodox believer.

For the rest, the incidents of his reign are soon told. We
have the usual attempt at exterminating all the adherents of
the late monarch, profuse distribution of gold, and no effort
spared to attach the influential nobles of the old Court.
Among the rest, Fakhr-ud-dīn Jānā, the son of Ghāzi beg
Tughlak, Governor of Daibalpúr, who chanced to have re-
mained in Dehli, seems to have been either bought over or
intimidated, until he had an opportunity of escaping and
joining his father, who, supported by the Governor of U'chh,
defeated the army of Dehli sent against him, and finally
advancing upon the capital, secured an easy victory over
the forces of Khusru, who fled ignominiously from the field
only to be dragged out of his place of concealment and
beheaded.1

No. 155 (pl. iii. fig. 73). Silver. Weight, 145 grs. Únique. A.H. 720.

(Original coin, in the Stacy collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal.)

Coarsely finished piece, in apparently inferior metal.

1 The Tārīkh Mubārak Shāhī fixes the date of Khusru's accession as 6th of
Rabī'ul awwal, A.H. 721, and assigns him a reign of four months and some days.
The exact date of his execution is not given, but Tughlak Shāh is stated to have
been enthroned early in Shabān, 721 A.H. Ferishtah has the 1st Shabān.
Eighteenth King (A.H. 720-725; A.D. 1320-1325).

Ghází Beg Tughlak, by birth a Karaunah Türk,¹ from a very humble start in life, was glad to take service as a private soldier under Ulugh Khán, the brother of 'Alá-ud-dín

¹ قرònیة. Ibn Batutah, iii. p. 201: "Turcs connus sous le nom Karaunah, et qui habitent dans les montagnes situées entre le Sind et le pays des Turcs." See also Lee, p. 125. Marco Polo's account of this tribe is that their Tartar sires followed Nagodar, the nephew of Zagataï, and settled in these parts, "these being men of a light complexion, mixing with the dark Indian women, produced the race to whom the appellation of Karaunah is given, signifying, in the language of the country, a mixed breed; and these are the people who have since been in the practice of committing depredations not only in the country of Reo-
Khiljí; his courage and capacity, however, speedily won him a general’s baton, and we find him promoted in the early days of Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak to the important frontier command of Daibalpúr, as Lord of the Marches destined to receive the first shock of the dreaded Mughals. From this position, his victorious advance upon Dehli, and final defeat of Khusru, left him almost without a competitor for the vacant throne, which, with some possibly feigned reserve, he was finally induced to accept. His rule was inaugurated by wise regulations, tending to the relief and well-being of the cultivators of the soil, whose importance in the body politic was now beginning to dawn upon the Muslim mind; indeed, the Hindú subjects were gradually reasserting their proper position in the social scale, in defiance of the prejudices of their now partially naturalized foreign rulers. This, however, did not in any way interfere with the habitual raids to the south, which seem to have been looked upon as a necessary departmental section of the administration of the empire. The heir apparent, Fakhr-ud-dín Júná, now designated as Ulugh Khán, was entrusted with this command, the Military Viceroyalty of the Dakhan, and started for Warangol on his first expedition in A.H. 721. Almost his earliest thoughts in this independent position savoured of

barbe (Rudbár) but in every other country to which they have access.” Marsden (1818), pp. 87, 90; Bohn’s edition, p. 60; D’Ohsson, iv. 46; Ouseley, Oriental Geography, p. 140; Sherif-ud-dín’s Timur Beç, c. xlv.; Pottinger, pp. 68, 139; Ferrier, Caravan Journeys, 1857, pp. 413, 491.

Shams-i-Siraj ’Aftf mentions in his Tarikh Firda Sháhi that he has given a full account of the parentage of Tughlak Sháh in his Manákib-i-Sultán Tughlak. No copies of this work have been discovered.—Eliot’s Historians, iii. p. 271.

The Khuláṣat al Tawáríkh speaks of a tradition that his mother was a Jeṣuí of the Punjáb.
treason to his sire. Warangol was invested, and on the point of surrendering, when certain parties to the immature conspiracy lost heart and separated themselves from the Muhammadan camp, which left Ulugh Khán no resource but a hasty and calamitous retreat to Deogir, from whence he succeeded in effectually blinding his father as to his real designs, by supplying him with a sufficient number of minor victims for his vengeance. The second invasion of the south was more successful, Bidr and Warangol were captured, and Ladder Déo, with his elephants and treasures, wives and children, was sent to the Súltán at Dehli, and the Hindu name of Warangol was obliterated for a short period in the new designation of Sútánpur.

In 724 a.h. the Súltán proceeded in person to Bengal, where he received the submission of Shaháb-ud-dín Bughráh Sháh, and carried the turbulent Bahádur Sháh, King of

1 This is Ibn Batutha's account (iii. 208). Zíár Barní veils the damaging fact under general details.
2 I have already adverted to Zíár Barní's mistakes in regard to the individual monarch then reigning in Bengal: the original error may very well have arisen from the similarity of the names of the grandfather and grandson. I append, without further comment, the passage in question as translated by Professor Dowson: "When the Súltán reached Tírhat, the ruler of Lakhnautí, Súltán Násir-ud-dín, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Súltán; and without the sword being called into requisition, all the Ráis and Rúnas of the country made their submission. Táṭár Khán, foster-son (pisár i khwáinda) of the Súltán, hold the territory of Záfarábád; and a force having been assigned to him, he brought the whole country under the imperial rule. Bahádur Sháh, the ruler of Sunár-gánw made some resistance; but a cord was thrown upon his neck, and he was conducted to the Súltán. All the elephants of the country were sent to the royal stables, and the army acquired great spoil in the campaign. Súltán Násir-ud-dín had shown great respect and submission, so the Súltán gave him a canopy and a baton, sent him back, and placed Lakhnautí under his rule. Bahádur Sháh, the ruler of Sunár-gánw, was sent to Dehli with a rope round his neck, and the Súltán returned towards his capital triumphant. . . ."—Elliot's Historians, iii. 234.
Eastern Bengal, captive to Dehli. On setting out upon this expedition to Bengal, the Sultán had infatuatedly installed Ulugh Khán as Viceroy at Dehli. The latter waited for his long sought opportunity, till his father's return in triumph to the capital, when he advanced to meet him in equal state and ceremony the conventional one stage on the way. Having erected a pavilion for his reception, cunningly devised to fall and crush its occupants, the Sultán and his favourite son fell easy victims to the trap, whose mechanism too effectually fulfilled its mission.\(^1\)


Obverse—السلطان الغازى غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو الظفر

The Sultán, the Gházi, Ghiás ud dunya wa ud dín Abú-l Muzaffar.

Reverse—سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر أمير المومنين

The Second Alexander, right-hand of the Khilâfat, supporter of the Commander of the Faithful.

Margin—مزب هذه ال

This is, perhaps, the most curious hybrid piece in the entire series, exemplifying, as it does, the extreme haste resorted to in the preparation and issue of coin on the accession of a new king. In this instance there was less need of such secondary demonstration, as the elevation of Tughlak Sháh was virtually unopposed; and yet we see the State officials so precipitating the Numismatic proclamation of their chosen Sovereign as to put forth money with his name on the obverse, coupled with the incongruous titles of a former Sultán, one of whose obsolete reverse stamps has been made to do duty, on the urgency of the moment, while an appropriate die was in course of completion, which should set forth consistently the

\(^1\) Zíá Barní suppresses the fact of the intention, but Ibn Batutah is frank and outspoken on the subject.
titular designations approved of by the reigning monarch, which clearly followed, in their pious tenour, a very different order of ideas, to the vain-glorious boasts of resuscitated Alexanders or other arrogant assumptions of Pontifical precedence.


Obverse—The Sultán, the fortunate, the testifier, the Gházi, Ghiás ud dúnýa wa ud dín.

Reverse—Abú-l Musaffar Tughlak Sháh. May God illumine his testimony. 721.

Margin—


Circular area.

Square area.

Margin—


Area.

Margin—

digitized by Google
No. 161 (pl. iii. fig. 78). Silver. Weight, 170 grs. (Several specimens range as high as 169.8 grs.). Rare. Similar coin to No. 160, but struck at Dehli in A.H. 722, 723, 724.

Margin—
ضرب هذه السكّة بحفرة دهلي في سنة أربع وعشرين وسبيع.

No. 162. Silver. Weight, 162 grs. Colonel Guthrie.

A Bengal coin.

Following the ordinary details of the Imperial mintages, but marked both in shape, weight and fashion of the letters in its identity with the provincial coinage. The marginal records are obliterated, but there can be little hesitation in associating these pieces with Tughlak Shah's expedition to Bengal.

No. 163 (pl. iii. fig. 79). Silver and copper. Weight, 54 grs.

A.H. 720, 721.

Obverse—سلطان الفاضي غياث الدين والدين

Reverso—تغلغل شاه

Margin—سي: سکھتھ مراجاٹھری Sultán Gydudth.

No. 164 (pl. iii. fig. 80). Silver and copper. Weight, 55 grs.

Dates observed, A.H. 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725.

Obverse—سلطان الفاضي غياث الدين والدين

Reverso—ابو المظفر تغلغل شاه السلطان

No. 165 (pl. iii. fig. 81). Copper. Weight, 53 grs. Rare.

Obverse—تغلغل

Reverso—شاه

1 In two well ascertained instances the omitt runs on to 726. Mr. Freeling long ago observed the one example, and Major Stubbe's latest selections furnish a second and indubitable instance of the insertion of a final ɣ = 6. I do not, however, attach any importance to these crude definitions of the ɣ, which may well have been a mere ignorant rendering of a legitimate r = 2.
P. Ibn Batutah has preserved a record of an inscription of this monarch on the Jām'ī Musjid, at Multān, which he states he had himself seen, to the following effect:

أَتَى قَاتِلُ التَّرَّسَعَا و عَشْرِينَ مَرَّة نَهْزُهُمْ فَعَشَّتْ سَمِيَتُ بالملکُ

I have encountered the Tatars on twenty-nine occasions, and defeated them; hence I am called Malik al Ghāzi (iii. 202).

Ziá Barni has a passage much to the same effect, p. 416, text.

We have no extant inscriptions of this Sultán, but he has left a very imperishable memorial of his reign in the stupendous Fort of Tughlakábéd, the construction of which is stated by the author of the Táríkh Mubárak Sháhi to have occupied a period of more than three years. The site of the town is prominent on the accompanying plan of Dehli, situated four miles due east of the Kutb Minár and ten miles south of the modern city. The fortress is built of enormous blocks of sandstone cut from the surrounding hills; and within the citadel, which is connected with the fort by a viaduct of twenty-seven arches, is placed the equally solid mausoleum of the king. The whole undertaking, however, proved eminently futile, as his son removed his Court to the old city within forty days after his accession.¹

¹ Syud Ahmad's Asár us Sunadeed, p. 29; Fergusson's History of Architecture, ii. p. 653.
BENGAL COINS.

I have to bring up the arrears of no less than three Bengal kings, who flourished in undisturbed obscurity as far as imperialism at Dehli was concerned, and to resume the thread of the local history, severed for the time being, with the reign of 'Alá-ud-dín (p. 154).

II. SHAMS-UD-DÍN FÍRÚZ.

We gather from Ibn Batutah's chronicle, already quoted at page 146, that Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, the son of Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Bughrá Khán, was reigning in Western Bengal at the period of Muhammad bin Tughlak's abortive revolt against his own father in 721-2 A.H. To his Court fled many of those faint-hearted nobles who hesitated to carry out their treason in the face of real or imaginary difficulties. Beyond this we learn but little of his power, or the prominent events of his reign; indeed, his coins alone establish the fact of his possession of Lakhnauti during the period embraced between the years 702-722, and (at some moment) of his ownership of the Eastern Province of Bengal represented by the mint of Sonárgán. A subordinate incident is developed in the legends of the coins, that he felt himself sufficiently firm in his own power to discard the supererogatory adjuncts of descent or relationship, and relied upon the simple affirmation of his own position as the Sultán.
THE COINS OF

Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah.


Reverse. | Obverse.
---|---
الامام | السلطان العظم
المستعصم | شمس الدنيا و الدين
امير المومنين | ابوي المظفر فيروز شاه
السلطان |

Margin—ضرب هذه الفضة في خريرت لكرهت سنة عشرين و [سبعماية]


III. SHAHAB-UD-DIN BUGHRAH SHAH.

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 Shahab-ud-din, the son of Shams-ud-din Firuz, and grandson of the once recognized heir apparent of Balban.

The singularly limited number of the coins of this prince, confined—if the original Calcutta selections be not at fault?—

---

1 See also Pathán Sultáns of Hindustán, old edition, p. 37, coin dated 702 A.H. This coin was first published in 1848. I then read the date as 702 A.H. I was not at the time versed in the decipherment of Arabic numbers, and probably from the very difficulty of placing the piece itself, I may the more rely upon the accuracy of my original interpretation. I mention this fact, as I am at present unable to refer to the coin itself.

2 The name of this king does not appear in any of the lists contributed by Babu Rajendra Lal, who was commissioned to make a selection of the more remarkable coins from the grand total above named.
to three examples amid the 13,500 accumulated specimens of the currencies of other kings of the land over which he temporarily held sway, sufficiently mark his status in the general list of the potentates of the century in which he lived. No date or place of mintage is preserved on his extant money, and the single additional item supplied by their aid is his personal or proper name, which appears on their surfaces as بعدد; a crude outline which might suggest a doubt as to the conclusiveness of the transcription of بغرة, now confidently adopted as expressing an optional rendering of the grandfather's title of بغراخان,¹ a name which was even further distorted from the Türkí original by the conversion of the medial ṭ into the vernacular cerebral ā or 𢄀. For the rest, the pieces themselves, under the mechanical test, in their make, the forms of their letters, and the tenour of their legends, evidently follow closely upon Shams-ud-dín's mintage, and as clearly precede the money of the same locality, issued by Ghiás-ud-dín Bahádur Sháh, who, in 724 A.H., drove this, his own brother, Shaháb-ud-dín, to take refuge with the Sultán, Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh. Bahádur's career has yet to be told in connexion with his own coins; but to dispose of Shaháb-ud-dín,² as far as the exercise of his

¹ The ancient name طنفاج بغراخان of Bokhara notoriety in 350 A.H. (Freihm Recensio Numorum Muhammadanorum, pp. 139, 593, 578), was subjected to strange mutations on Indian soil. My authority for the substitution of the final ݏ in place of the vowel ی is derived from Ibn Batutah, who uniformly writes the word with an ݏ (iii. 231–5, 293). Perishtah (text, p. 131) has یہ, whence Stewart's Bagora (p. 74). Dow gave the name as ہرر, and Briggs as Kurrà (i. pp. 265, 270, etc.).

² Those who delight in interesting coincidences might see, in this name of Shaháb-ud-dín, a most tempting opportunity for associating him with a really important record by the Indigènes themselves, inscribed on a stone slab in the
mint prerogatives are concerned, he seems to have abdicated any such rights from the date when he claimed the aid of his

dort of Chunár, setting forth their victory over a "Malik" Shaháb-ud-din, quoted as acting under Muhammad bin Tughlak, in Samvat 1390 (A.H. 734); but I confess I do not myself encourage the identification. Chunár is certainly not out of the range of access from Bengal; but other men of mark may have filled this command, and the name of the fortress itself is never heard of in reference to the affairs of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, in those early days, though the main road of communication between the two capitals of the north and the south took its course through Badaon or Kanauj and Jaunpore. The inscription is otherwise well worthy of further examination, in as far as it concerns the history of imperial influence upon proximate localities; and as such I transcribe both the text and Dr. Mille's translation of the brief passages which chance to illustrate the general subject.

Verse 5:

राजा के सिर सिरों राजा राजापार भए सिर नितिः |

"By Muhammad, lord of the hostile Yavanas Shaháb-ud-din and the rest, though an enemy, was Sairája, the treasure of benignity, employed as prime minister."

Verse 11:

"Samvat 1390, in the month of Bhadra, fifth day of the waning moon, on Thursday, was the kingdom set free from Malik Shaháb-ud-din, acting under the protecting favour of Sairája Deva aforesaid."

(See Journal As. Soc. Bengal, vol. v., 1836, p. 341.)

There were several Shaháb-ud-dins, men of prominence in these days. Among the rest ملک شہاب الدين سلطان تاج الملك صبرخلا ملک شہاب الدين سلطان (p. 454) in the official lists of Muhammad bin Tughlak's nobles, and mentioned by Ferishtah as having been invested with the Jásir of Násárí (text, i. p. 238; Briggs, i. p. 412). Násárí, if it is correctly placed in 73° 1′—21° 0′, would scarcely, however, associate his scene of action with Chunár (33°—25° 5′). Later in point of time, there was a Shaháb-ud-din, Muśāni, who was entitled Nusrat Kādn, and entrusted with the charge of Bīd in A.H. 742 (Ferishtah, i. 424), and who very shortly rebelled against his lord (Elliott's Historians, iii. 247).
BAHÁDUR SHÁH.

Suzerain; and though Zié Barni\(^1\) affirms that he was eventu-
ally reinstated in his dominion, it is not clear under what
terms and conditions he was permitted to hold his delegated
rank.

Sháhí-búd-dín Bughrá Sháh.

No. 168 (pl. vi. fig. 4). Silver. Weight, 168·5 grs.

Mint (illegible). Two coins only, Col. Guthrie.

Type as usual.

Obverse. | Reverse.
---|---
السلطان الاعظم | الهمااام
شمس الدنيا والدين | المستعصم
ابو المظفر بغدہ شاه | امير المومنين
السلطان بن سلطان | ضرب هذال(remainder illegible)

Margin,

IV. BAHADUR SHAH.

The single point in the biography of Bahádur Sháh which
remains at all obscure is the date of his first attaining power.
Ibn Batútah records, with sufficient distinctness, that he con-

\(^1\) سلطان ناصر [شہاب] الدین ضابط لکھوتی را .. جیترو دیوباش-

دات و لکھوتی بدو خواریت زرود و باز فرستاد و ستکانو و سناکانو

Calcutta text, p. 461

و تغلق شاد ناصر [شہاب] الدین را جیتر دادہ بطريق زمان سات

لکھوتی را باتعاش مقر داشت و نیز حافظت سناکانو و کور

Faríshtah, Bombay text, p. 234.

Briggs's version differs materially from the original text (l. 406).
quered and set aside his regnant brother Shabáb-ud-dín, at some time prior to Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak’s reassertion of the ancient suzerainty of Dehli over the lightly-held allegiance of Bengal, and his eventual carrying away captive the offending Bahádur, who was, however, soon to be released and restored with added honours,¹ by Muhammad bin Tughlak, shortly after his own accession. Indian home-authors, who so rarely refer to the affairs of the Gangetic delta, give vague intimations of the first appointment of Bahádur to Eastern Bengal by 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad in a.h. 709,² assigning to him an inconceivable interval of placid repose until a.h. 717, when he is stated to have broken out into the turbulent self-assertion for which he was afterwards so celebrated. But, as we have seen how manifestly wrong the Court chroniclers were in the matter of Násir-ud-dín’s prolonged reign, we may freely accept Ibn Batutah’s statement as the most readily reconcilable with probabilities, and the demands of the, up to this time legible, dates on the coins which Bahádur put into circulation in Bengal. I might have some doubt as to the conclusiveness of the reading of the date 710 on his money in the Kóch Bahár trouvaille, but I have none as to the clear expression of a.h. 711 and 712, though the singular break occurring between 712 (or 714) and 720 suggests a suspicion of an originally imperfect die-rendering of the اُتار = 10 for اُتار = 20,³ which would bring

¹ جوئ سلطان بهادر سنارکامی را بملکت اردو رخصت کرد انتخاب

² Tabakht-i-Akbari.

³ See also ZiÁ Barni, printed edition, p. 461.

² Stewart, p. 75; Ferishtah (Briggs), i. 406.

³ Among more critical Arabic scholars than the Bengal mint masters ever affected to be, this point would have been easily determined by the insertion or
the corrected range of Bahádúr’s dates to 720–724; but even these figures leave something to be reconciled in reference to their associate places of mintage, for in 720–722, his father, Shams-ud-dín Fírúz, was clearly in possession of the already commemorated “Lakhnauti;” but such an anomaly might be explained by the supposition that Bahádúr, in the earlier days, used the name of Lakhnauti as a geographical expression for a portion of the dominions ordinarily administered from that capital. Undoubtedly the first appearance of the contrasted designation of the eastern capital, “Sonárgán,” occurs on the coinage of his father; but even this sign of discrimination of urban issues would not be altogether opposed to a continuance by Bahádúr of the loose usage of Camp Mints, of naming the metropolis as the general term for the division at large, or inconsistent with the subsidiary legitimate employment of the designation of the province on a coinage effected anywhere within its own boundaries,—either of which simple causes may have prevailed, and been utilized with a new motive, if any covert ulterior meaning chanced to be designed, as implying that Bahádúr himself had special successional or other claims to the metropolitan districts.

Tughlak Sháh’s intervention in the affairs of Bengal seems to have originated in an appeal on the part of the ejected Shaháb-ud-dín against the usurpation of his brother Bahádúr. The result of the Imperial expedition to the south was the defeat, capture, and transport to Dehli of Bahádúr Sháh; but among the first acts of the new Sultán, Muhammad bin Tughlak, was the release and re-installation of the offender, showing clearly that he was something more than an ordi-

 omission of the conjunction y en, which, as a rule, is required to couple the units and the twenties, but is not used with the units and tens.
nary local governor, transerable at will, and that possibly the interests of the Imperial father and son, in their newly established dynastic rank, and the confessed insubordination of the latter, were independently advocated by the opposing members of the royal line of Bengal, whose family tree could show so much more ancient a series of regal successions than their parvenu Sузерains, whose elevation dated scarce five years back. One of the most interesting illustrations of the present series is contributed by coin No. 186, in the legends of which Bahádúr acknowledges the supremacy of Muhammad bin Tughlak over Eastern Bengal during A.H. 728. The sub-

ject seems, however, to have been of brief duration, as, sometime in or after the year A.H. 730, Bahádúr appears to have reverted to an independent coinage, in a new capital called after his own title Ghádápur (coin No. 170), and in A.H. 733 Muhammad bin Tughlak is found issuing his own coin in Bengal, and Bahádúr, defeated and put to death, contributed an example to insurgent governors in his own skin, which was stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire.

1 Ibn Batutah gives the following additional particulars of Bahádúr's re-

installation:—"Il (Muhammad bin Tughlak) lui fit de nombreux cadeaux en argent, chevaux, éléphants, et le renvoya dans son royaume. Il expédia avec lui le fils de son frère, Infihim Khán; il convint avec Behádour Bourah qu'ils posséderaient lèdt royaume par égales moitiés; que leurs noms figuraient ensemble sur les monnaies; que la prière serait faite en leur nom commun, et que Ghiyáth eddìn enverrait son fils Mohammed dit Berbath (بیابام), comme otage près du souverain de l’Inde. Ghiyáth eddìn partit, et observa toutes les promesses qu’il avait faites; seulement il n’envoyait pas son fils, comme il avait été stipulé. Il prétendait que ce dernier s’y était refusé, et, dans son discours, il blessa les convenances. Le souverain de l’Inde fit marcher au secours du fils de son frère, Infihim Khán, des troupes dont le commandant était Doldji attary (دلگی التری). Elles combattirent Ghiyáth eddìn et le tuèrent; elles le dépouillèrent de sa peau, qu’on rembourra de paille, et qu’on promena ensuite dans les provinces."—Vol. iii. p. 316.
BAHÁDUR SHÁH.

Bahádur Sháh.

No. 169. Silver. Size, vii. to viii. Weight, ordinarily, 166 grs.; one example is as high as 167·5 grs. Rare. Lakhnauti, A.H. 710, 711, 712, 7-3, 7-41 (break), 720, 721, 722.

**Obverse.**

السultan الأعظم
غیاث الدین والدین
ابو المظفر بهادر شاه
السultan بی سلطان

**Reverse.**

الامام
المستعصم
امیر المومینین

 Margin

No. 170 (pl. vi. fig. 5). Silver. Weight, 166 and 164·5 grs. Very rare. Two coins. Col. Guthrie. Second mint, Ghiáspúr, Date, 730.

 Margin

I have reserved for its more appropriate place among Muhammad bin Tughlak's own series of silver pieces the remarkable medal struck by Bahádur Sháh in honour of his Suzerain in A.H. 728 (No. 186, p. 215).

1 The dates 7-3, 7-4, may, perchance, be obliterated records of 723, 724. I have placed them among the lower figures, but I have no sanction for retaining them in that position.
Nineteenth King (A.H. 725-752; A.D. 1324-1351).

The destinies of India were surrendered for twenty-seven years to the eccentric domination of Muhammad bin Tughlak, a man of mark apart from his kingship—generous to profusion, an accomplished scholar, abstinent, a stern defender of his faith, and the most experienced general of his day. Against these many merits had to be set a determination which hesitated at no means in the compassing of his own ends—a ferocity possibly inherited from the desert tribes, which could conceive no punishment effectual but death, combined with a perversion of intellect which induced him to allow despotism to run into insane fury at any sign of opposition to his will. His mind was cast to know no mercy or compassion as a judge, and he was led to carry out his best intentioned measures with an utter disregard of human suffering, as instanced in the transportation, in some cases with brutal violence, of the inoffensive citizens of Dehli, en masse, for the mere purpose of filling his newly created city of Deogir;¹ or the extermination of whole tribes as if they had

¹ The following account of Ibn Batutah, who was in part an eye-witness of the transactions referred to, will give some idea of the horrors perpetrated in carrying out this edict:—"The Sultán ordered all the inhabitants to quit the place; and upon some delay being evinced, he made a proclamation, stating that what person soever, being an inhabitant of that city, should be found in any of its houses or streets, should receive condign punishment. Upon this they all went out; but his servants finding a blind man in one of the houses and a bedridden one in another, the Emperor commanded the bedridden man to be projected from a balista, and the blind one to be dragged by his feet to Daulatâbad, which is at the distance of ten days, and he was so dragged; but his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and was then thrown into it; for the order had been that they should go to this place. When I entered Dehli it was almost a desert." "Its buildings were very few; in other
been vermin, whose single hope of salvation, in this world, was the profession of Islam.

In the early portion of his reign he held in full subjection an empire far more magnificent than had been given to any of his predecessors: circumstances, however, were adverse to the permanence of his power. The dominion covering twenty-three provinces, or independent nationalities, became, in the respects it was quite empty."—Dr. Lees's edition, Oriental Trans. Fund, p. 144. French edition, iii. p. 315.

Siraj-ed-din Abu'l-Fatih Omar, natif de la province de Oud, qui avait vécu à la cour du Sultan de Dehli, nous apprend que les états de ce monarque se composaient de vingt-trois provinces principales, savoir.

| 1. Dehlí | 13. Badaon |
| 2. Deogtr | 14. Oude |
| 4. Kohram | 16. Laknauti |
| 5. Samanah | 17. Bihár |
| (Sehwán) | 19. Malwa |
| 7. Uchh | 20. Láhor |
| 10. Malábár | 23. Telinga |
| 11. Telinga | 24. Dwara |
| 12. Gujerá | Samanda |

—Not. et Ext. xiii. p. 170. Zía Barni's list is less complete.

| 1. Dehlí | 7. Dehorsmender |
| 2. Kírát | 8. Múbar |
| 4. Deogtr | 10. Lkhnútí |
| 5. Télí | 11. Sntán |

—Zía Barni, pp. 487, 478, Calcutta text.

The author of the Masálik ul Abáér, in another part of his work, while
very number of its sections, essentially incoherent. Local feudatories had of late been superseded by governors appointed by the head of the State, and the selection of fitting and trustworthy representatives was attended by far greater risks than of old, now that the national bond, so effective among the ruling classes under the dynasty of the Tûrks, had disappeared amid the dissensions of Tûrk and Khilji,
speaking of his means of obtaining information upon Indian matters, remarks:—
"Des voyageurs de notre pays (Egypte) se rendent continuellement dans l’Inde; ainsi sommes-nous parfaitement instruits de ce qui se passe dans cette contrée" (p. 202). It must be remembered, also, that these data must have been committed to writing within a very brief interval after the return of the several contributors, as the compiler of the Masalik ul Abar died about the same time as Muhammad bin Tughlak himself (that is to say, in A.H. 749, or, at latest, 752). His informants seem to have been very favourably impressed with the high standard of civilization existing in Dehli, one of whom deposes, "les habitants de Dehli se distinguent par leur esprit et leur intelligence, la sagesse de leurs réflexions, la netteté de leurs idées. Ils s’expriment avec élégance en langue perse et en langue indienne" (p. 217). But the most distinct test of their cultivation is afforded by the accomplishments of the women, of whom the Africans speak with great admiration. The author continues—
"Je demandai à chacun de ces voyageurs, en particulier, comment une esclave femelle pouvait atteindre cette valeur (20,000 tomak ou même davantage), dans un pays où tout était à si bon marché; chacun me répondit que cette différence tenait à ce que ces jeunes filles se distinguaient par la beauté de leurs formes et la grâce de leurs manières; que pour la plupart, elles possèdent l’Alooran, savent écrire, récitent des vers, des histoires, excellent dans la musique vocale, savent pincer du luth, jouer aux échecs et aux dés. Ces jeunes esclaves sont toutes fées de réunir ces qualités brillantes. . . . Les femmes de l’Inde, sous le rapport de la beauté, l’emportent sur celles de Turquie et du Kaptchak; en outre, elles se distinguent par une grande instruction et une extrême variété de talents" (p. 200).
In a later stage of progress, India’s "greatest king," Akbar, equally confessed the supremacy of female rule, in persons alien to his own faith, who not only declined to study the Koran, but coerced the mighty monarch into the acceptance of portions of their own creed, as one of his own biographers remarks: "The Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him as to make him fast wear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids."—Badhoni, quoted by Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, p. 193.
both of whom had henceforth to bow to an alien Sultán of curiously mixed breed. In the Muhammadan distrust of unconverted Hindús, all manner of foreign adventurers were installed in divisional posts;¹ these men having little or no interest in the stability of the throne, were ever ready to aid any projected rising, or to join with their combined forces any of the more influential rebels. So that the annals of the period present a mere succession of outbreaks,—no sooner was one section of the empire brought back to its allegiance than another division would seek to assert its independence.

The Sultán was often obliged to command his own armies; and though he was usually victorious, the very fact of his absence in distant parts encouraged the disaffected elsewhere. The old proverb, "Dehli is distant,"² found a new application; the royal forces were often less near to the threatened point than the inconveniently situated capital itself, whose distance from the Southern States had already suggested its supercession by the more central Deogír. A parallel obstacle to the permanent subjection of the provinces was to be found in the state of the roads and the general insecurity of the country at large, evils that extended to such an extreme that the tribute of the south was allowed to accumulate at Deogír, merely because it was found impossible to transport it to Dehli, and eventually the whole trea-

¹ The majority of these mercenaries seem to have been Khorsánís, whom Muhammad bin Tughlak had collected to aid in his contemplated conquest of their own country. Ibn Batutah remarks incidentally that the people of Dehli called all Asiatic or African strangers indiscriminately "Khorsánís" (iiii. 229). Mughals were also engaged in large numbers, so that, on the Sultan's death, this section of his army, compact in its nationality, at once proceeded to harass and plunder the now ill-commanded force to which they were attached.—Elliot's Historians, edition 1849, p. 324; new edition, vol. iii. pp. 251, 266.

² "It is a far cry to Lochow."—Bob Roy.
sure was divided on the spot among some temporarily successful insurgents.¹

The end of such a state of things might easily be predicted. The Bengal Mints occupied themselves in coining money for independent rulers; the Sultán's early triumph, Warangol, reverted to its ancient name in the hands of other masters; Deogir, his chosen capital, submitted to Hasan Gungo, the founder of a new race of kings, the Bahmani dynasty of Kalbarga, who were destined to play a prominent part in the destinies of the country; and, finally, the owner of so many kingdoms died, miserably, of a fever, near Thatta, on the lower Indus, with his army "like ants or locusts" around him; and his cousin and successor found some difficulty in getting safe home to the cherished Dehli, Muhammad bin Tughlak had once done so much to desolate and destroy.

It is, however, in his rôle as a Prince of Moneyers that Muhammad bin Tughlak claims our peculiar attention. His mintage are instructive both in the novelty and variety of their types, admirable in the artistic perfection of their design and execution, and especially significant in their reflex of the individuality of the Monarch himself, marking, as they do, the various phases of his career—his early wealth and reckless profusion, its resulting poverty, which he attempted to meet by a forced currency, and equally his ready return to money payments on its ascertained failure. Next in order, they exemplify the doubts and difficulties concerning his own title to the throne, unconfirmed as it was by Pontifical authority, which he remedied by the curious pro-

¹ On another occasion (745 A.H.) the tribute of Gujarát, with the horses for the royal stables and a large convoy of merchandise, was plundered by the foreign Amirs at Baroda, the proceeds of which enabled them to organize a serious insurrection.
cess of the omission of his own name and the substitution of that of an Egyptian scion of the house of Abbás, who, as chance would have it, was already in his grave. So important, indeed, did he consider all matters connected with the public currency that one of the earliest acts of his reign was to remodel the coinage, to readjust its divisions to the altered relative values of the precious metals, and to originate new and more exact representatives of the subordinate circulation. These innovations will be noticed in detail in connexion with the representative monetary specimens in as much of consecutive order as the materials admit.

Muhammad bin Tughlak.

No. 171. Gold. Weight, 198·5 grs.; highest weight of other available specimens, 199 grs. (See also Marsden, docxiv).

Dehli, ah. 725, 726, 727.

Circular area.

الواضح بتأيد
الرحم موسى
شاه السلطان

Margin—
ضرب هذا الدينار جعفرة دهلي
سنه سبع وعشرين وسبعمائة

Ash-had-an la
الله الالله
وامهد ان موسى
عبدا ورسوله

"I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muhammad is his servant and apostle." ¹

¹ This is the 5th ʿAzān ʿAdhan or call to prayer, usually chanted from the turret of


the mosque. الله أكبر (twice), أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله  (four times), أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله  (twice).—Lane, Arabic Dict., sub voca.

Masden, usually so cautious in his criticisms, and who had gone through a very severe training in Kufic paleography in the various introductory series he was called upon to decipher, proved altogether at fault when he came to encounter the free flow of superior Kurán MS. caligraphy which Muhammad bin Tughlak had suddenly brought to such perfection in these mint dies.—Num. Orient. p. 534.

1 See Zitá Barni, Persian text, p. 196; Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 143; Ibn Batutah, iii. 215.

Firuz Sháh Kháji had coveted this particular title, and condescended to engage in a secondary intrigue in order to obtain it, as a presumedly voluntary offering on the part of the local heads of the creed; but on their too ready compliance with his wishes, he discovered scruples as to the sufficiency of his own claims to any such distinction.
No. 173. Gold. Weight, 198·5 (198, 197·3, 197·8). A most perfect coin. Colonel Guthrie. Delhi, A.H. 727, 728, 729. (See also another specimen engraved in pl. iii. fig. 83.)

Obverse—Circular area. The Kalimah.

No. 174. A specimen of this class of money, in the collection of Col. Stacey, now in the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (in weight 199 gra.), struck at Deroz, in A.H. 727, has the following exceptional marginal legend:—

Hezaldinara fi tih dehli fi sette suu w ounssi faa ba samaa.

See also M. Soret's coin, No. xix. of my Supplement, Num. Chron. 1852, xv. p. 129.

Deogir or Daulatabad was specially designated at this period by the prefix of Quba al-Islam. Masalik al Abi, Notices et Extr. xiii. p. 210.1

1 Au rapport du sheikh Moubarak, le royaume de l’Inde a pour capitale la ville de Dehli. Ensuite vient la ville de Dewakir, qui fut fondée par le Sultan de cet empire, et nommée par lui la metropole de l’islamisme. Cette place, ajoute le sheikh, est située dans le troisième climat. Lorsque je l’ai quittée, il y a six ans, les constructions n’étaient point achevées; et je doute qu’aujourd’hui elles soient terminées, à raison de l’immense étendue de son enceinte, et du nombre prodigieux d’édifices qu’elle devait renfermer. Le prince l’avait divisée en quartier, dont chacun était destiné à des hommes d’une même profession. On distinguait le quartier des troupes, celui des vizirs et des écrivains, celui des kadi et des savants, celui des sheikhs et des fakirs, celui des marchands et de ceux qui exercent des états lucratifs. Chaque quartier devait renfermer tout ce qui

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image}
\caption{Image of ancient coins.}
\end{figure}

\textbf{Margin—}
ضررب هذا الديتار لشهر سلطانور
سنة تسعم وعشرين وسبعمائه

pouvaît suffire à tous les besoins, les mosquées, les minarets, les marchés, les bains, les moulin, les fours, et les artisans de tout genre, jusqu’aux forgerons, aux teinturiers, aux corroyeurs; en sorte que les habitants n’eussent aucun besoin de recourir à d’autres pour leurs ventes, leurs achats et les autres nécessités de la vie; et que chacun de ces quartiers formât comme une ville séparée, entièrement indépendante de celles qui l’avoisinaient.—Not. et Ext. iii. p. 172.

See also Ibn Batutah, iii. 182, 191; iv. 46–51. The revenue of the province is incidentally stated to have been farmed at 17 kros of tawrak, p. 49. Dr. Lees’s Translation, p. 168.

"If the visitor passes his eye over the modern town of Rozah (which occupies merely a small part of the site of the vast old city), he will see in the distance the fortress of Dauletábád: all the intervening plain for about six miles must have been covered with buildings of the old city. The ancient reservoir of the city, called 
\textit{Ganj Qirwán Seldák}, or the Pari Tálds, is situated about two miles S.W. of Rozah. The site of this old city, and perhaps its traditional history, must have pleased Muhammad bin Tughlak, who twice attempted to force the population of Dehli to remove to it. The mint or Tanksál of this king was close to the Pari Tálds. In this mint were coined the mohurs and rupees that formed the fictitious currency, specimens of which are frequently turned up by the plough of the modern cultivator."—Col. Tremlow, Jour. Bombay Branch, R.A.S. 1853, p. 376

\textsuperscript{1} See p. 188, ante. Lat. 17° 58’, long. 79° 40’.—Grant Duff, i. 47.
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAQ.


Legends identical with those on No. 175.

No. 176 (pl. iii. fig. 84, and Marsden, ccxv.). Gold. Weight,* 169-3 grs. DEHLI, A.H. 727, 733, 756.

Circular area. وَالله

فَعَهذ

مُحَمَّدٍ بِن

غَلْقَن

Margin—بِحُسْرَةَ دِهْلِيَةِ سَنَةٍ

سَتَ وَنَلْئِي وَسَبْعَامَةٌ

"Deus est dives; vos autem indigi estis."* ¹

No. 177. Gold. Weight. 99-0 grs. Unique. Mr. E. C. Bayley.³

مُحَمَّدٍ بِن

تَلْقَيْ شَاه

"Defender of the laws of the last of the Prophets."


³ I regret to say that this valuable coin has been lost. It was made over to Mr. Basire some years ago to be engraved, but it was abstracted from his drawers with many other choice specimens from Mr. Bayley’s collection. I myself outlined the above woodcut from the original coin, and published it at Dehli in 1861.
Coin struck in memory of his Father.


This is a most interesting coin, seemingly struck by Muhammad bin Tughlak, in one of his eccentric moods, in memory of his father. There is nothing definite in the legends to prove this assignment except the decimal in the date, which might be questioned in the imperfect marginal legend, but which is sufficiently clear on the original piece, though scarcely legible in the English engraving. The type of the coin, which was only introduced by the son, takes it out of the category of the mintages of the father, and the exaggerated weight equally points to an exceptional issue, a coincidence in which the piece accords with the posthumous medals of Muhammad bin Sám (No. 19, supræ). But the crucial test of the date of the coin consists in the superiority of the caligraphy and the improvement in the die execution initiated by Muhammad bin Tughlak.¹

¹ No. 178a. I have a Purdá piece (in weight, 51 grains) of fine silver, which seems equally due to a later period than the reign of Tughlak Sháh. The legends themselves are similar to, but not identical with, those of the gold coin, No. 178;

Obverse—

ضرب في زمن العبد الراقي رحمة الله محمد بن

Reverse—

السلطان السعيد الشهيد تغلق شاه سنة تسعة وثمانين وسبعماية

SILVER COINS.

No. 180 (pl. iii. fig. 87). Silver. 'Adali. Weight, 140 grs. Dehli, A.H. 725, 726.

الواصق بحائض

الرحمان محمد

شاه السلطان

Margin—

ضرب هذا المعدني محظور دهلي

سنة خمس وعشرين وسبعماية

No. 181. Silver. 'Adali. Weight, 138 grs. A.H. 727. Unique. Dehli Archeological Society's collection. Similar legends, but the form of this specimen is changed in shape from the usual broad pieces into a thick and narrow coin, like No. 88, pl. iii.

but the superior metal, the form of the piece, and especially the fashioning of the letters, associate it with the issues of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The legend runs—

Obv.—

السلطان السعيد الشهيد غياث الدين

Abdul Mejfur تغلق شاه السلطان اناز الله برهمه

The date is nearly obliterated, but the most important figure, the ١, seems to be positive.
No. 182 (pl. iii. fig. 88). Silver (largely alloyed). Weight, 140 grs.  
A.H. 726, 729, 730.

Unique. Mr. E. C. Bayley.  
Coin similar in its form and the details of its legends to No. 182.

No. 184 (pl. iii. fig. 90). Silver. Weight, 168.5 grs. B.M.  
A.H. 730.

No. 185. Silver. Weight, 168.0 grs. Satgaon, A.H. 730.  
Areas as above.  
Margin—Coin struck by Bahádur Sháh of Bengal in the name of Muhammad bin Tughlak (referred to at p. 201 supra).

1 Average weight of eight selected specimens, 139.6 grains; highest weight observed, 140 grains. The less carefully executed coins of 730 A.H. range as high as 140.3 grains, but these pieces are more largely alloyed with copper, so that their weight need not have been so much cared for.

\[ \text{Obverse} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{Area,} & \quad \text{محمّد بن تغلّق شاه} \\
\text{margin,} & \quad \text{هذّه السكّة يحّضرة زمان كناركَانو سنّة ثمان و} \\
\text{عشرين وسبعمايّه} & \\
\text{Reverse} & \quad \text{السّلطان المعّظم غياث الدّنيا و الدّينيّ أبو} \\
\end{align*}

\text{المظفر بادرّ شاه السّلطان ابن السّلطان}

No. 187 (pl. vi. fig. 6). Silver. Weight, 168.5 grs. Lakhnauti, a.h. 733. Areas as in No. 184.

\text{Margin—ضُرب هذه الفضة بشهر كحنوتي سّنة ثلاث و ثلّتين و سبعمايّه—}.

No. 188. Silver. Weight, 168 grs. Unique.\(^1\) (My cabinet.) Dár-ul-Islám, a.h. 734.

\text{Margin—بّدار الإسلام سنّة أربع و ثلّتين و سبعمايّه—}.

\(^1\) Similar to gold coin No. 176 \textit{supra}; pl. iii. fig. 84; and Maraden, \textit{docxvi}. 
THE COINS OF

SMALL COINS. SILVER.

No. 189 (pl. iii. fig. 91). Silver. Weight, 56 grs. A.H. 726, 727.

Obverse—السلطان العادل

Reverse—محمد بن تغلق شاه

No. 190. Silver. Weight, 52 grs. A.H. 725.

Obverse—الجهاد في سبيل الله

Reverse—محمد بن تغلق شاه


Obverse—ابو الفتح بنصر الله

Reverse—محمد بن تغلق شاه


Obverse—في زمن السلطان العادل محمد بن تغلقشاه

Reverse—دامت سلطنته في سبع وعشرين وسبعماية

No. 193 (pl. iii. fig. 93). Silver. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. 722, 733, 734, 735, 736, 738, 739; in copper, 732; in brass, 733.

Obverse—الملك والعظمة لله

"Dominion and greatness are of God."

Reverse—محمد تغلق شاه


Obverse—الراجح رحمة الله الكريم

Reverse—محمد بن تغلق سنه ثالث وثليتين وسبعماية
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK'S CURRENCIES.

This may be the fittest opportunity of adverting to the change effected in the national coinage of India between the epoch of the first establishment of the Muhammadan mints under Altamash and the reforms introduced by Muhammad bin Tughlak. It is a curious but readily explicable fact that all attempts to discover, from the writings of indigenous authors, the authoritative scheme or the relative values of the local coinage have hitherto proved futile. The contemporary writers necessarily spoke of things around them as matters of course, regarding which no details or explanations were required; they mentioned from time to time the various coins of the realm, but only in general terms with reference to prices, payments or gifts, without defining the current interchangeable rates of the several coins thus adverted to. The later Indian historians seem themselves to have had a difficulty in fixing and determining the system of money values obtaining in earlier times, and it was left for chance travellers, like Ibn Batutah, to supply many important specifications of the current rates of exchange, which could not be gathered from home sources; but a still more communicative visitor to the Court of Dehli at the same period has left upon record a full and complete epitome of the various descriptions of money employed in Hindustán.

The narrative of Shaikh Mubarak bin Mahmúd Anbati, the traveller in question, has been incorporated in an Egyptian work entitled (مسالک الابصار) *Mawālik al 'Abṣār*,¹ a unique MS. of which is to be found in the Imperial Library at Paris. The contents of this MS. have been examined and copiously

¹ The compiler of this work also quotes, among his other authorities, Siraj-ud-din Abulfath Omar of *Oudh*.
abstracted by M. Quatremère in vol. xiii. of the Notices et Extraits (p. 51, et seq.). It is from this excellent article that I derive the information which I have thrown into the subjoined tabular form. The statements now contributed are not only very complete in themselves, but are so consistent with the numismatic data, that I accept them unhesitatingly as setting at rest many necessarily crude speculations wherewith I formerly attempted to arrive at a solution of the problem,—conjectures based primarily upon the weights and intrinsic contents of the coins themselves, aided by the very imperfect light our native authors had chanced to throw upon the inquiry.¹ There is one point that it is necessary to bear in mind in regard to the statements of Shaikh Mubarak, which is, that they refer to the latter portion of the reign of Muhammad Tughlak, and illustrate a somewhat complicated and transitional stage of the currency, more especially in the matter of the double silver standard created by the Sultán's introduction of the new 'adali of 140 grains, which he himself seems to have again superseded by the approximate weight of the old tankah, in his silver money of 734 A.H.

¹ My first impression, in 1847, led me to say that the káspí was probably the jital of Ferishtah (Pathán Sultana, 1st edit., p. 61), and so it has proved, though the statements of the earlier native authorities had cast a doubt upon Ferishtah's accuracy, which his own confession of ignorance as to the nature of the jital itself was not calculated to remove. The original passage is quoted from Briggs's Translation at p. 168, suprâ. "As the spoken languages of the Peninsula enabled us to restore the true meaning to the misinterpreted Sanskrit karsha, so the Dravidian tongues readily explain the term káspí, which finds no place in Aryan vocabularies, but which was incorporated into the vernaculars of Hindustán during the southward migrations of the Scythic tribes. In Telugu, káspí means ¹⁄₄, or one quarter of a sixteenth (Brown). In Canarese, ¹⁄₄ (Reeve), and in Tamil ¹⁄₇ (Winalow). Wilson's Glossary gives káspí, corruptly, cawney. Tel. Tam. Karn. ¹⁄₄, or sometimes ¹⁄₃. Mr. W. H. Bayley, late Madras C.S., tells me that in modern books, and in the everyday practical measurement of land or other linear calculations, the káspí is invariably estimated at ¹⁄₃. The do-gdni or doodes is still quoted in the Madras almanacks."
(Coin, No. 188; weight, 168 grs.). Though no very definite conclusion, as to the effect upon the general circulation, can be drawn from the appearance of this silver piece, which may have been the result of a momentary whim, and there is, it must be confessed, a marked absence of any other representative silver coins, whether tankahs or 'adalis, during the concluding eighteen years of Muhammad Tughlak's reign, though gold of the old standard of 175 grains was freely issued.

The State Coinage and its Interchangeable Rates under Muhammad Bin Tughlak.  

1 Káni = 1 Jital.
2 " = Do-káni or Sultáni.
6 " = Shash-káni, ⅙ of Hasht-káni.
8 " = Hasht-káni.
12 " = Duwázdah-káni.
16 " = Shábzdah-káni.
64 " = 1 Tankah.

64 Kánis = 1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.
32 Do-kánis = 1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.
8 Hasht-kánis = 1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.
4 Shábsdah-kánis = 1 Tankah of 175 grs. pure silver.

The Káni exchanged against 4 copper Fals. So that, the full change, in copper pieces, for the Tankah, amounted to 256.

1 The coinage as amplified and extended under Fírúz Sháh. (The text of Shams-i-Siráj, which furnishes these details, will be found under Fírúz's coins.)

64 Kánis = old Tankah of 175 grs. 50 Kápis = new 'Adali of 140 grs.

The irregular sub-divisions of the concurrent Tankah of 64 and 'Adali of 50 Kápis are as follows:—1 Káni, 2, 6, 8, 10, 12, 24, 25, and 48. The 16 Káni piece is not quoted in the later lists. The 10, 24, and 48 Káni pieces seem to have been additional sub-divisions introduced by Fírúz Sháh. The 25 Káni piece was probably only the old Ngíl or half 'Adali of Muhammad Bin Tughlak. Fírúz Sháh also claims to have produced for the sake of the poor ⅙ Kápis and ⅛ Kápis, in mixed copper and silver, I presume, as the 4 Fals already supplied any broken change below the single Káni or Jital.
The most striking item disclosed by the details of the above table is the essentially indigenous character of the divisional contents of the tankah and its analogous fractional sub-divisions, both of which follow the ancient Indian quaternary scale of numeration in all its integrity. Fives and tens are here positively unknown quantities, and decimals of no account.

Altamash was supposed to have recognized, in a general sense, the existing local standard; but it would seem that he must have adopted the prevailing monetary institutions, weights, measures, etc., en bloc, and that these remained undisturbed till 'Alá-ud-dín in the first instance, and Muhammad bin Tughlak in the second, gained new and enlarged views, associated possibly with other Indian traditions, during their expeditions to the Dakhan. The retention by Altamash, so unreservedly, of local systems of reckoning in the minor sums up to the measure of the tankah, would seem necessarily to imply that the latter weight itself formed a definite unit, both theoretically and practically, in the pre-existing monetary computations. This is a concession which could not previously have been claimed, as Altamash might have been supposed to have retained a leaning to Ghaznavi standards, and the new tankah might well have stood for a double dirham. The turning point, however, in this identification depends mainly upon the authentic weight of the true Indian unit, the rati, as recognized at the period in the exact locality of the Metropolitan Mint, and it is not impossible that the coins themselves may aid in fixing this still indeterminate quantity. The query then presents itself as to how many ratios of gold or silver this tankah was estimated to contain. The first answer within reasonable limits suggested by the progression of fours, in the table just given, would be
96; but it is a very singular fact that the old Tables of Weights in Manu do introduce a decimal element after 32 ratis in the silver weights, and after 320 ratis in the gold weighments, the latter having already felt something of the decimal action in the initial use of the 5 ratis to 1 masha; and, finally, we have an absolute silver satamana or 100 mana weight. A very important bit of collateral evidence is con-

1 a. Ancient Indian Weights (from Manu, c. viii. § 134).

Silver.

2 Ratis = 1 Masha.

32 " = 16 " = 1 Dharana or Purṣa.

320 " = 160 " = 10 " = 1 Satamana.

Gold.

5 Ratis = 1 Masha.

80 " = 16 " = 1 Suvrana.

320 " = 64 " = 4 " = 1 Pala or Nāhka.

3200 " = 640 " = 40 " = 10 " = 1 Dharana.

Copper.

80 ratis = 1 karahapana.

b. The subjoined table of weights is valuable for the purposes of comparison, as possibly owing its origin to an independent section of Indian progress. It has been preserved in the Atharva Parisīṭha, a work supposed to date some centuries B.C., where it is expressly stated to be designed for the weighment of ṛṣi, or the clarified butter employed in the sacrificial rites of the Brahmas.

Among other curious items, the text records the fact that the assumed yonit in the descending scale was the droga, a measure for which a divine origin is claimed, as having been "given of old by Brahma himself."

5 Ratis = 1 Masha.

320 " = 64 " = 1 Pala.

10,240 " = 2,048 " = 32 " = 1 Prastham.

40,960 " = 8,192 " = 128 " = 4 " = 1 Atkam.

163,840 " = 32,768 " = 612 " = 16 " = 4 " = 1 Droga.


This table is highly interesting, not only on account of its antiquity, which probably approaches that of the parallel tables from Manu, but for the indications of a combination of two independent systems of calculation which it discloses. I gather from the text quoted by Professor Weber from the Atharva Parisīṭha
The coins of
tributed by the subsequently-devised 'adalis, whose weights are much more closely defined both in the beautiful silver coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, and in the better speci-

(Jyotishā, Abhandlungen der Kgl. Ak. der Wiss., Berlin, 1862, p. 82), and other illustrative items he has collected from the early Sanskrit authorities (Zeitschrift (1881), p. 129), that the druma "measured by Brahma," and the pala, stated to be 1/16th of the former, in the same passage, were weights affected by the Vedic Aryans, the pala alone is mentioned in the Nirukta, and the mshaka is not found in any texts "supposed to be" authentically Vedic; while in the slokas which furnish the details of the present table, the prastha is directly and the dhaka (ddhaka) indirectly pronounced to be a Magadha weight. It will be seen that the table is identical in its details, in the ascending scale, with the series of gold weights from Manu, up to the pala or mshaka, when the Indian fows reassert themselves in the progressive advances, in lieu of the ten palas, which constitute the next increase in the earlier scales for the measure of gold.

I have collected the subjoined tables from various sources, with a view to illustrate more completely the general subject of Indian weights.

c. Table of Indian Weights (from Bābar's Memoirs, p 332).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8 Ratis = 1 Māsha.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32 &quot;&quot; = 4 &quot;&quot; = 1 Tang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 &quot;&quot; = 5 &quot;&quot; = 1 Miśkal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96 &quot;&quot; = 12 &quot;&quot; = 1 Tolah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1344 &quot;&quot; = 168 &quot;&quot; = 14 &quot;&quot; = 1 Str.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58760 &quot;&quot; = 6720 &quot;&quot; = 660 &quot;&quot; = 40 &quot;&quot; = 1 Man.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"And it is fixed that everywhere 40 Srīs make one Man... They reckon jewels and precious stones by the Tang." See also note, p. 16, Kīn-i-Akbarī, Blochmann's translation, Calcutta, 1868, and text, pp. 31, 36.

d. Kashmir weights, from the Kīn-i-Akbarī, ii. p. 158, Gladwin's edition:—

1 Tolah = 16 mshas of six ratis each, or 96 ratis.
1 Gold mohur = 16 ddms of six ratis each, or 4 ratis more than the Dehli gold mohur.
Rabansu is a small coin of 9 mshas or 54 ratis.
Punches is a copper coin in value 1/4 ddms; also called kussereh.
Brdradrini is 3/4 the punche or 1/4 ddms.
Shubri is 3/4 brdradrini.
4 Punches or kussereh = 1 hut.

40 "" = 1 ddem, and 1 1/4 ddem = 1 sikkah.
100 Sītans = 1 ṇīt = 1000 royal ddms.

Every coin and even manufactures are estimated in Kharwars of rice...
mens of the brass tokens which were designed to replace these 50 kāni pieces in the general circulation.

These coins, as a rule, touch very closely upon the exact 140 grains, and it is scarcely possible to doubt that this weight represents the 80 rati gold suvarna equally with the copper kāraka of Manu’s Tables, the copper ket, the authoritative unit of the ancient Egyptians.\(^1\) If the former association is conceded, my estimate of the rati at 1:75 grains falls in with singular evenness; for the ‘adai, \(80 \times 1.75 = 140\), for the silver tankah or sataraktika, \(100 \times 1.75 = 175\).\(^2\) I do

They have a weight of 2 dāms, called psil, and they also make use of the half and quarter of this weight; 7\(^{\frac{1}{2}}\) of these psils make 1 sir, 4 sirs a man, 4 mans 1 turek.

ii. page 196, “Coins of Kabul. 18 dinars = 1 tuman, which = 800 dāms.”

\(^a\) Table of Indian and Other Foreign Weights, from the Haft Khulṣum.

\[\begin{align*}
1 \text{ jāo ( gratuito barley-corn} & = 1 \text{ ḥabbat, 'a grain, a seed.'} \\
1 \text{ ṭasu} & = 2 \text{ ḥabbat} \\
4 \text{ jū} \text{ barley-corns} & = 1 \text{ ṭiraf (kepárouv) Carob.} \\
8 \text{ ḥabbat} & = 1 \text{ dāng (4th).} \\
48 \text{ ḥabbat} & = 1 \text{ dihar.} \\
68 \text{ ḥabbat} & = 1 \text{ miskāl}. \\
306 \text{ miskāl or 4½ ḥabbat} & = 1 \text{ astār, sir (बिंदु).} \\
510 \text{ ḥabbat or 7½ miskāl} & = 1 \text{ awqāṭ (ounce).} \\
6120 \text{ ḥabbat or 12 sukit} & = 1 \text{ rafāl (pound).} \\
12240 \text{ ḥabbat or 24 sukit} & = 1 \text{ mann.}
\end{align*}\]

See also variants in Kif-i-Akbari, Blochmann’s Calcutta edition, p. 36.

\(^1\) R. S. Poole, “Weights and Measures.”—Smith’s Dict. Bible.

\(^2\) See ante, pp. 3, 167. Sir W. Jones rated the rati at 1 4\(^{1}{\text{}}\) of a grain. Gen. Cunningham’s estimate of the weight of the rati is 1.8229 grains; Mr. Massey’s 1:86.—Initial Coinage of Bengal, p. 9.

Sir W. Elliot, in answer to my inquiries as to the assimilation of the Southern
not wish to claim this coincidence for more than it is worth, as it is but one link in a long chain, and the primitive weights of India had no doubt already been largely modified in different localities, and were somewhat advanced in their progress towards the extraordinary multiplicity of provincial standards, that so offend against the English idea of uniformity at the present day. Concurrently with the development of the 'adali, in which a reduction of \( \frac{2}{3} \)th, or 20 per cent., upon the old tankah of 175 grains, was effected, there appears a new gold piece, which is raised in weight above the old gold tankah of 175 grains by \( \frac{3}{4} \)th, or about 14\( \frac{1}{4} \) per cent., forming a coin of 200 grains, specially designated on its surface as a dinar.\(^1\) This particular type of coin was destined to have but a brief career, as the dates 725, 726 A.H., and a single spec-

 systems with the data afforded by the Dehi coins, has favoured me with the sub-
joined note on the subject:—"I have never met with a coin answering to the tankah
of 140 or 175 grains. The largest pieces I know range between 55 and 60 grains,
generally about 58 grains (but I have one of 66·9 grains). They go by the name of
tankah, as "padma-tankah," "varāha-tankah," etc. Some of them are figured
in my Gleanings (figs. 28 and 33 of No. 1, and figs. 1 and 2 of No. 2). This
bears no apparent relation to your tankah. The Dravidian poṣa I take to have
weighed 29 or 30 grains, and those Southern tankahs I suppose to be double poṣa.
This is borne out by the old arithmetical tables, in which accounts are still kept.

\[
\begin{align*}
2 \text{ gunjas} &= 1 \text{ dugala} \quad (=\frac{2}{3} \text{ fanam}) \\
2 \text{ dugalas} &= 1 \text{ chavala} \quad (= \text{ the panam or fanam}) \\
2 \text{ chavalas} &= 1 \text{ d'hāranā} \\
2 \text{ d'hāranas} &= 1 \text{ hoṣa} \quad (= \text{ the pratāpa, méda or } \frac{3}{4} \text{ pagoda}) \\
2 \text{ hoṇas} &= 1 \text{ varāha} \quad (= \text{ the hun or pagoda})
\end{align*}
\]

The gunja or unit \( (=\frac{1}{4} \text{ fanam}) \) is the rati or Sanskrit raktika, the seed of the abrus. I have weighed numbers of these, and found them to vary from 1\( \frac{3}{4} \) to 2 grains, or even more; a fair average would be 1\( \frac{1}{4} \) grains. Jervis (weights of the Konkan) and Prinsep, deducing the relative weights from the masha, make it 1·98 grains. But taking my average of 1·75 grains, we get your tankah or paṭ-raktika = 100 ratis, exactly 175 grains."

\(^1\) Some of these coins are in very perfect condition; so to say, new from the dies, so that the weight may apparently be relied on. The half dinar, No. 177, at 99 grains, is a minor test of the true issue weight.
men of 727 A.H., are all the examples that can be cited from the ten or twelve specimens accessible in modern cabinets; but the same weight is preserved in the varied type of coin Nos. 173, 174. The change in the form of these pieces seems to have been made upon artistic and mechanical grounds, and not to have had any reference to weights or values.\(^1\) Some of these latter specimens are met with, ranging as high as 199 grains, coined in the course of 727 A.H., but rapidly deteriorating in weight, till examples of the same year’s issue fall to 188, 168, and even to the ignominious 137 grains, which, however, may, each and all, have suffered from the swearer’s abstractions.

One coincidence in the scale of the minor subdivisions of the silver standard must not be passed over in silence, as it evidences a singular concession to ancient custom, in the weights assigned to Muhammad bin Tughlak’s small silver pieces, Nos. 189, 190, 193, 194. The annual dates on these varieties, taken in broken order, cover a period of fourteen years, less the temporary break due to the forced currency.\(^2\)

\(^1\) “I had previously noted the motives for this change, which extended to the silver pieces of the same epoch. The years 727–728 A.H. present us with fresh modifications both in the types and legends of the recently revised coinage of Dehli. The examples, gold 173, silver 180, 189, exhibit the same elegance of design and accuracy of execution that mark the earlier efforts of Muhammad bin Tughlak’s mint artista. The form of coin now adopted was probably held, in many respects, to be an improvement upon the broad pieces antecedently put forth, as under the Oriental method of preparing the planchets (blanks), the equable division of each could be effected with far greater facility when cut from a narrow bar than when divided into the thin plates necessitated by the ingot of the larger diameter, calculated for the broad coins. In addition to this advantage, the smaller size of the dies, and the diminished depth of the engraving of the fine lines of the legends, demanded less labour, in the process of striking, to produce a perfect medal, than was required to complete the impression of the broader and coarser coin of earlier days.”—Pathán Sultáns, Supplt., Num. Chron., p. 17.

\(^2\) A.H. 725, 726, 727; 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739.
There can be little question, whatever may be held to be the true weight of the *rati*, that we have in these pieces the medieval representatives of Manu's 32 *rati* silver *puräna*, or the successors of the earliest description of money prior to the introduction of the art of coining, the punched dominoes of silver, which aided the first step beyond barter, among the pre-Aryan Indians.¹ Fifty-six or fifty-seven grains will not divide evenly either into 175 or 140, but ten such pieces of 56 grains, being 1·75 grain to the *rati*, exactly answer to the old silver *ṣatamana* of 320 *ratis* (560 grains), of which mention has already been made; and, curious to say, the silver piece itself, allowing for a fractional depreciation in the metal, represents the value of 80 copper *fals*, as they are stated to have exchanged with the other subdivisions of the *tankah*. The 20 *kāni* piece,² thus retained in the general scheme of the Quaternary distribution of the silver coinage, and for which a counterpart was provided in the forced currency, may once have belonged to an independently devised system; but both the 32 and the 80 *ratis*, the advance of 16 upon 24, identify it closely with ancient calculations, and especially with the progression to the 80 *ratis*, in the Gold and Copper Tables of Manu, which formed alike the gold *suvarna* and the copper *karshapana*.

Having completed the review of comparative weights, it remains to test and ascertain values. The new *'adališ* or 50 *kāni* pieces are, to all appearance, composed of less pure silver than the old *tankahs* of 64 *kānis*. This depreciation may have been intentional or otherwise,¹ but it looks as if it

² As 175: 64 :: 56: 20·48.
³ Some of Alā-ud-din's silver pieces seem to fall off from the old standard of
had been designed to meet some alteration in the other
exchanges. Coincident with the production of 'adalis, men-
tion is made for the first time of shashkánís, or pieces of six,
which Shaikh Mubárak intimates were useful in exchanges,
and perhaps designed for the purpose of settling uneven
payments, being, as he remarks, 2 of the established hasht-
kání, eight of which, as their name implies, went to the 64
kání tankah. These shashkánís would not run in even sums,
either into 64 or 50, though they made a second division of
8 into 48, a total seemingly of some prominence in the bázárs,
as Fírúz Sháh subsequently provided a distinct denomina-
tional coin for that amount. The hashtkánís appear pre-
viously to have formed a very important element of the
general currency; 2 they were composed, like so many of the

white silver; his Dakhán gold, on the other hand, is unpleasantly white. See
coin No. 181, ante.
1 Le lakh vaut cent mille tankah جُنَّةٌ et le tankah huit dirhams.—Not. et
Ext. xiii. 182.
2 I have to correct my reading of the passage from Ibn Batutah, quoted at
page 17 of my Initial Coinage of Bengal. I now see that the conventional rate of
exchange of gold and silver in the later period of Muhammad bin Tughlak’s
reign was 1 : 10. Ibn Batutah in other places (ii. 76; iii. 106, 187) distinctly
sets this question at rest, even if Shaikh Mubárak did not inferentially confirm the
fact (Not. et Extr. xiii. 211, 212). The concluding portion of the passage from
Ibn Batutah is as follows:—

الدينار الفض هو ثمانية دراهم ودروهم كالدرهم النقرة سواء.

“Celui-ci [le dinár d’argent] vaut huit drachmes, et leur drachme équivaut
absolument à la drachme d’argent” (vol. iv. p. 210). I was misled by the use of
the word dinár, which is so specially reserved for the gold pieces in the Dehli
coinages, into supposing that the passage had reference in some obscure way to
the rate of gold to silver; but further examination proves that Ibn Batutah had
an odd way of applying the term dinár as دينار درهم, etc. (iii. 254, 387, 422).
(See also Col. Yule’s summary of Ibn Batutah’s notices of money in his excellent work
on “Cathay and the Way thither,” p. ccxlviii.). All Ibn Batutah appears to mean is
that the dinár of silver (i.e. tankah 1) is equal to 8 dirhams (hashk千یی), and their
dirhams is identical in form with the silver piece. But considerable doubt must still
indigenous coins of historic sequence, of a mixture of silver and copper in the proportions requisite to represent the value of 8th of a tankâh, and are specifically described by the western travellers as identical in weight and partially in appearance with the silver coin itself. They may be identified with some of the examples of No. 182, the intrinsic contents alone determining the value in each case, so that the pure silver coins stamped with the same dies are, doubtless, revised forms of 'adalîs, equally as their more extensively alloyed associates may be found to answer to the value of a shashkânî. This modification in the form of the 'adalî took place simultaneously with the alteration in the

exist as to the true meaning of the passage, inasmuch as an almost counterpart statement in the Masâlik al Abâr adds the silver dirham "of Egypt." "Le dirhem heeschkânî a le même poids que le dirhem d’argent que a coours en Egypte et en Syrie. La valeur de l’une et l’autre pièce est la même." M. Quatremère adds, "Le texte porte جوزة حوارة جوزة حوارة Je lis حوارة حوارة حوارة حوارة."—

Not. et. Extr. vol. xiii. p. 211. I may remark that Shaikh Mubârâk, if M. Quatremère has rightly apprehended the passage quoted below, also designates the full dirham or 'adalî as a current dinár. This irregular use of the word is in so far justified by local usage that we find Zîh Bâni saying—

A difficulty has been felt in regard to the apparent inconsistency of Shaikh Mubârâk having estimated the dinár or silver dirham at 8 dirhems, I conclude hashtkânî. M. Quatremère's translation is as follows: "800 Tomâns dont chacun vaut 10,000 dinârs courants et le dinâr 8 dirhems: en sorte que cette somme se montait à 8 millions de dinârs courants ou 48 millions de dirhems" (Not. et Ext. xiii. 194). I suppose that the current dinár here meant was the 'adalî, or its then representative, which, excluding fractions, would run, in a rough calculation, about six hashtkânîs, or 48 instead of the 50 kânis required in the 140 grain silver piece. So also some confusion in the statement of nominal equivalents may have arisen from the 8 shashkânîs, that would have equally amounted to 48.

1 The proper 'adalîs, No. 180, which are broad pieces, date in 725, 726, 727 A.H. Nos. 181, 182, which are thick coins, take up the succession, and contribute the annual records of 727, 728, 729, 730 A.H.
gold pieces already averted to, and seemingly for similar objects, i.e. of securing less irregularity in the separation of the exact weight of silver required for each coin, from the bar or rod, into which the metal was fashioned, and facility of stamping, in the reduced size and relief of the letters of the legends.\(^1\) I may repeat, that the entire scheme of the sub-divisional currency intervening between the pure silver piece and the copper coin, proceeded upon the plan of mixing silver and copper in the definite proportions required for the several intrinsic values. These alloys were formed into coins identical in weight, shape, and device, so that buyers and sellers had in each case to determine by the eye and the hand the value of the piece tendered in payment. A state of things inconceivable to European ideas, but practically involving but little difficulty among the natives of India,\(^2\) even if the ever-ready money changer were not within call.

These numismatic details, aided by the information contributed by the African travellers, enable us to set at rest the real import of the passage in the Tabákat-i-Akbari, which Ferishtah so strangely perverted,\(^3\) and which led General

---

\(^1\) Abn’l Fazl tells us that the metal was “cast into round ingots;” in Hindústán the workman, without “such machine” as they require in Persia, cuts the sections “with such exactness that there is not the difference of a single hair.”—Aín Akbari.

\(^2\) “Practical men can discover from the colour of the compound which of the alloys (lead, tin, or copper) is prevailing.”—Aín-i-Akbari, Blochmann, i. 22. Gladwin, i. 16.

\(^3\) In referring to the early profusion of Muhammad bin Tughlak, and the enormous sums he is reported to have squandered in gifts and pensions, Ferishtah incidentally alludes to the intrinsic value of the money of this monarch, affirming that, “Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad Bakhshí, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians to have been lavished by this prince, took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these tanáska were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each tanáska only exchanged
Briggs to assert that the silver tankah of Muhammad bin Tughlak was "worth only about 4d. instead of 2s." The true reading of the original is to the effect that the tankah of this period was slightly alloyed with copper, so that it was only worth eight black tankahs. Eight shashkânis would, in effect, be equal to 48 kânis of real silver, or, admitting the alloy, to an 'adali of 140 grains. This rectification is of very considerable importance, as it determines within certain limits the value of the black tankah at about 16'4 grains of silver, or 2½ pence, a definition which will prove highly useful in estimating the worth of the subsequent issues of the Sultâns of Dehli. Under the new aspect of the inquiry now presented, I must not fail to amend my own suggestion at page 117, as to the possible identification of black tankahs with any of the moderately alloyed silver pieces of the generic name minted in Bengal or Hindústán.

The shashkânî, if it exists in the composite form of mixed metal, seems to have been but little affected by the people at large, and probably remained for a long time more of a theoretical than a practical benefit. As far as can be seen, no for 16 copper pice (making a tankah worth only about 4d. instead of 2s.)."—Briggs's Ferishtah, i. p. 410.

The Persian text of the original passage is as follows:

جوانتچه نظام الدين احمد بخشی تحقیق کرده مراد ازین تنکه تقریباً است که پارت مس هم داشت و یکی از ان تنکه شاند از پول مس میدانند.

Bombay text. i. p. 286. Briggs, i. 410.

وای ای باشند که مراد ازین تنکه تنکه تقریباً است که پارت از مس هم داشت و بهشت تنکه سیاه برابر است.

Tabâkat-i-Akberi, MS. E.I. Library, No. 997, p. 75.

Nizâm-ud-din Ahmad, a portion of whose text is reproduced verbatim in the copy, instead of saying anything about copper pice, simply states that the current tankah was equal to eight black tankahs.
provision was made for its substitute in the forced currency of 730 A.H., \(^1\) though the \textit{hashkānis} are common enough. It will be seen hereafter that Firuz Shāh claims to have invented the \textit{shaškhāni}, which would also imply that the number coined in the previous reign must have been to a certain extent limited. One novelty for which Muhammad bin Tughlak claims credit was the \textit{dokāni}, or piece of two \textit{kānis},\(^2\) which Shaikh Mubarak mentions was entitled after its royal deviser, \textit{Sultāni}. This must have been a highly useful coin, "four going to the \textit{hashkāni}, three to the \textit{shaškhāni}"; and, finally, our translators concludes, "Une pièce qui est la moitié du dishem Sultani se nomme يكاني pièce d'un et vaut un حمل." The counterpart of which legend is to be found on Gen. Cunningham's coin, No. 207.

A point of considerable importance in the history of the monetary transactions of this period is the relative values of gold and silver. \textit{The standard}, if any distinct conception of its meaning, as we understand it, existed at all, seems to have been based upon the primitive copper currency, which was of such universal distribution as to be confessedly less liable to fluctuation than gold or silver. Certainly, in Akbar's time, when theory was more distinctly applied to the subject, copper was established as the authoritative basis of all money computations.\(^3\) Silver in its turn, next to copper, was necessarily most fixed and determinate in value,

---

\(^1\) At one time I imagined I had discovered a token \textit{shaškhāpi}, as the six dots of the \textit{شش} seemed to be unquestionable; but as the second set of \(\ldots\) may be intended for the marks of the final \(\textit{ي} \text{ in \(كشي\) I do not think it safe to quote a single specimen. The initial \(\lambda \text{ takes the form of } \lambda \text{.}

\(^2\) The Arabic word quoted, in all its imperfection, by M. Quatremère is \\
There can be little question as to the correct restoration.

\(^3\) \textit{Ktn-i-Akbari, i. 3, 4, 37, etc.; Num. Chron. iv. 118; Ovid. Fast. i. 220; Lucretius, v. 1275; Madden, Jewish Coinage, 278.}
whereas gold, from its comparative rarity, and the anxiety with which it was sought for at all times in India, whether for the purposes of hoarding\(^1\) or the construction of ornaments, rendered it peculiarly liable to be affected by the laws of supply and demand. I am still sanguine enough to believe that the newly-devised gold and silver money, with which Muhammad bin Tughlak inaugurated his reign, will enable us to determine from the relative scale of proportions the actual rate prevailing at this period. It is true that the margin is wide, and the figures involved contribute more than one sum consistent in the several relations, but the predominance of evidence points clearly to 8:1 and 7:1. I do not in any way contest the fact that there is evidence to show that ten silver pieces exchanged against one of gold later in this reign, but this concession by no means implies that the ratio of the two metals was as 10:1. As has been said before, there is considerable obscurity in the narrations of the western travellers in regard to the definition of dirhams and dinars. About the old tankahs no possible question can arise, whether of gold or silver; they followed the same identical weight of 175 grains.\(^9\) We have seen that

\(^{1}\) The author of the Masa'ilik al Abṣār has preserved a curious contemporary notice of this custom of the natives of India in Muhammad bin Tughlak's time. "Les habitants d'Inde ont la réputation d'aimer à amasser ses richesses et à thésaurier. Lorsque l'on demande à l'un d'entre eux combien il possède de bien, il répond : Je ne sais pas ; mais je suis le second ou le troisième de ma famille, qui travaille à accroître le trésor que mon aïeul a déposé dans telle cauerne, dans tel puits ; et j'ignore à combien il se monte. Les Indiens ont l'usage de creuser des puits pour y renfermer leurs trésors. Quelques-uns pratiquent dans leurs maisons une excavation en forme de citerne, qu'ils ferment ensuite avec soin, n'y laissant que l'ouverture nécessaire pour y introduire des pièces d'or. C'est là qu'ils accumulent leurs richesses. Ils ne reçoivent point l'or travaillé, brisé ou en lingots, dans la crainte de la fraude ; ils ne prennent ce métal que monnayé" (xiii. p. 218).

\(^{9}\) The Tabākat-i-Nāṣirī speaks of the 162 (p. 153)
the Sultán borrowed these foreign terms and introduced them for the first time into the mint phraseology of Dehli, the one as applied to the 200 grain gold piece (No. 171), the other as engraved on the tokens of the forced currency, which I suppose to have represented the early 'adali of 140 grains of silver (No. 202).

The leading motive in these exceptional issues, and the subordinate readjustments consequent thereupon, seems to have been the utilization of the stores of gold which filled the Sultán's treasuries; and without proposing to introduce a definite gold standard, which, under the surrounding circumstances, would doubtless have proved impracticable, he appears to have aimed at a large expansion of the currency of the land by direct means, associated with an equitable revision of the basis of exchange between gold and silver, which had been disturbed by the large accessions of the former from the Dakhan, unaccompanied by any proportionate addition to the supply of the latter.

The early Pathán kings, judging by their numismatic remains, put forth gold in very limited quantities, and merely

(p. 184); and carefully discriminates the contrast of the term

(315); also Hazar dinars of (p. 167); also (pp. 372, 391, Calcutta text).

The Khastún ul Futúḥ of Mir Khurád makes play upon the various forms—


zoro šáh

عینه ه‌یان جام‌های کوناک و نهاده به‌زازان

etc.,


ناتکه نازرق نزدیک نازرق نزدیک

كشاورز

باد

The Káshtún al Futúḥ of Mir Khurád makes play upon the various forms—

تنگه زرب و تنگه مس در خ و هر کل صوری و صد برک تورتو

تنگه زرب و تنگه قری دادی و لفت

تنگه زرب و تنگه قری دادی و لفت

تنگه چیت (p. 118, also pp. 130, 492); هم جیت از زیان و بیرون نیامدی

جیت از زیان و بیرون نیامدی

(p. 137, 247); دانگ و درم (p. 312); دانگ و درم (p. 469).

As late as the time of Kaikobád foreign dinares seem to have been retained in the coined state—

وزندین طبق دینار زرب قری و حوضه‌ای پر تنگه زرب

و حوضه‌ای پر تنگه زرب

(Calcutta edition, p. 143).
as an adjunct in complement to the more abundant silver tankahs. Alá-ud-dín’s plunder of the Dakhan, with its immemorial wealth of gold, is associated with a correspondingly ample increase of gold tankahs for home use. This influx of the higher metal, aided by the later contributions of Káfúr and Khusráu from the same sources, indicated in the mintages of succeeding reigns, may well have disturbed the ancient relations of the two metals. I had estimated the relative values as about 8:1, without pressing the assumption that this rate represented the normal and immutable condition of things, but as a once existing and possibly recurring ratio. Col. H. Yule, who has investigated these questions from an independent point of view, by the aid of the written testimony of Marco Polo and other western travellers in the East, has suggested a probable fall in the value of gold, at

1 Ferishtah, in mentioning Káfúr’s plunder, brought to Dehlí in 711 A.H., amounting to 96,000 mans of gold, which was “melted down, coined, and lodged in the treasury,” adds, silver was not used as a coin in the south.—Briggs, i. 374. The Mastlík al 'Abšar also notes “un des prédécesseurs de ce Sultan ayant fait de grandes conquêtes, enleva des pays vaincus une telle quantité d’or qu’il en chargea 13,000 bœufs.”—Not. et Exér. xiii. 218.


3 Col. Yule, however, in insisting upon the 10:1 as the normal rate, has to do great violence to probabilities in claiming so sudden a change as that from 10:1 to 7:1, within a comparatively brief period, and attributing it to the influx of gold from the south, which in truth commenced with Alá-ud-dín’s conquests in 693 A.H., or some thirty years prior to the accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The intermediate reigns show a well-maintained proportion of gold to silver in extant examples, and we hear of no particular accession of southern gold as the result of Fakhr-ud-din Jánk’s command in that direction during his father’s lifetime. Col. Yule remarks—“It has occurred to me as just possible that the changes made by Muhammad bin Tughlak in the coinage may have had reference to the depreciation of gold owing to the ‘great Dekhan prize money’ of that age. Thus, previous to his time, we have gold and silver coins of equal weight, and bearing (according to the view which has been explained) a nominal ratio of ten to one. Muhammad on coming to the throne finds that in conse-
the period of Muhammad bin Tughlak’s accession, to a proportion as low as 7:1; and, singular to say, these two scales, viz., 8:1 and 7:1, are those which most consistently fall in with and explain the figures in the subjoined table, and lead to the preferential conclusion that at the moment of revision the old rate of 8:1 had sunk to 7:1, and had been provided for accordingly. It is not necessary to define when this change came about; it is sufficient to say that the fact was officially recognized on the occasion of the reconstruction and remodelling of the coinage undertaken in 725 A.H.

**Table of Exchange Rates of Gold and Silver Coin in India.**

*Conflicting Scale, on the Accession of Muhammad bin Tughlak.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gold</th>
<th>Silver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:1</td>
<td>175 × 7 = 1225 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:1</td>
<td>175 × 8 = 1400 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:1</td>
<td>175 × 10 = 1750 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:1</td>
<td>175 × 12 = 2100 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:1</td>
<td>175 × 14 = 2450 =</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 7 old silver pieces (7 × 175 = 1225).
- 9 new " (9 × 140 = 1260).
- 8 old " (8 × 175 = 1400).
- 10 new " (10 × 140 = 1400).
- 10 old " (10 × 175 = 1750).
- 12.5 new " (12.5 × 140 = 1750).
- 12 old " (12 × 175 = 2100).
- 15 new " (15 × 140 = 2100).
- 14 old " (14 × 175 = 2450).
- 17.5 new " (17.5 × 140 = 2450).

*Revised Scale, introduced to meet the fall in gold.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gold</th>
<th>Silver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:1</td>
<td>200 × 7 = 1400 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:1</td>
<td>200 × 8 = 1600 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:1</td>
<td>200 × 10 = 2000 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:1</td>
<td>200 × 12 = 2400 =</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:1</td>
<td>200 × 14 = 2800 =</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 8 old silver pieces (8 × 175 = 1400).
- 10 new " (10 × 140 = 1400).
- 9 old " (9 × 175 = 1575).
- 11 new " (11 × 140 = 1540).
- 13.714 old " (13.714 × 175 = 2400).
- 17.14 new " (17.14 × 140 = 2400).
- 16 old " (16 × 175 = 2800).
- 20 new " (20 × 140 = 2800).

The sequence of the great influx of gold the relative value of that metal has fallen greatly, say to something like seven to one, which as a local result where great treasure in gold had suddenly poured in, is, I suppose, conceivable. He issues a
On previous occasions, where I have sought to discover, from the internal evidence of the coins themselves, the object proposed in the changes they bore testimony to, I was misled by the supposition that the 140 grain silver piece was an innovation of Muhammad bin Tughlak's own conception, devised and given effect to simultaneously with the production of the novel 200 grain gold dinár. I now see from the passage in the Khazáin ul Futúh, quoted at page 247, that this coin was the invention of Álá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh (No. 14 of the general list), designed apparently to aid the general scheme of reduction of the pay of the troops. Whether any partial or complete mintage of such money ever took place, we need not stop to inquire; but the act of recognizing the existence of such a theoretical measure of value at once reduces the absolute innovations of Muhammad bin Tughlak to the single item of the new gold piece, and leaves us the more simple task of detecting the motive of a single modification, instead of entering upon the complications of a double variation in the leading representatives of gold and silver coin. At the rate of 8:1, as will be seen from the figures given above, eight old silver tankáhs and ten coinage which shall apply to this new ratio, and yet preserve the relation of the pieces as ten to one. This accounts for his 200 grain gold and 140 grain silver pieces. Some years later, after the disastrous result of his copper tokens, the value of gold has risen, and he reverts to the old standard of 175 grains, leaving (as far as I can gather) the silver piece at its reduced weight. At the exchange of ten silver pieces for one of gold, this now represents a relative value of eight to one."—Cathay and the Way thither, p. colii.

1 "Álá-ud-dín . . . apprehensive of another invasion of the Moghuls, he increased his forces so greatly, that upon calculating the expense, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself amassed, could not support them above six years. In this dilemma he resolved to reduce the pay of the army, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering, proportionably, the price of horses, arms, and provision."—Briggs's Ferashtah, i. 365.
new 'adalis went to the old gold tankah; in the variation of the rate from 8:1 to 7:1, a corresponding reduction had either to be made in the number of silver pieces, as the received equivalents of the existing gold piece, or a new gold piece had to be produced which should leave the old numerical rates of silver coins untouched, and this is exactly what the 200 grain dinár accomplishes: eight old silver tankahs and ten new 'adalis constitute the change for the new dinár. As has been shown above (coin, No. 173), this description of piece was continued in a different form, though eventually the gold coinage reverted to the ancient standard of weight, or 175 grains. A momentary attempt was also made to revert to the old silver tankah in 734 A.H., but this movement does not seem to have been sustained; and thus it would appear that the 140 grain silver coins continued to hold the position of the largest silver piece supplied by the mint, and it is to these pieces we must understand the African authorities refer when they fix the rate of 10 dirhams to 1 gold 175 grain tankah, which brings us back to the previous 8:1, a rate which would be readily restored without State interference by the limitation of the supply of gold, its inevitable absorption by the masses, and the importation of silver from proximate lands, which the anomalously high rate would be sure to encourage. It would seem from the way in which Ibn Batutah reserves the name of tankah for the gold coins alone that no full-weight silver tankahs whatever were in the course of issue from the mints at the period of his residence in India; and the very curious combination of the term of دينارهيم might almost be taken to point to the dirhams, which were associated in the public mind with the introduction of the prefixed Arabic name, which had been made special to the new gold coin, in supercession of the indigenous
denominations hitherto in use. So also the passage from the Masālik al-Abṣār already quoted (p. 228), speaks of "dirārs
courants" of six dirhams [hashkānis], and eight millions of
"dirārs courants ou 48 millions de dirhams." These are
clearly 140 grain coins, following on with the conventional
"current," and "legal," of Nos. 201, 202; and
the distinction is further marked in the same work in the
General Table of Coins, which follow the old system, and
expressly designates the silver piece of 8 dirhams hashkāni,
as "le tankah d'argent." ¹

¹ On further consideration, I have decided to reproduce the original text in its
entirety, from M. Quatremère's article, in order that there may be no misapprehan-
sion as to the sources of my knowledge or the accuracy of the interpretation I put
upon the data supplied:—"Suivant ce que m'a raconté le sheik Moubarak, le lac
rouge contient 100,000 tankah (d'or) et le lac blanc 100,000 tankah (d'argent). Le
tankah d'or, appelé dans ce pays tankah rouge
équivaut à trois mithkals; et le tankah d'argent
comprend huit dirhems hashkānis. Le dirhem hashkāni a
le même poids que le dirhem d'argent, qui a cours en Egypte et
en Syrie. Le valeur de l'une et l'autre pièce est la même, et ne diffère presque
en rien. Le dirhem hashkāni répond à quatre dirhems Sultani, autrement
nommés doukanis [do kāni. No. 206]. Le dirhem Sultani vaut le
tiers d'un dirhem scheshkāni (je lis pièces de six), qui
est une troisième espèce de monnaie d'argent qui a cours dans l'Inde, et qui
equivaut aux trois quarts du dirhem hashkāni. Une pièce, qui est la moitié
du dirhem Sultani, se nomme yekāni (pièce d'un), et vaut un épital
[No. 207]. Un autre dirhem, appelé douandezkāni
(pièce de douze), a cours pour un hashkāni et demi. Une autre pièce
appelée shehendashekāni, correspond à deux dirhems. Ainsi
les monnaies d'argent, en usage dans l'Inde, sont au nombre de six, savoir:
le dirhem shehendashekāni, le douandezkāni, le hashkāni,
le shehendashekāni, le sultani et le yekāni. La moindre de ces
pièces est le dirhem sultani. Ces trois espèces de dirhems ont cours dans le commerce,
et son reçues universellement; mais aucune n'est d'un usage plus général
que le dirhem sultani, qui équivaut à un quart de dirhem, monnaie d'Egypte et de
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK'S FORCED CURRENCY.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century of our era, and during the succeeding forty years, no less than three Asiatic potentates essayed to enrich their treasuries by the issue of representative currencies. Kublai Khán, the Moghul conqueror of China, so far introduced the device, that he expanded and systematized the use of paper notes, which had very early developed itself in that empire; ¹ so that circumstances were eminently propitious for the experiment, both in the precedent, the instincts of the people, and the absence of coined money in gold or silver. The latter item alone constituted, in itself, a most important element in the immediate success of the measure, as no vulgar prejudice had to be offended by the withdrawal or supercession of current money of positive intrinsic value; and the very introduction of a paper currency of graduated denominations, bearing the stamp of so powerful a monarch, aided materially in the development of commercial intercourse among the people at large.²

Syria. Le dirhem suítami vaut huit fols (oboles), le dýtal (جيتل), quatre fols; et le dirhem hawākhani, qui correspond parfaitement au dirhem d'Égypte et de Syrie, vaut trente-deux fols. Le rîl (reel) de l'Inde, qui porte le nom de sir (سدر), pèse 70 mithkals, qui estiment en dirhems d'Égypte, en valent 102f. Quarante sir forment un manen. On ne connaît pas dans l'Inde la méthode de mesurer les grains."—Notice et Extraits, xiii. 211.


² The following is Marco Polo's account of the paper currency of Kublai Khán:
"In this city of Kanbanu is the mint of the grand Khan, who may truly be said to possess the secret of the alchemists, as he has the art of producing money by the following process:—He causes the bark to be stripped from those mulberry-trees, the leaves of which are used for feeding silkworms, and takes from it that thin inner rind which lies between the coarser bark and the wood of the tree. This being steeped, and afterwards pounded in a mortar, until reduced to a pulp, is made into paper, resembling (in substance) that which is manufactured from
Very different were the terms Kai Khátú proposed to inflict upon his subjects in Persia: his motive was obviously evil, and the surroundings inauspicious under almost every aspect. Many of the clauses of the Tabris Tchao edict of A.H. 693 (A.D. 1294) followed the Chinese system; but instead of cotton, but quite black. When ready for use, he has it cut into pieces of money of different sizes, nearly square, but somewhat longer than they are wide. Of these, the smallest pass for a denier tournois; the next for a Venetian silver great; others for two, five, and ten groats; others for one, two, three, and as far as ten bezants of gold. The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually of pure gold or silver; for to each note a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their signets also; and when this has been regularly done by the whole of them, the principal officer, deputed by his Majesty, having dipped into vermillion the royal seal, committed to his custody, stamps with it the piece of paper, so that the form of the seal, tinged with vermillion, remains impressed upon it, by which it receives full authenticity as current money, and the act of counterfeiting it is punished as a capital offence. When thus coined in large quantities, this paper currency is circulated in every part of the grand Khan’s dominions; nor dare any person, at the peril of his life, refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise they may have occasion for; such as pearls, jewels, gold or silver. With it, in short, every article can be procured. . . . When any persons happen to be possessed of paper money which from long use has become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon the payment of only 3 per cent., they may receive fresh notes in exchange. Should any be desirous of procuring gold or silver for the purposes of manufacture, such as drinking-cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they in like manner apply at the mint, and for their paper obtain the bullion they require. All his Majesty’s armies are paid with this currency, which is to them of the same value as if it were gold or silver.”—Marsden, cap. xviii.

Among other substitutes for money, Marco Polo notices the use of coral in Tibet. He says: “These people use no coined money, nor even the paper money of the grand Khan, but for their currency employ coral.” The money or currency they make use of (in Kain-du) is thus prepared. Their gold is formed into small rods, and passes according to its weight, without any stamp. This is their greater money; the smaller is salt-cakes, on which the stamp of the grand Khan is impressed; 80 of the cakes are made to pass for a saggio of gold. In Karaian they employ for money the white porcelain shell found in the sea; 80 of these shells equal in value 1 saggio of silver.

Ibn Batutah’s testimony to the success of Kublai’s paper currency is as follows:
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK.

bringing a benefit, in disguise, it was manifestly fraudulent in its inception, associated with tyranny and oppression in the enforcement of its provisions; so much so, that Ghazán Khán, the nephew of the reigning monarch, refused to admit the fictitious money within the limits of his government of Khorasán. And the measure, upheld with much difficulty

"Les habitants de la Chine n'employent dans leurs transactions commerciales ni pièces d'or ni pièces d'argent. Toutes celles qui arrivent dans ce pays sont fondées en lingots, comme nous venons de le dire. Ils vendent et ils achètent au moyen de morceaux de papier, dont chacun est aussi large que la paume de la main, et porte la marque ou le sceau du Sultan. Vingt-cinq de ces billets sont appelés bālīcht (باليشة), ce qui revient au sens du mot dinár, ou de pièce d'or chez nous. (Ibn Batutah expressly mentions that there is no charge for renewal of the worn paper.) Si un individu se rend au marché avec une pièce d'argent, ou bien avec une pièce d'or, dans le dessein d'acheter quelque chose, on ne le lui prend pas, et l'on ne fait aucune attention à lui, jusqu'à ce qu'il l'aït changée contre le bālīcht ou les billets avec lesquels il pourra acheter ce qu'il désirera."—Ibn Batutah, Paris edit. iv. 269. (About 1345 A.D.) See also Not. et Extr. xiii. 222.

Du Halde, in his great work upon China, has given an engraving of one of the notes of Hong vou (Tui tou) (A.D. 1366), the founder of the twenty-first or Ming dynasty, and adds, "these sheets are much sought after by those that build, who hang them up as a rarity on the chief beam of the house, which, according to vulgar notion, preserves the house from all misfortunes." (English edition, London, 1741, vol. ii. p. 293.)

Colonel H. Yule has succeeded in obtaining a specimen of the early Ming dynasty's paper currency, which has the peculiarity of being "nearly black," as described by Marco Polo. Antiquarians await, with much interest, Col. Yule's account of this fragment of Eastern life, which is to appear in his forthcoming edition of the Travels of Marco Polo.

The inscriptions on the sides of the Hong vou note are given in a translated form by Du Halde as follows:

"1. The Court of the Treasury having presented their petition, it is decreed that the paper money thus marked with the Imperial seal of Ming shall pass current, and be put to the same use as copper coin. Those who counterfeit it shall be beheaded."

"2. He who shall inform against and secure them [the forger's] shall have a reward of 250 taels. Besides, he shall receive the goods of the criminal, as well immovable as movable. Dated such a year, month, and day, of the reign of Hong vou."
during the space of two months, contributed indirectly to the loss of Kai Khátú’s throne, and the bowstring avenged his people’s wrongs little more than six months after the first proclamation of this notable financial operation.¹

Khai Khátú’s scheme for a paper currency was designed,² not to aid the existing circulation, but to suppress and supersede altogether the use of gold and silver money, as well as to prevent the employment of those metals in manufactures, the object being that all the precious metals in the land might

¹ D’Ohsson, iv. 101; Malcolm’s Persia, i. 430; De Guignes, Book xvii. 267; Langléa, Mem. de l’Institute, iv. 115; Price’s Mahommedan History, ii. 596; De Sauley, Journal Asiaticque, 1842; Prof. E. B. Cowell, J.A.S. Bengal, 1860, p. 187.

² The following is a description of the form and legends of the notes:

—Waqqaf, Bombay lithographed edition.
be monopolized by the ruling power. The execution of the
decree necessarily fell with immediate severity on the every-
day transactions of life, and was felt more especially in the
matter of provisions, which, like all other goods, were not
allowed to be paid for in coin; and as the dealers objected to
the new substitute for cash, they adopted the simple alterna-
tive of closing their shops, and produced absolute famine in
the metropolis, while plenty reigned in the districts around.
No wonder, then, that the starved citizens of Tabrîz rose up
as one man and wreaked their vengeance upon the subordi-
nate whom they deemed the author of their woes, while the
Sultân was left to discover from the empty streets that all
was not well with his capital.

Far other motives seem to have actuated Muhammad bin
Tughlak’s trial of a forced currency. Of course, the introdun-
tion of so sweeping a measure as making the king’s brass
equivalent to other men’s silver, admits of scant defence
among civilized nations. Fakhr-ud-dín Júnã, as the Sultân
was called before his accession to the throne, was not innately
a vicious man, though absolute beyond the ordinary range of
Eastern despots, and whose severities, not to say cruelties,
would have emptied many another throne: he ruled for twenty-
seven years, or nearly as long as the combined reigns of his
six predecessors, and died in his bed at last, a mercy that was
only doubtfully extended to one of the six monarchs in ques-
tion. His leading eccentricities are described as profusion
and want of mercy;¹ the first took the form of Oriental

¹ Here is Ibn Batutah’s estimate of the Sultân whom he served: “Mohammed
est de tous les hommes celui qui aime davantage à faire des cadeaux et aussi à
répandre le sang (عَنْ فَقِيرٍ يُعْتَنِي أو حَيٍّ يُقَتَّل). Sa porte voit toujours près
d’elle quelque fâkîr qui devient riche, ou quelque être vivant qui est mis à mort.
Ses traits de générosité et de bravoure, et ses exemples de cruauté et de violence
liberality, in regal gifts, rather than in mere ostentatious
display or reckless personal extravagance; the second was,
perchance, incident to the disregard of human life prevailing
around him, and his own avowed conviction of its necessity.
Of avarice, however, no one has accused him; he may well
have heard of the success of the paper currency in China,
equally as he may have learnt the fate the similar but less
effectively concerted device had met with in Persia; never-
theless he may have felt and justly conceived that he was
strong enough to try the experiment, and he withdrew
from it frankly when it proved a failure. Severe to the
extreme in his punishments, and, doubtless, ready to en-
force the penalties said to have been specified in the original
proclamation,\(^1\) no threat of vengeance is recorded on the
forced currency, as had been the case with the Chinese and
Persian notes. The legends on the brass tokens consist

vers les occupables, ont obtenu de la célébrité parmi le peuple. Malgré cela, il
est le plus humble des hommes et celui qui montre le plus d'égard; les cére-
émonies de la religion sont observées à sa cour; il est très sévère en ce qui regarde
la prière et la châtiment qui suit son inexécution. Il est au nombre des rois
dont la félicité est grande, et dont les heureux succès dépassent ce qui est ordi-
naire; mais sa qualité dominante, c'est la générosité.”—Ibn Batutah, iii. 215.

The Shaikh Mubarak bin Mahmud Āsbāti, who also visited Muhammad bin
Tughlak's Court, is equally warm in his praises of the generosity, humility, and
accomplishments of the Sultān, but does not allude to his cruelties.—*Masūlīk
al-Mubārak*, in Notices et Extraits, xiii. pp. 190, 191. See also another witness,
pp. 187, 207, etc.

---

\(^1\) I do not reproduce the minor details of this operation as variously recorded
in the versions of the Indian historians. In the mere order of priority of publica-
tion, I may refer the reader to Dow, i. p. 302, Briggs, i. p. 414, who translate
Ferishtah's text. An English rendering of the Persian text of the Tabākāt-i-
Akbāri is to be found in my first edition of the Pathān Sultān, p. 56. The
original Persian passage from Zīā Barni is given in my Supplement (Dehli, 1861,
p. 19, and Num. Chron. xiv. p. 140); and the text of that author has since been
published in extenso in Calcutta (1862), and freely translated by Prof. Dowson,
Eliot's Historians, vol. iii. p. 240. See also Elphinstone's India, p. 405, and
either of an appeal to the religious devotion of one section of his subjects, or of an official intimation of legal equivalents to guide the mercantile classes: in no instance were these representatives of real money issued to pass for the more valuable current gold pieces; the highest coin he desired credit for, in virtue of the regal stamp, was a Tankah of 140 grains of silver, and the minor subdivisions were elaborately provided for in detail. No interference whatever seems to have been contemplated with the existing circulating media, and the proportion of the new coinage absolutely uttered, large as it was, must have been infinitesimal, in reference either to the income of the Sovereign or the fabulous wealth of the kingdom over which he held sway. With every material element of success, this carefully organized measure was doomed to failure, from an altogether unforeseen cause. His Majesty’s officers of the mint worked with precisely the same tools as the ordinary workman, and operated upon a metal, so to say, universally available. There was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the Royal Mint and the handy-work of the moderately skilled artisan. Unlike the precautions taken to prevent

1 Mubarak Amhati gives an illustration of the wealth of the land, in the incident of the confiscation of a sum of 437,000,000 miskals of gold from one offender, “an incalculable mass of gold.”—Not. et Ext. xiii. 194. See also p. 173, the old story of the discovery of 40 bahars of gold, each bahar weighing 333 muns.

2 Zia Bara says—

3 T. Mubarak Shah

4 Budhoni
the imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was positively no check upon the authenticity of the copper token, and no limit to the power of production by the masses at large. Under such circumstances it is only strange that the new currency should have run so long a course as the three consecutive years (or one full year with portions of the first and last), the record of which we find on their surfaces. As has been already stated, when there remained no question as to the failure of the scheme, Muhammad bin Tughlak, unwillingly, perhaps, but honestly, attempted to meet the difficulty, by authorizing the reception of the copper tokens at the treasury and their exchange for full money equivalents. No scrutiny, had such been effectively practicable, was enjoined against illicit fabrications; and the sums actually exchanged may be estimated by the mounds upon mounds of brass coins which were heaped up as mere rubbish in the Fort of Tughlakáhád (Dehli), where they were still to be seen a century later, in the reign of Mubárak Sháh II. It is clear that, if good money was paid for all these tokens, Muhammad bin Tughlak's temporary loan, extracted from his own subjects, must have been repaid at a more than

1 The Chinese evidently felt and anticipated some such result, and so avoided the evil here experienced. "It is easy to judge that there would be debasers of money in China, if the silver was coined as well as copper, since their small pieces of copper are so often counterfeited by the Chinese. Those who follow this trade mark the counterfeit coin with the same characters as are seen upon the true, but the metal they use is of a baser sort, and the weight not so good. If they happen to be discovered the crime is capital."—Du Halde, English edit. 1741, ii. 293.

و ان مهرب مسرد شد تا غایبت در گوشک تغلقاباد جوین
بشته مانده بود
MS. Tárkh Mubárak Sháhi.

So also, more explicitly, the Tárkh Budáoni adds—

و آخر مرس مس و نقره بود و ان سکه های مس پشته پشته
Oriental rate of interest, though possibly, in very many instances, compensation reached parties but little entitled to it.

I will now proceed to recapitulate, in brief detail, the more prominent and instructive specimens of Muhammad bin Tughlak's forced currency still extant. It will be seen that ordinarily the values attaching to the several gradational coins are specified on their surfaces, but in many cases the equivalents of the current money have to be discovered from the approximation to the old standards, in form or weight, given to the representative brass tokens. We have, in distinct terms, the 50 kāni piece, the half, the quarter, as well as the 8 kāni and 2 kāni pieces, and a correspondent of the 175 grain tankāh might possibly be discovered in the brass money designated as "current Tankah" (No. 195), but I prefer to look upon these pieces as provided to supply the places of the modified 'adali of 140 grains (No. 180), with which they are identical in weight, and

Calcutta text, p. 229.

Ziā Barni's account of the original incoming of the brass tokens is even more graphic.

Calcutta text, p. 476.

1 The 'adali, as a definite coin, first makes its appearance under Muhammad bin Tughlak, but it would seem from the following passage that its introduction was due to 'Alá-ud-din Muhammad Sháh:

اینک این نسبت رختست و قطع موت دامنه و آتش‌نشان که بجهه
to have been intended to pass at the same rate as the more definitely marked 50 kāxi piece of similar fabric. Nos. 197 and 198 may, perchance, have been designed for 40 kāxi pieces (as 140 : 50 : : 112 : 40), and No. 200 approximates in weight, under a similarly graduated scale of proportions, to a 20 kāxi piece, or the 32 rāṭī purāna of 56 grains, already adverted to at pp. 163, 167, and regarding which further comparisons will be found at page 221, et seq.

The use of the term dirham on Nos. 202, 203, is more difficult to explain. The word is new among the Dehli mintage, though, as will be seen hereafter, it must have been common enough in the vernacular speech of the country. Were it not that there is an expressly designated "Hasht-kāni," it would be reasonable to suppose that these were the dirhams spoken of by Ibn Batutah and Sheik Mubarak, as reckoning eight to the old tankah; but as the latter coin was also in these times indifferently called a dirham, it is possible, in spite of the defective weight, which, however, was altogether disregarded in other cases, that these pieces may have been authoritative correspondents, in a different form, of the 'adali or 140 grain tankah.

 Marginal note by Dehli commentator—MS. Tārikh-i-Alai of Mir Khurru.
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHHLAK.

No. 195 (pl. iv. fig. 96). Brass. Weight, 136 grs.
Daulatabad, A.H. 780. Dehli (خرقت گاه), 781, 782.

मेहर शुद्ध तन्ग
राज्य दर रजदर
बन्दे हामिदवर
मुहम्मद तुल्की.

He who obeys the Sultán, truly, he obeys God.

Margin—در خرقت گاه
دوبंद्रबद सल बर हफ़स्द सी
At the seat of royalty, Daulatabad, in the year 780.

Sealed as a Tankah current in the reign of the slave, hopeful (of mercy),
Muhammad Tughlak.


मेहर शुद्ध तन्ग
पंजह कानी दर रजदर
बन्दे हामिदवर
मुहम्मद तुल्की.

Area. He who obeys the Sultán, truly, he obeys God.

Margin—در خرقت گاه
دوبंद्रबद सल बर हफ़स्द सी
At the seat of royalty, Daulatabad, in the year (7)81.

Sealed as a Tankah of fifty Kápis during the reign of the slave, hopeful (of mercy),
Muhammad Tughlak.

 Truly, he obeys God. Tughlak.

No. 198 (pl. vi. fig. 101). Brass. Weight, 112 grs.

Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man, (but) some (are placed over) others.¹


Muhammad bin Tughlak.

¹ Kurán, Surah iv. verse 62.
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLAK.

(See Marsden, No. doxxv. p. 585).

عبد حسبى
محمد بن رَبّي ۳۷
tăgáltă
Sufficientia mea Dominus est.

Kurán, iii. 167. حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

Freihnh (Recensio, p. 115) has an example of a coin of Núh bin Mansúr, struck at Bokhára, in A.H. 376, with حسبى الله on the top of the area.

No. 201 (pl. iv. fig. 104). Brass. Weight, 72 grs. Rare.

Centro—محمَد جانز درعد
تغَلَق بندة اسميدوار

Margin—سَبَه مُهْمَاد
Srīh Mohamad

Money Tankáh current in the reign of the slave, hopeful (etc.), Muhammad Tughlak.


ضرب الدَّرهم
الشرعي في زمن
العبد محمد بن
tăgáltă

بدارالسلام
في سنة ثلاثين
وابعمايه

At the seat of Islám, in the year, 730.

Struck as a lawful dîháns in the time of the slave, Muhammad bin Tughlak.
No. 203. حضرہ دهلی, a.h. 730, 732. (No less than three selected specimens of these latter mintages exactly touch the 80 grains).


Muhammad bin Tughlak, at the capital, Daulatabad, year 730. This half-piece (was) struck during the time of the slave, trusting in the mercy of God.


The equivalent of one kāši.
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHHLAK. 253


Copper

الملك

Sal al-Din Muhammad bin Tughlaq

In the year 732.

Dominion and glory are of God.

There are very few specimens of the exclusively copper coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak; the copper currency proper seems to have been confined to the three examples quoted below (Nos. 209, 210, 211), but in many cases dies intended for the small silver coins, and the less marked and declaratory legends of the forced currency, seem to have been employed to stamp copper, which, in the fullness of its weight, carried its own value in the market, irrespective of any especial superscription.

No. 209. Copper. Weight, 68 grs.

Obverse—The Sultán, shadow of God.

Reverse—Muhammad bin Tughlaq Sháh.


Obverse—The Sultán al-Askar Allah 172.

Reverse—Muhammad bin Tughlaq Sháh.

No. 211. Copper. Weight, 54 grs. Rare.

Obverse—

Reverse—

1 Ibn Batutah has preserved a curious record of the legends inscribed upon the coinage of the Sherif Jalál-ud-din Ahsan Sháh, commandant in Malabar (معبط), who threw off his allegiance to Muhammad bin Tughlak, and issued money bearing his own name in 742 A.H.

و ضرب الدنانير و الدراهم باسمه وكان يكتب في احدي صفيتي
We have seen with what Numismatic honours Altamash welcomed the sanctification of his new kingdom of the East by the reigning Khalif of Baghda'd in 626 A.H. Within thirty years of that date the office of the chief Pontiff of the Muslim world was destined to be extinguished in the person of Mustansir's successor, the unhappy Must'asim, who was so cruelly put to death by Hulaktu Khan, on the capture of the city of the Faith, in 656 A.H. With all the Barbarian superstition that hesitated to shed what was esteemed sacred blood, the conqueror did not scruple to crush into one unseemly mass the bones of his victim, coincidently with the surrender of the inoffensive inhabitants of the favoured city, estimated at 800,000 persons, to the wanton slaughter of the Mughal troops. While the throne of the Khalifs became but an idle symbol, and the centre of Islam was converted into a ghastly camp of Nomads, the latest Muhammadan conquest "in partibus infidelium" must have been singularly

الدينار سلالة طه ويس أبو الفثرة و المساقين جلال الدنيا والدين و
في الصفعة الأخرى الواثق باييد الرحمان احسن شاه السلطان

Et frappa en son propre nom des monnaies d'or et d'argent. Sur un des côtés des dinars il avait gravé les mots suivants: Le progéniture de Thad-hd et Yd-sin (ces lettres, qui constituent les titres de deux chapitres du Koran, le xx et le xxxvi, sont du nombre des épithètes qu'on donne à Mahomet), le père des fakirs et des indigents, Jellal ud duniâ vos ud din. Et sur l'autre face: Celui qui met sa confiance dans le secours du Miséricordieux, Ahsan Shakh Sultan.—Paris edition, iii. 328. Ferishtah, i. 423.

1 The Habib us Siyar says, "The captives were wrapped up in coarse hair blankets, and in that state rolled backwards and forwards on the ground with such force and violence that every joint and articulation of their frames was either smashed or wrought asunder."—Price's Muhammadan History, ii. p. 222.

Novârî, quoted by D'Oehsson (iii. 243), says they were tied up in sacks and trodden under foot by horses. One incident in the general extermination is remarkable, the Christians were unreservedly spared; the Nestorian Church constituted, without challenge, their city of refuge (iii. 339, 241).—Abul Faraj, 339.
ignorant of, or strangely indifferent to, the events that affected their newly-conceded allegiance, as the name of the martyred Must‘asim was retained on the Dehli coinage for some forty years after his death. Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhím, the twelfth king, is the first to discontinue the practice, when, after the murder of Fírúz in the camp of 'Alá-ud-dín, the party in power at Dehli elevated the boy-king, they denominated his father, a title which Altamsh had affected in early days (see Inscriptions G and H, pp. 80 and 155 supra). 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh assumed the designation of يمين الخلافة, Right hand of the Khalifat (coin No. 130, etc.; inscription O, p. 173); but Mubárak, more distinctly, calls himself Khalífah¹ (the most mighty Imám, Khalífah of the Lord of the two worlds); and his capital, Dár ul Khalífat, "seat of the Khalifah;" and even goes so far as to adopt, in addition to the خليفة الله (Viceregent of God), the spiritual title of Al Wásík billah (p. 181). The converted Hindu Khusrú likewise affects, in a subdued degree, the attributes of a leader of Islám, styling himself الواثق خير الرحم sø. الواثق خير الرحم sø. "The relying upon the goodness of the All-merciful, successor² of the Commander of the Faithful." Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh, with higher claims, seems to have been a much more humble Muhammadan, for he delights in such designsations as "the Testifier," "the Gházi," "Champion of the Faith," etc. The son, Muhammad, is even more modest in his titles, but largely affects quotations from the Qurán. Later in his reign (741

¹ So also, in later days, Akbar introduced the new formula of لله الإله ولا الإله إلا الله خليفة الله, "There is no god but God, and the Akbar is his Viceregent."—Wilson's Works, ii. 391.

² The term ولی has an extended range of meanings. The reference here seems to be to Mubárak as Khalif.
his religious sentiments asserted themselves more definitively, and scruples having arisen in his mind as to the imperfection of his own title to the sovereignty—unconfirmed as it was by sacerdotal sanction—he sought to remedy this defect by soliciting the patent of the then representative of the line of the Abbassite Khalifs, whose immediate predecessors had so fallen from the ancient high estate as to accept a palace and a pension from the Sultán of Egypt. In anticipation of the receipt of such acknowledgment, Muhammad

1 "When the Sultán returned to Dehli, it occurred to his mind that no king or prince could exercise regal power without confirmation by the Khalifah of the race of 'Abbás, and that every king who had, or should hereafter reign, without such confirmation, had been, or would be, overpowered. The Sultán made diligent inquiries from many travellers about the Khalifahs of the line of 'Abbás, and he learned that the representatives of the line of 'Abbás were the Khalifahs of Egypt. So he and his ministers and advisers came to an understanding with the Khalifah that was in Egypt, and while the Sultán was at Sarg-dwârî he sent despatches to him about many things. When he returned to the city he stopped the prayers of the Sabbath and the 'Ida. He had his own name and style removed from his coins, and that of the Khalifah substituted; and his flatteries of the Khalifah were so fulsome that they cannot be reduced to writing. In the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.), Háji Sa'id Sarsâri came to Dehli, from Egypt, bringing to the Sultán honours and a robe from the Khalifah. The Sultán, with all his nobles and saiyyids and . . ., went forth to meet the Háji with great ceremony, . . . and he walked before him barefoot for the distance of some long bow-shots. . . . From that date permission was given, that out of respect the Khalifah's name should be repeated in the prayers for Sabbaths and holydays, . . . and it was also ordered that in mentioning the names of the kings in the khutbah they should be declared to have reigned under the authority and confirmation of the Abbásí Khalifahs. The names of those kings who had not received such confirmation were to be removed from the khutba, and the kings were to be declared to be superseded (mutaghallab). . . . The name of the Khalifah was ordered to be inscribed on lofty buildings, and no other name besides. . . . The Sultán directed that a letter acknowledging his subordination to the Khalifah should be sent by the hands of Háji Rajab Barka'i, . . . and after two years of correspondence the Háji returned from Egypt, bringing a diploma in the name of the Sultán, as deputy of the Khalifah."—Elliot's Historians, iii. 249; text, 491. Ibn Batutah, i. 363; Feriahtah, Briggs, i. 428.
bin Tughlak discontinued the use of his own name on the coinage,\(^1\) and supplanted it by that of Al-mustakfi billah, whose designation appears on the Indian coins minted in 741, 742, and 743 A.H.; while the later periods are marked by that of his son, Al Hakim b'amr illah Abu al Abbas Ahmad.

The following is a list of the earlier Egyptian Khalifs, taken from Abúl Faraj. There is a conflict of testimony as to the accuracy of the succession in some instances, and still more uncertainty in regard to the precise dates of accession, etc.\(^3\) In short, their own obscurity extended to their history;\(^5\) but as the authoritative names are the chief matter of

\(^1\) This is a very odd phase of Muhammad bin Tughlak's progressive thought. So little occasion does there seem to have been, at the moment, for any such disturbing idea, as far as the associations of proximate kingdoms extended, that the Sultan had to examine all sorts of stray travellers to discover where a scion of the old house could be found, as Zia Barmi, a contemporary Indian biographer, says—

\(^2\) ملطاين از بیسار تتبع میکرد تا از بیسار مسافران شنید که خليفه

Azzal عباس در مصر بر خلافت متمکن است ۱۷۱۷

Though all this feeling may well have arisen out of new and more advanced studies of his own religion, or descriptions by the Western visitors at his own Court of the bye-gone glories of the supreme Pontiffs of the Muslim world, who had more or less swayed the destinies of the East for five centuries, and whose extermination was so intimately associated with one of India's perpetual grievances, the success of the Mughals, who were ever threatening the gates of Delhi. Later, in point of time, Muhammad bin Tughlak secured as a visitor at his own Court a scion of the line of Abbás, in the person of Ghíás-ud-din Muhammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdád, Al Mustanṣir billah, and he seems almost to have regretted his hasty adhesion to the Egyptian branch, for, after loading his guest with all manner of inconsistent honours, he naively confessed to him that he had not already pledged his faith to the African Khalif, he would have sworn allegiance to him; in short, have secured a submissive Khalif of his own.—Ibn Batutah, ii. 268, etc.

\(^3\) Abúl Faraj himself gives a great many optional statements from other authorities, while M. de Guignes' series differs very materially both in the order of succession and dates of events from the present list (Hist. des Huns. i. 332).

\(^5\) Les Mamelous ou Sultans d'Egypte, qui avoient fait ces Khalifes ce qu'ils étoient en les reconnoissant pour tels, les faisoient et les defaizoient selon leur
importance in the present inquiry, I have not thought it
necessary to sift in detail the mass of contradictory testimony
under its local aspect.

THE EGYPTIAN KHALIFS.

1. المستنصر بالله أبو القسم أحمد بن الظاهر بالله العباسي
   Inaugurated 9th Rajab, 659 A.H.

2. الحاكم بأمر الله أبو العباس احمد
   Inaugurated Zil hijjah, 660 A.H.

3. المستكفي بالله أبو الزعيم سليمان ابن الحاكم بأمر الله
   Inaugurated Jumada al awwal, 701 A.H.

4. الرأفت بالله إبراهيم بن محمد المستمسك
   Inaugurated 740 A.H.

5. الحاكم بأمر الله أبو العباس أحمد بن المستكفي بالله
   Proclaimed 741 A.H.

6. أبو الفتح المعتضر بالله ابوبكر ابن المستكفي بالله
   Proclaimed 753 A.H.

7. الموتوكلي على الله أبو عبيد الله محمد بن المعتضر
   Inaugurated Jumada al akhir, 763 A.H.

8. الوائم أبو حفص عمر بن المعتصر إبراهيم بن المستمسك
   Inaugurated 785 A.H.

9. المعتصر بالله إبوبكر زكريا ابن المعتصر إبراهيم
   Inaugurated 788 A.H.

10. الموتوكلي
    (restored)
    Inaugurated 791 A.H.

11. المستعين بالله أبو الفضل العباس بن الموتوكلي على الله
    Inaugurated Sh'abán, 808 A.H.

bon plaisir. . . . Mais nonobstant l’autorité que les Sultans d’Egypte exercoient
sur ces Khalifas, néanmoins les mêmes Sultans se servoient d’eux pour se faire
confirmer et autoriser auprès les peuples,” etc.—D’Herbelot, sué voce, “Khalisah.”
Coins struck in the name of the Egyptian Khalifs.

No. 212. **Gold.** Weight, 163·5 grs. (A worn coin, with imperfectly executed legends.) A second, 167 grs. **Delhi,** 741, 742, 743.1

ضرب هذا الـ١دانار بالله أمير المومنين أبو الربيع سليمان خلد الله خلافته

Al Mustakfi Billah, **Abū al rab‘a Sulaimán,** Khalif of Egypt (No. 3 of the above list), A.H. 701 to 740.

No. 213 (pl. iii. fig. 86). **Gold.** Weight, 170 (171·0, 169·4) grs.

الله أبو العباس احمد الخال ملك

في زمان الإمام امير المومنين الحاكم بأمر

Al Hákim b'amr illah, **Abú al Abbás, Ahmad,** Khalif of Egypt (No. 5 of the above list), A.H. 741 to 753.

No. 214. **Silver.** Weight, 55 grs. Rare. A.H. 743.

*Obverse*—خليفة الله في شهر المستكفي بالله

*Reverse*—٥٣

No. 215 (pl. iii. fig. 109). **Silver and copper.** Weight, 132 grs.


*Obverse*—الإمام الأعظم خليفة الله في العالمين

*Reverse*—السمكفي بالله أمير المومنين

*Margin*—ضرب هذه الـ دولة اباد سنة اربع واربعين وسبعماية

1 See also Freihm's Recensio, p. 177.
No. 216. Copper. Weight, 55 grs. A.H. 742, 743.

Obverse—Khilafate allah fi shawar

Reverse—al-mustakfe blllah 738


Obverse—alallah al-kufi fi shawar

Reverse—al-mustakfe 738

No. 218 (pl. iii. fig. 110). Copper. Weight, 128 grs.

A.H. 743, 749, 750, 751.

Obverse—al-hakam bllmr alallah сентября 738

Reverse—ibn al-ibas ahmad


Similar legends.

Having completed the description of the coins of Muhammad bin Tughlak, I append a list of the prices of commodities at Dehli, towards the end of his reign, furnished to the author of the Masalik al Abasar by his Egyptian informants:

Wheat ......................... 1½ hastkdsi the man.
Barley ......................... 1 "  "  "
Common rice ................... 1½ "  "  "
Peas (حمص) .................... ½ "  "  "
Sugar ........................... 1 hastkdsi for five sirs.
Sugar candy (النبات) ...... 1 "  four "
Fat sheep, superior quality, 1 tankah or 8 hastkdsis each.
Oxen in good condition ..... 2 tankahs each.
MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHHLAK.

Muhammad bin Tughlak does not seem to have concerned himself with inscriptions, hence the only mention of his name in such documents is to be found in the Hindi Inscription of Chunár (p. 195 ante), and an incidental record in Devanágari characters, on the third story of the Kutb Minár, designating him as Muhammad Sultán, with the annexed date of Samvat 1382 =1325 A.D.¹ His public works at Dehli were confined to the erection of the detached Fort of ’A’dílábád, otherwise called Muhammadábád, at the south-east corner of Tughlakábád, with the Satpalah, or “seven-arched” dike, between Chiragh Dehli and Khuríki and the complete fortification of the suburbs of Dehli, enclosing the space from the Kutb by Khuríki, Chiragh Dehli, Shápúr, etc. (the “Cutub Lath, Kherhee, Chiragh Dilhee, and Shahpor,” of the accompanying map), and forming an enceinte of five miles, pierced with thirteen gates in the curtains alone, and well known in history by the title of Jahán-panáh,² “asylum of the world.”

BENGAL COINS.

I revert, for the last time, to the money of the kings of Bengal. Ilíás Sháh, the eighth of those who exercised the privilege of coining, either as Viceroys or temporarily independent Sovereigns, succeeded in emancipating himself from all interference on the part of the Sultan of Dehli; so that from this period the kingdom of Bengal ceases to have either monetary or historical associations with the empire of the

¹ Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1862–3, p. 35.
² Ibn Batútah, iii. 147; Timur-Bec. M. de la Croix, book iv. cap. xx., coins of Shír Sháh, ibid.; Syed Ahmad, pp. 22, 31; Dehli Archaeological Society’s Journal, 1853, map, p. 58, etc.; Cunningham, 42; O. J. Campbell, J.A.S. Bengal, 1866, p. 119, etc.
north, which are only renewed on Shír Sháh’s conquest of Hindústán, nearly two centuries after Fírúz’s abortive expedition in A.H. 754.

V. FAKHR-UD-DIN MUBÁRAK SHÁH.

On the departure of Muhammad bin Tughlak from Bengal, Tátár Khán, honorarily entitled Bahrám Khán, an adopted son of Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak, seems to have been left in charge of the provinces included in the government of Sun-nárgáon, while the Lakhnauti division of the kingdom was entrusted to ملک بیدار خلیجی, surnamed Қadr Khán.1 Neither of these rulers’ names are to be found on the local coinage. As mere governors on the part of the Sultán, they were, of course, not entitled to issue money bearing their own names. On the death of Bahrám Khán, which is stated to have taken place in 739, but may probably have to be antedated to 737, Fakhr-ud-dín Mubára, his Siláhdár, took pos-

1 There is some difficulty about the identity of this Қadr Khán, as it is just possible that the بیدار may prove to be a mistranscription of بغدر. The earliest notice of this personage under the associate names and titles above given is to be found in the Tarikh-i Mubarák Sháhí, where, on Muhammad bin Tughlak’s accession, Malik Bandár Khilíji is stated to have been appointed to Lakhnauti. The passage is as follows:—

ملک بیدار خلیجی تدرخان شد و اقطاع لکھنوتی یائے ملک

حماس الدين ابرجارا نظام الملكي وزارت لکھنوتی داد

See also Ferishtah, text, i. 237; Briggs, i. 412, 423; J.R.A.S., N.S., ii. 195.

2 “About this time the rebellion of Fakhrá broke out in Bengal, after the death of Bahrám Khán (Governor of Sunár-gáon). Fakhrá and his Bengali forces killed Қadr Khán (Governor of Lakhnauti), and cut his wives and family and dependents to pieces. He then plundered the treasures of Lakhnauti, and secured possession of that place and of Sat-gáon and Sunár-gáon. These places were thus lost to the imperial throne, and falling into the hands of Fakhrá and other rebels were not recovered.”—Elliot’s Historians, iii. 242.
session of the government, and proclaimed his independence.\footnote{Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad says Mubárak killed Bahram Khán, while Abul Fazl affirms that Mubárak put Kadr Khán to death.—Kin-i-Akkbari, ii. 21.} He was in the first instance defeated by the troops sent against him from Lakhnauti, but finally succeeded in maintaining his authority, and, as the coins prove, in retaining his hold on Sunárgáon and its dependencies throughout the nine years, from 741 to 750 A.H., comparatively undisturbed. The history of the period is confused, and the dates given by the native authors prove of little value;\footnote{Ferishta, text, i. 237, 244. Briggs, i. pp. 412, 423; iv. 328. Stewart's History of Bengal, pp. 80, 83.} but the coins establish the fact that in 751 another ruler, designated Ikhtíár-ud-dín Gházi Sháh, presided over the Mints of Eastern Bengal.

_Fakhr-ud-dín Mubarák Sháh._

No. 220 (pl. iv. fig. 151, and pl. vi. fig. 7). Silver. Weight, 166\textperthousand 0 grs. Sunárgáon, A.H. 787,—741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750.

Margin—

ضررب هذة السكية بحضرة جلال سناركانوسة سبع وثلاثي وسبعمية

The specimen engraved in pl. vi. fig. 7 is unique in date, and varies in the opening legend of the reverse from the less rare coins of later years, which commence with يمین الخليفه.
VI. 'Ala-ud-Din 'Ali Shah.

'Ali Sháh, whom Muhammadan writers, by a strange jumble, have endowed with the surname of his adversary, Mubárak, and ordinarily refer to as "'Ali Mubárak," assumed kingship on the death of Kádr Khán, Muhammad Tughlák's representative at Lakhnauti, entitling himself 'Alá-ud-dín. The more important incidents of his reign are confined to his hostilities with his rival, Fakhr-ud-dín Mubárak of Sunárgáon, who possessed advantages in his maritime resources, while the rivers remained navigable for large vessels during the rainy season, but which were more than counterbalanced by 'Ali Sháh's power on land, which availed him for the greater part of the year, and which finally enabled him to establish his undisputed rule in the western provinces.

His coins exhibit dates ranging from 742 to 746 A.H., and bear the impress of the new mint of the metropolis, Fírúzábád, an evidence of a change in the royal residence, which clearly implies something more than a mere removal to a new site proximate to the old Lakhnauti, whose name is henceforth lost sight of, and may be taken to indicate a strategetic transfer of the Court to the safer and less exposed locality of the future capital, Pandua. 'Ali Sháh is stated to have been assassinated by his foster brother, Hájí Ilíás.  

1 Budhomí MS. Ferishtah, iv. 329. Stewart, p. 82. Aín-i-Akbari, ii. 21.
2 Stewart, speaking of Fírúz's advance against Ilíás, says, "The Emperor advanced to a place now called Ferozepurabad, where he pitched his camp, and commenced the operations of the siege of Pandua" (p. 84). There is a Makhá Mírzápá in Sirer Tandah, noticed in the Aín-i-Akbari, ii. p. 2. See also the note from Sháms-i Siráj, quoted below (page 286), under the notice of Ilíás Sháh's reign.
3 Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 83.
No. 221 (pl. vi. fig. 8). Silver. Weight, 168·7 grs. Rare.
Firúzábád, 742, 744, 745, 746. Type as usual.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{سلطان الأعظم} & \\
\text{الخاتم الصمود} & \\
\text{معانا الرحمان ناصر} & \\
\text{امام المؤمنين} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Margin—

Margin—

ضرب هذيفالفضة السكه في البلدة فيروزاباد سنة اثني اربعين وسبعمائة

VII. IKHTIAR-UD-DIN GHAZI SHAH.

At the period of this king's accession to the sovereignty of Sunárgáon in A.H. 750 or 751, we lose the aid of our most trustworthy recorder of the annals of Bengal during his own time. The conclusion of Ibn Batutah's narrative leaves Fakhr-ud-dín Mubáarak still in power, while the native authorities are clearly at fault in their arrangement of dates and events, and altogether silent as to any change in the succession in Eastern Bengal, except in their allusions to the more than problematical capture of Fakhr-ud-dín and his execution by "'Ali Mubáarak" in 743 A.H., with the final accession of Ilíás "one year and five months afterwards."¹

The numismatic testimony would seem to show that Mubáarak was succeeded by his own son, as the 'Il Sultán bin 'Il Sultán may be taken to imply. The immediately consecutive dates, and the absolute identity of the fabric of the coins, as well as the retention of the style of Right-hand of

¹ Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 82.
the Khalifat on the reverse, alike connect the two princes; while the cessation of the issues of Gházi Sháh simultaneously with the acquisition of Sunárgáon by Ilíás in a.H. 753, would seem to point to the gradual spread of the power of the latter, which is stated to have been at its zenith just before Fírúz III. assailed him in his newly-consolidated monarchy in 754.¹

_Ikhtíár-ud-dín Gházi Sháh._

No. 222 (pl. vi. fig. 9). Silver. Weight, 166 grs. Very rare indeed.

Three coins. _Col. Guthrie._ Sunárgáon, 751-753.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>الرضا</th>
<th>Náṣir a-mír</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>المولى</td>
<td>Abo o-mázhíša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>السلاطین</td>
<td>al-salátíy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Margin—

ضرب هذه السكة: بخضرة جلال سانكاروسة أحادي وخمسين وسبعماية

¹ Shams-i Siráj, speaking on hearsay, affirms that Shams-ud-dín Ilíás captured and slew Fákr-ud-dín after Fírúz III.'s first expedition into Bengal, and that the main object of the latter's second invasion of that province was for the purpose of re-asserting the rights of Zafar Khán, the son-in-law of Fákr-ud-dín (who had fled for protection to Dehli), to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal. It is asserted that although Fírúz succeeded in obtaining this concession from Sikandar, who, in the interval, had succeeded to his father's throne, Zafar Khán himself was wise enough to decline the dangerous proximity to so powerful a rival monarch, and returned in the suite of the Sultan. The Bengáli troops, under Zafar Khán, subsequently distinguished themselves in an opposite quarter of India, near Thatte, and their commander was eventually left in charge of Gujarat.

—Shams-i Siráj, book ii. cap 9, etc. See also Journal Archeological Society of Dehli (Major Lewis's abstract translation), 1849, p. 15, and Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 329.

The Taríkh-i Mubárak Sháhi (dedicated to Mubárak II.), the concluding date of which is 838 A.H., also declares that Háji IIíás killed Fákr-ud-dín in 741 A.H.
VIII. SHAMS-UD-DIN ILIÁS SHAH.

The modern application of old coins divides itself into two branches—the suggestive development of obscure tradition, and the enlargement and critical revision of accepted history. The transition point between these archaeological functions, in the present series, declares itself in the accession of Ilías Sháh, the first recognized and effectively independent Muslim Sultán of Bengal, the annals of whose reign have been so often imperfectly reproduced in prefatory introduction to the relation of the magnificent future his successors were destined to achieve as holders of the interests and the commercial prosperity of the Delta of the Ganges, to whose heritage, indeed, England owes its effective ownership of the continent of India at the present day.

The compiler of the English version of the early history of Bengal\(^1\) adopts the conclusion that Hájí Ilías first obtained power on the assassination of "'Ali Mubarak" in 745–6, but the previous rectification of the independent personality and status of the two individuals thus singularly absorbed into one, will prepare the reader for the corrections involved, though not, perhaps, for the apparent anomalies the coins disclose. Medallic testimony would seem to indicate a long waging of hostile interests between the real 'Ali Sháh and Hájí Ilías before the latter attained his final local triumph; for although Ilías is seen to have coined money in Firúzábád in 740 A.H., the chance seems to have been denied him in 741; and in 742 his adversary, 'Ali Sháh, is found in full possession of the mint in question. The Kooch Bahár hoard

---

\(^1\) Stewart, p. 83.
reveals no coin of either party dated 743, but in 744 the two again compete for ownership, which 'Ali Shâh for the time being continues through 745 into 746, when the annual series is taken up and carried on successively for an uninterrupted twelve years by his more favoured opponent. It is needless to speculate on the varying course of these individual triumphs; suffice it to say, that the increasing power of the ruler of Pandua, in 754, excited the Emperor Firûz III. to proceed against him in all the pomp and following of an Oriental Suzerain, resulting only in the confession of weakness, conveniently attributed to the periodical flooding of the country— which effectively laid the foundation of the ulti-

\[1\] Stewart felt a difficulty about the right position of Akhdâlah, the real point of attack, and a place of considerable importance in the local history of Bengal. The following is Zîâ Barni’s description of the place, taken from the concluding chapters of his history on the occasion of Firûz Shâh’s (III.) invasion of Bengal in 754 A.H.:—

واكالنام موضوعي است تنزیک پندو که یکت طرف آن آب است و طرف دوم جنگل است در اند اکدله خصوصی کر و از پندو مفرد کارآمد را با یزی چه در اکدلह بر.

P. 588, printed edit.

Rennell gives another Akdallah north of Dacca. "Map of Hindoostan."

In the following passage Shams-i Sirâj desires to make it appear that Firûz III. gave his own name to the city of Pandua; but, as we have seen that the designation was applied to the new capital either in 740 or 742—that is, long before Firûz became king of Dehli—it will be preferable to conclude that the name was originally bestowed in honour of the Shams-ud-din Firûz of Bengal, No. II. of the Bengal series (p. 193 ante). The quotation is otherwise of value, as it establishes, beyond a doubt, the true position of the new metropolis:—

(فیروز شاه) در پندو رسيد در آن مقام خلطه بنام حصیرة نیروز شاه خواندند و نام شهر فیروز آباد نبادند جون سلطان فیروز شاه اکدله را آزادیپور نام کر و شهر پندو را فیروز آباد (hence the) آزادیپور عرف اکدله و فیروز آباد عرف پندو.
mate independence of Bengal,—a monarchy which was destined so to grow in power and material wealth as to be competent, indirectly, in the person of Shír Sháh, to recover for the old Muhammadan interest the cherished capitals of the north, and, temporarily, to eject from Hindustán the Mughals who too hastily boasted of an easily-achieved conquest of the country "from Bhíra to Bahár."

Ilás Sháh's dates and mint cities may be summarized as follows:

Twentieth King (A.H. 752–790; A.D. 1351–1388).

On the 24th of Muharram, A.H. 752, Fírúz bin Rajab presented himself before the retreating army of his cousin, in State parade, on an elephant, wearing the robes of Sovereignty over the funereal garments, which he insisted upon retaining in honour of his deceased relative; and his formal inauguration was completed by the subdued ceremony of his coronation by the surviving sister of Muhammad bin Tughlak, with the tiara of his two predecessors. His elevation to the throne was not, however, altogether unopposed, as Khwájah-i Jahán, the minister in charge of Dehli, crediting the reported death of Fírúz, had innocently set up a supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tughlak. Eventually, Khwájah-i Jahán met the Sultán, on his approach to the capital, with every confession of penitence, which Fírúz was only too ready to accept; but the
leading nobles insisting upon the necessity of punishment for so grave an offence, the unfortunate minister was sacrificed to political expediency. 1

Notably different from his energetic predecessor, Firúz seems to have been a very weak character, addicted to wine, devoted to the chase, credulous, but amiable and merciful withal to an extent that, in less quiet times, might have proved disadvantageous, 2—a man who would select a governor by a jāl in the Kurán, 3 and who, after having laboriously conducted his armies to the encounter, would withdraw them in the hour of victory from a desire to save the shedding of

1 There is something pathetic in the story of his execution as told by Shams-i Siráj 'Affī. "Khwájah-i Jahán was more than eighty years old. His frame was wasted and feeble, and his hair was white. He was a kind-hearted man." On his dismissal by the Sultán, he was led to suppose that he was to pass the remainder of his days in retirement at Samána, but on the way the messenger of death overtook him, and he readily divined his fate. "Next day he asked Shír Khán for some tents, into one of which he went, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers; . . . he then looked at his executioner, and asked if he had a sharp sword; and the executioner, who was a friend of the Khwájah's, showed his weapon. The old man then told him to make his ablutions, say his prayers, and use his sword. When the man had completed his devotions, the Khwájah bowed his head to his prayer-carpet, and while the name of God was on his lips his friend severed his head from his body."—Elliot's Historians, iii. 286.

2 "His special biographer sees nothing but virtue in Firúz's order that the district of Anwálah should be retained waste for hunting purposes, otherwise it would quickly have become peopled and cultivated under the prosperous and fostering government of Firúz" (iii. 353).

3 "In the whole of these forty years (of Firúz's reign) not one leaf of dominion was shaken in the palace of sovereignty" (iii. 289).

4 "The Sultán never transacted any business without referring to the Kurán for an augury" (iii. 329). Here is an instance of his superstition given under his own hand—"Under the guidance of the Almighty I arranged that the heirs of those persons who had been executed in the reign of my late lord and patron, Sultán Muhammad Sháh, and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot, should be reconciled to the late Sultán, and be made content with gifts, so that they executed deeds declaring their satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses. These deeds were put into a chest,
the blood of the Faithful. The generalship in his two campaigns to Bengal, and his eventual reduction of Tattah, seems to have been of the lowest order; and the way that he allowed himself to be deluded into the deserts of Cutch, or the defiles of Jâñnagar, seems to savour of positive fatuity. His kindness of heart led him to introduce many measures for the amelioration of the condition of his subjects, which, though often of very doubtful expediency, were clearly well intentioned in their inception, and based upon a very complete knowledge of the condition of the country, of which he was not only a native, but, by the mother's side, of good

which was placed in the Dedau-i dman at the head of the tomb of the late Sultân, in the hope that God, in his great clemency, would show mercy to my late friend and patron, and make those persons feel reconciled to him."—Futuhât-i Firúz Sháh, Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 385; Brigge's Ferishtah, i. 464; Syud Ahmad's Work, p. 29; Jour. Asiatique, 1860, p. 401.

1 "He sent a trusty man across the river with orders directing his forces to desist from battle and return to him."—Elliot's Historians, iii. 332. So also p. 297.

3 "The guides who led the way and conducted them had maliciously misled them into a place called the Rann of Cutch" (iii. 324).

5 "For six months no news of the Sultân reached Dehli" (iii. 315).

4 Those who would follow up the inquiry in more detail may be referred to Professor Dowson's exhaustive translation of Shams-i Sîrj 'Affîf, printed in vol. iii. of Elliot's Historians. The following are the leading items:—

1. The system, condemned by the wisec 'Alî-ud-dín, of assignments of revenue in the form of Jadîris in lieu of direct payments (iii. pp. 389, 328, 346).

2. Credit given for the value of Nuurdina presented at Court in the accounts of the feudatories (p. 340, also 357).

3. The assessment of 10 per cent. on the total outlay, or the cost price of the canals, as a rent-charge for the use of the irrigation water by the agriculturists (p. 301).

4. Separation of the private income of the Sultân from the State accounts (p. 302). See also p. 357.

6. The curious and only obscurely explained policy of collecting and employing organized bodies of slaves (p. 340).

6. Government gardens, and profits derived therefrom (p. 345)
Rájpút blood;¹ while his vizír and confidential adviser was himself a well-born Hindu of Tilingana,² whose son inherited his administrative functions in A.H. 772.³ The second Khán-i

7. Fírúz's determination to circumscribe his dominions, but to develop more fully their resources.
8. Revenues of the kingdom incidentally detailed at 60,860,000 tankáhs, or £5,086,000. The revenues of the Doáb (of the Ganges and Jumna) alone placed at 8,000,000, or £280,000 (p. 346).
9. Amplification of the divisions of the coinage (p. 357). See also p. 277 infra.
10. The cities, forts, palaces, amnicuts (bonds), mosques, tombs, and caravanserais (or khánkáhs) built by Fírúz (p. 354); also Firishtah, i. 465.
11. Aid to the unemployed (p. 355).
12. Marriage portions for the daughters of needy Muslims (p. 361).
13. The institution of State hospitals for all classes, native or foreign (p. 361).
14. (A.H. 777). Abolition of vexatious taxes of various kinds (p. 363). Total loss to the State estimated at 3,000,000 tankáhs, or £300,000 (p. 364). These losses are more fully detailed under Fírúz's own hand at p. 377 from his Futúkhát-i Fírús Sháhí. See also Driggs’s Firishtah, i. p. 463.
15. Poll-tax levied on the Brahmins, who had hitherto been exempted. The full rate of the tax (the Jizúrah) was 40 tankáhs, 20 tankáhs, and 10 tankáhs, according to the several classes; but the Sultán reduced the demand on the Brahmins to one fifty-kapí piece, or ‘adali for every 10 tankáhs (p. 366, and original MSS.).

¹ She was the daughter of Ráma Mall Bhatti, whose estates near Abúhar were subject to Daūbalpúr, Ghání beg Tughlak’s special command.—Elliot's Historians, iii. 272.

² When Sultán Muhammad sent the Rai of Tilingana to Dehli, Katté accompanied him. On the death of the Rai, Katté made the profession of the Muslim faith, and was entitled Makkání. “Although he had no knowledge of reading or writing, he was a man of great common sense, acumen, and intelligence” (iii. 367).

³ “When Khán-i Jahan held the sif of Multán, he had a son born to him... He wrote to acquaint Sultán Muhammad [Tughlak] Sháh of the fact, and that monarch directed that the child should be named Júná Sháh. This was the person who was afterwards known as Khán-i Jahan, son of Khán-i Jahan... After the death of his father [in 772 A.H.], the Sultán promoted him to the office of esáir, and bestowed on him this title... He acted as esáir under Fírúz Sháh for twenty years... and the Sultán committed all the affairs of the kingdom to his charge. But towards the end of the reign of Fírúz Sháh... enmity broke out between the minister and Prince Muhammad Khán, afterwards Sultán Muhammad Shah.”—Shams-i Siraj, Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 371. (Khan-i Jahan was killed by Sikandar Khán, one of Muhammad Khán's officers, in A.H.}
Jahān seems to have served his king faithfully for many years, till Fīrūz's failing powers suggested a possible succession to the throne in his own person, which was, however, defeated by the Prince Muhammad Khān, who was thereupon associated in the government, in all form, as joint king and heir apparent. This arrangement was of brief effect, for the son was obliged to flee from the metropolis; and the father having, for the moment, again resumed his functions as sole Sultān, speedily relinquished all power to his grand-son, the son of Fath Khān, who finally succeeded to the throne on the death of Fīrūz, in Ramaẓān, 790 A.H.

The reign of this monarch, though presenting few political incidents, is justly celebrated in the traditions of the land for the number and magnificence of the public works executed under his auspices. Ferishtah specifies no less than 845 undertakings of various kinds that the country owed to the constructive tastes of Fīrūz Shāh.¹ The Sultān himself, in the autobiographical record he has left behind him, is more modest in his totals, but he clearly excludes the mention of many works of which we have palpable knowledge, and

789. The son has left a record of his coming to office, in 772 A.H., on the walls of the black Mosque, near the tomb of Nizām-ud-din Auliā, where he styles himself the—Synd Ahmad’s Work, pp. 32–31 bis; facsimile Inscription, No. r r (r’r’); Jour. Asiatique, 1860, p. 409. There is another inscription of Khān-i Jahān’s on the Kalān Masjid, dated in A.H. 789, in which he describes himself as

بنده زاده درکار حسننامه مقبول الملک طبیب خانجیری این خانجیری
—Synd Ahmad’s Facsimile, No. r r (r’r’), p. 32. A full description of this Mosque, which is situated within the modern walls of Delhi, near the Tūrkomān Gate (No. 5, Map), is to be found in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1847), p. 577, the joint contribution of Capt. H. Lewis and Mr. Cope. The article is largely illustrated with plans and elevations, and furnishes a transcript of the inscription at full length.

¹ Briggs, i. 465.
which bear his name in the language of the people even at the present day. One of the most curious deficiencies a modern mind detects in the long list of buildings, canals, dams, bridges, and other works enumerated by him, is the total omission of even the name of a road, India's greatest want, and the deficiency of which facility of transit the Sultán had so signally experienced while personally in command of retiring armies. His canals, his best and most enduring gift, were confessedly prompted not by any kindly desire to aid and succour his subjects, but to make existence possible in the new towns his early Bhatti predilections induced him to found in the deserts of Hánsí; and the commercial element in these beneficencies crops up amusingly when he seeks for ecclesiastical sanction for his share of ten per cent. on the outlay.

These undertakings will be referred to more fully, and recapitulated in his own words, in connexion with the notice of his inscriptions, which follows the enumeration of his coins.

No. 223. Gold. Weight, 167 grs. (B.M.)

Obverse—
والى بنائيد يزدانی فیروز شاه سلطانی—

Reverse—
ضریت هذی السکه في زمان الامام ابو العباس احمد خلدت ملکه

No. 224 (pl. iv. fig. 113). Gold. Weight, 170 grs. (B.M.)

السلطان الاعظم
امیر المومنین ابو الفتح
 الخلدت خلدت ملکه

Margien—*

Mr. Freeling possessed a dated piece of this class of 757 A.H.

Obverse—من الأعظم سيف أمير المومنين أبو المنذر فيروز شاه

Reverse—هذة السكة في زمن الامام أمير المومنين ابي الفتح


Obverse—من الأعظم سيف أمير المومنين أبو المنذر فيروز شاه

Reverse—

Area, Margin,


Obverse—نائب أمير المومنين ٧٨٨

Reverse—

No. 228 (pl. iv. fig. 115). Silver and Copper. Weight, 141 grs.

(Average weight of six selected specimens, 139-5 grs.)

Dates observed, A.H. 759, 761, 762, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 783, 784, 785, 787, 788, 789, 790.

Obverse—فيروز شاه سلطاني ضربت بحضور دهلي

Reverse—الخليفه ايام المومنين خلد خلافته

No. 229. Silver and Copper. Weight, 54 grs.

Obverse—فيروز شاه سلطاني خلد ملكه

Reverse—الخليفه ابو الفتح خلد خلافته
Obverse as No. 228.
Reverso—

No. 231. Silver and Copper. Weight, 34.8 grs.
Obverse—فيروز سلطاني
Reverso—حضرت دهلي

No. 232. Silver and Copper. Weight, 17.4 and 17.8 grs.
Very rare.
Obverse—فيروز شاه
Reverso—دهلي

No. 233. Copper. Weight, 68 grs.
Obverse—فيروز شاه سلطاني
Reverso—دار الملك دهلي

No. 234. Copper. Weight, 36 grs.
Obverse—فيروز سلطاني
Reverso—حضرت دهلي

No. 235 (pl. iv. fig. 121). Copper. Weight, 55 grs.
Obverse—فيروز شاه سلطاني
Reverso—ابو العباس احمد

No. 236. Silver and Copper. Weight, 84 grs. Very rare.
Obverse—فيروز سلطاني
Reverso—خلفيه ابو الفتح
Unique.

*Obverse*—

*Reverse*—

POSTHUMOUS COINS OF FIRUZ.

No. 238. Coins similar in types and legends to No. 228, bear respectively the dates A.H. 791, 799, 801, 804, 816, 817, 820, 824, 825, 828, 830.

No. 239. Copper. Average weight, 68 grs. A.H. 799, 800.

*Obverse*—

*Reverse*—

Frequent reference has been made during the course of these numismatic inquiries to the system, traditional in India, of combining silver and copper in varied proportions for the purpose of providing for the gradational sub-divisions of the *silver tankah*. We now reach a period when the practical application of this indigenous theory was greatly extended and elaborated in its subordinate details; and simultaneously we obtain, for the first time, official recognition of the process employed in the Mint, together with a full enumeration of the various pieces deemed necessary for the monetary rates and exchanges of the shopkeeper and the ordinary *básár* purchases of the people at large.

Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif, the special biographer of Firúz Sháh, gives the following account of the improvements introduced into the circulating media of the country during his patron’s reign. Following out the principle I have laid down for myself elsewhere, I reproduce the *ipsissima verba* of the
author in preference to a mere translation, as furnishing a more formal and authoritative document in itself, which, though presenting no difficulty in its sense, may possibly serve to satisfy those who might otherwise seek to amend my interpretation.

1 The above passage was originally quoted in my Supplement (Dehlí, 1851) from the then supposedly unique copy of the Šāhnāme-i Shams-ı Širāzī 'Aṭif, in the possession of the Nawūd Zia-ud-dīn Khān of Lohár-d. It has now been collated with and improved from two additional versions, the one contained in MS. No. 1002 of the old India House Library, the other supplied by a MS. lately purchased for the India Government at the sale of the Marquis of Hastings. A full notice of these MSS. is to be found in Professor Dowson's preface to his translation of the work itself in Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 270.
We gather from this passage that Firúz continued to issue gold tankahs at the old 175 grain weight, to which, indeed, his extant coins bear testimony; but we miss any examples of the 200 grain gold pieces introduced by his predecessor. It is not, however, so clear as to what the weight of the silver tankah here alluded to was estimated at. Critically following the meaning of the term tankah, it should have corresponded with the measure of the parallel gold piece and that of the ancient silver tankah of 175 grains; but we meet with no silver coin of this amount, though there are numerous examples of coins weighing 140 grains, some of the less alloyed specimens of which may answer to the full 'adali; but, as has been already remarked (pp. 219, 237), the issue of tankahs and 'adali seems to have been rather kept in abeyance, the abundance of gold coin now in circulation having relieved the silver currency of much of its early responsibility, so that the mint operations were chiefly devoted to securing a full supply of the groats and other alternative fractions of the Indian system. The gradational sub-divisions in the new coins provided by Firúz are clearly designed to meet the fractional parts of the new 140 grain coin, while the sixty-fours of the old system are fully kept in view, both for the sake of the fundamental kānį estimate in itself, as well as to secure the correspondence with the old 175 grain silver tankah, which must still have constituted a large proportion of the local currency, notwithstanding that Muhammad bin Tughlak's momentary effort to restore the old weight may have been unsustained: in so much so, that we find the ancient tankah fully re-established in the reign of Mubárak Sháh II.¹ (A.H. 835); and Timúr had already testified that

¹ These coins give us the nearest approach to the estimated 175 grains of the normal tankah hitherto observed, rising up to a still preserved weight of 174 grains; and the silver money of Muhammad bin Farid completes the evidence in an existing weight of 175 grains.
the bulk of the coin found in the royal treasury at Dehli, on
its capture in 801 A.H., consisted of the old tanks of 'Alá-
ud-dín Khilji.

Under this dual system, fractional pieces are seen to have
been ranged in the following order:—

a. \( \frac{4}{4} \) ths of 175 grains of silver (i.e. 131\frac{1}{4} \) grains) or 48
kánís, that is \( \frac{4}{4} \) ths or \( \frac{1}{4} \) ths of the old tankah.
b. \( \frac{4}{4} \) ths of 140 grains of slightly alloyed silver\(^1\) (the nisf)
or \( \frac{1}{6} \) of the 'adali.
c. \( \frac{3}{4} \) ths of 175 grains, or \( \frac{4}{8} \) ths or \( \frac{1}{8} \) ths of the old tankah.
d.\(^2\) \( \frac{4}{4} \) ths of 175 grains, or \( \frac{5}{8} \) ths of the old tankah.
e. \( \frac{1}{2} \) ths of 140 grains, or \( \frac{1}{4} \) of the 'adali.

Added to these were the old hasht-kánís, do-kánís, and ek-kánís,
of which coins we have absolute examples among Muhammad
bin Tughlak's issues; while the shashkánís, for which credit
is especially claimed, as a novelty, originated by Fírúz, seem
to have been already in existence in the form of coined money,
otherwise it is difficult to understand how the African travel-
lers should so constantly refer to them in their estimates of
prices. Very possibly the laudations of the biographer only
refer to the introduction of a larger and more systematic
supply of these pieces, effected when Fírúz revised the general
scheme of the then current coinage. Two of this monarch's
minor triumphs may well be conceded to him—the institu-
tion of half and quarter jítalas. These fractions could already
be met by payments in simple copper, as the 4 fals in that
metal sufficiently supplied the needful change under the old
system; but Fírúz's aim seems to have been to produce these
small pieces in mixed copper and silver for the sake of the

\(^1\) 25 kánís of pure silver would be equal to 68.359 grs.

\(^2\) The \( \frac{1}{2} \) or shánzadbí of Muhammad bin Tughlak's divisional scheme, seems
to have fallen out of circulation at this period. See page 219 ante.
more portable form the composite alloy would secure. And this, it must be confessed, is the grand merit of the entire scheme of a coinage of mixed metals; it did for a race who rigorously exacted full metallic values what a token currency in the subordinate metals does for the European civilization of this day; and in these very minute subdivisions, it provided, moreover, a tangible piece of money in the place of a star or flake of silver,¹ which a breath of wind would blow away, equally as it avoided the inconvenient weight incident to the lower value of pure copper. These new pieces were severally denominated ḍada hadd “half” بیکه (probably the appropriate vernacular bhikh “alms,” ḍoḥoḥ). The latter coin may be identified with No. 282, which is the very smallest bit contributed by any available specimen of Fīrūz’s money.

I took the opportunity, during my last visit to Dehli, of having a number of Fīrūz Sháh’s coins assayed by the ordinary native process of blowing-off the copper with lead, a process which, when carefully conducted, affords a reasonably sufficient test,² which in other cases was confirmed by more

¹ The kési or jital, supposing it to have been minted in unmixed silver, would have required 2.73437 grains of that metal, so that the quarter jital would have weighed only 66358 grains, or less than 7-10ths of a grain troy. Those who are in the habit of using decimals of grains in more exact experiments will understand what this means.

² It must always be borne in mind that this was precisely the ultimate assay test within the reach of the authorities of the day, of which we have an amusing episode in the deterioration of these identical shashkésis, effected by a false Mint master, one “Kajar Sháh,” who, in 772 A.H., ventured to put forth these coins at a depreciation of one grain of silver in the 16-4 odd grains of silver, less the copper alloy, by law required. Certain informers having reported this fact to the Vāzir, a trial of the pik was instituted before the Sultán himself, aided by all the outward formalities of stripping the immediate operators, but insidiously allowing the ascertained deficiency of silver to be introduced into selected bits of charcoal, which, when thrown into the cupel, restored the legitimate balance,—a result
formal analysis, according to the European method. On this occasion of personal superintendence of the assay itself, I satisfied myself of the extraordinary aptitude of the local experts in judging of intrinsic contents, by exacting a preliminary declaration on their part of the amount of silver each individual coin might be expected to yield. In certain cases of old and dirty pieces, recourse was had to a clearing of the surface by rubbing, when the glint of the silver soon indicated its proportion in the general total, but usually the feel between the thumb and the sensitive fingers of the professional assayer enabled him to pronounce a strikingly near approach to the weight of silver the operating goldsmith produced in the final button of silver. The following is the result of these different assays of various specimens of coin No. 228:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2.</td>
<td>&quot; 131.5 grs.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 767.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 23 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3.</td>
<td>&quot; 132.2 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 771.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 18 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4.</td>
<td>&quot; 140 grs.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 781.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 24 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>5.</td>
<td>&quot; 140 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 788.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 17 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>6.</td>
<td>&quot; 140 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 788.&quot;</td>
<td>&quot; 18 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>7.</td>
<td>&quot; 132 &quot;</td>
<td>(No data.)</td>
<td>&quot; 19 &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that in these returns of pure silver we have optional examples of at least three several degrees of value—the minor variations may fairly be attributed to the want of homogeneity in the mixture of the metals, and which would probably be rectified by taking an average of a larger number of specimens. In each case, it must be remembered, allowance has to be made for the value of the copper, amounting rejoiced over by the Vaisir and seemingly silently acquiesced in by the Sultan; though the overt act of the proclamation of the purity of the public money, and Kajar Shah's rehabilitative promenade through the city, was speedily followed by his abrupt dismissal on other pleas.—Dehli Archeological Journal (Captain H. Lewis's translation), Sept. 1849, p. 82. Elliot's Historians, iii. p. 358.
in many instances to over 120 grains, which proportionately reduces the total of pure silver required to complete the intrinsic value of each denominational piece. Nos. 2 and 4 may, under these limitations, stand for 10 kānī pieces; Nos. 3, 5, and 6, for irregular examples of a hashkānī; and No. 1 for a shashkānī; but these identifications are purely speculative, and encumbered with many elements of discord in the minor details, so that, in testing authoritative values for any purposes of comparison of prices, it will be far better to rely upon the clearly ascertained fractional divisions of the tankah of 17½ grains of fine silver, the declared equivalent of 64 kānis.

Prices of Grain during Firūz Shāh’s Reign.¹

1. Wheat ........................ per man 8 jital.
2. Barley ......................... جو 4 "
3. Gram (Cicer aritinum) ...... خندو 4 "
4. Coarsely-ground grain for horses, دلیه 10 sīrs 1 jital.
5. Ghi ............................. روغن ستور per sīr 2½ "
6. Sugar .......................... شکر ترز 3 to 3½ jital.

Q. Inscription of Firūz on the 5th story of the Kutb Minār, dated A.H. 770.²

درین مناره سنه سبعین و سبعماه بهائت برق خلال راه یافته بود بیفیق ربانی برکشیده عنايت سبحانی فیروز سلطانی این مقام را بااحتیاط تمام عمارت کرد خالتأ بیچون این مقام را از جمع انان مصور دارد

¹ Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afn. The returns Nos. 5 and 6 are derived from a marginal addition in the Marquis of Hastings’s MS.
² The Persian texts give دلیه, دلیه (from دلی) “half ground,” “split peas.” The native term extends to all sorts of horse mashers, which the people of India have great faith in.
This inscription has an important bearing upon the history of the Minaret itself, though it merely tells us that Fírúz repaired the damage caused by lightning; but taken in connexion with the Sultán’s own words, in his autobiography, we gather a distinct affirmation that the Minaret was commenced under the auspices of Mu’izz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám, which fully bears out the suggestive reading of the name of Kutb-ud-dín Silahadír (adverted to at page 23 suprd), as still legible upon the bands of the lower story. The Sultán’s expressions, at the same time, dispose of a very ingenious theory lately propounded by a Civil Engineer, that Fírúz himself actually built the two upper stories of the Minár;¹ that he raised its height is

¹ "As regards the age of the various portions [of the Kuth Minár] as they now stand, the most superficial examination will show that the three lower stories, whilst they are identical in style and construction with the work of Altamah, differ completely in both particulars from the two uppermost ones. In the former, except the outer casing, which is of sandstone (no marble being used anywhere), the walls are of cut granite; so too are the central pillar and the steps, which latter are not plain lintel blocks, but are carried upon corbels projecting from the walls. All the doorways and openings have Hindú horizontal arches; the sandstone is old and discoloured, and the ornamentation dates from Altamah and Kutb-ud-dín’s time. In the two upper stories all is changed; the walls, steps, and central pillar are of bright red sandstone, while marble being introduced into the outer face, the steps have no corbels, the arches have true vousoirs, and the ornamentation is identical with what we find prevalent in the latter half of the 14th century. We are thus warranted in assuming that these two stories were newly designed and built by Fírúz Sháh in A.D. 1368. General Cunningham agrees as far as the fifth story is concerned, but thinks the fourth is original, as the inscription over the doorway dates from the reign of Altamah. But this doorway is exactly similar to the one above; it is built of similar stone, is of a similar shape, and, like it, has true vousoirs; it is clear, therefore, that the old tablet of Altamah had been simply rebuilt into the new work of Fírúz Sháh."—Notes on the History and Topography of the ancient cities of Dehli, by C. S. Campbell, C.E., Journal As. Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 199.

It is difficult to understand how, in the course of all this elaborate argumentation, based upon merely technical data, Mr. Campbell failed to refer to so simple an
incontestable, but the tenor of his words would certainly
item of evidence as that quoted by Zia-ud-din Khán of Loháru in the first instance
(Dehli Arch. Journal, 1552, p. 29), and prominently noticed by Gen. Cunningham
(Arch. Report, p. 32), that the celebrated geographer, Abúl Fida, had, some time
before his death, in 732 A.H., or necessarily twenty years prior to the accession of
Firúz, put upon record that the Masjida of the Jam'í Masjid at Dehli counted
360 steps in its circular ascending staircase. Now, considering that the utmost
limit this monument is ever known to have reached under all subsequent additions
is 379 steps, it would be impossible, under such conditions, to concede to Firúz
Sháh the construction of two complete stories, and very lofty stories, as they
fall in the general proportion to the total height, even if the very moderate
increase he claims to have achieved did not otherwise determine the question.
In a similar spirit of eccentric originality and needless antagonism to General
Cunningham, Mr. Campbell goes on to enunciate one of the most singular pro-
positions ever put forward by an archaeologist, to the effect that “the citadel” of
Rai Pithora’s fort, “when rebuilt by ’Ala-ud-din, received the name of Siri”
(p. 214); and again, “Kutb citadel . . . rebuilt by ’Ala-ud-din, a.d. 1304, and
renamed by him Siri” (p. 216). In his attempt to support this novel theory,
the late Executive Engineer of Dehli entirely disregards the important testi-
mony of Ibn Batutah, that the “Dar ul Khillafat Siri was a totally separate and
detached town, situated at such a distance from Old Dehli as to necessitate the
construction of the walls of Jahán Pandh to bring them within a defensive circle,
and that the Hauz-i-Kház intervened, in an indirect line, between the two localities”
(iii, pp. 146, 156). Mr. Campbell’s interpretation of the evidence of the Zafar
Námah is equally imperfect. What can be more distinct than the details given
at the time of the publication of Messrs. Cope and Lewis’s plan, to which he refers
for the refutation of Gen. Cunningham’s position, than the statement (at p. 24 of
the selfsame number of the Dehli Archæological Journal), that “Siri was cir-
cular, and surrounded on all sides by a wall” (a similar wall surrounded Old
Dehli), and from “that wall of Siri . . . to that wall of Old Dehli . . . there
are built walls on both sides, the space between which is called Jahán Pandh.”
If anything were wanting to confute the whole rationalization, Mr. Campbell’s own
arguments would complete the case against him. Not only is he obliged under
the terms of his own reasoning to invent an imaginary Siri in the suburbs of _MINOR
“New Dehli of the 16th century,” (extending from Indrapat to Khirrabad on the
banks of the Jumna), and affirmed by him to have been called “Siri by Sharif-
ud-din;” but the very passage he cites with so much emphasis, from a choice copy
of the Kín-i-Akbari, is positively and emphatically condemnatory of his own fallacy.
What can possibly be more definite than the statement of Abúl Fazl, that
سلطان عال الدين شاه دیگر بنیاد نهاد قلعه نو بر ساخت آنرا سری کوند
“Sultán ’Ala-ud-din built another city (and) a new fort, which they call Siri” ?
R. Inscription in Chirágh Dehli, dated A.H. 775.¹

بسم الله تيمانابذكر عمارة اين كنبد ميمون در عهد مهون الوائق
بتائيد الرحمن ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه سال
برهفسصد هفتاد پنچ از تاريخ هجرت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم

S. Inscription of Firúz Sháh at Benares, from an impression on paper

*The Inscription is engraved on one of the stone roof-beams of the edifice on the
western bank of the Bakariyya Kund.*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ازعون وعنايت ربانى و تائيد قفضل يزندي مسجد وكنبد دهلیزو
جمهور ونردبان حوض وحموته مقام منبرکه سید فخرالدین شهید علیبے
طاب الله ثرا و جعل الجنة منواد به عهد سلطان الاعظم الوائق بيتائيد

¹ ومنارة سلطان معزالدين سامرا كه از حافته برق افتاده برد بهتر از
انكه بود از ارتفاع تدیمی بلیندتر مرمت كرده شد

—MS. Futdhát-i Firúz Sháhí.

—I see that Shams-i-Síráj ’Affi erroneously attributes the Kuhb Minár to Alásamah.

—Eliot’s Historians, iii. 353.

² Chirágh Dehli occupies a prominent position in the illustrative plan of the
environs of Dehli, near Sháhpúr and Khirki. The shrine seems to have been
originally erected in 775 A.H. by Firúz Sháh, within the enceinte of Jahán-panáh.

—Syud Ahmad, pp. 36, and facsimile, No. 21, p. 31 bis; Journal Asiatique, 1860,
p. 410.
I have selected the above inscription, in preference to any further citations of Fírúz Sháh’s proper epigraphs, for several reasons—it is new and virtually unpublished, it affords a fresh example of the avowed Múslím policy of appropriating Idol temples, for which Bénares offered an unusually ample field.

The inscription records, in curious concert with the mixed style of the various buildings referred to, that one Zíá Ahmad, a true believer, by the aid and grace of God, “built or repaired the mosque, with the dome over the vestibule, or outer entrance porch, the reception chamber, the steps of the reservoir or tank, and the encircling wall of the shrine of Syud Fakhru’d-dín, the descendant of ’Alí, in A.H. 777.” Most of these edifices had been elaborately traced and described by Messrs. Horne and Sherring prior to the discovery of the inscription. The following passages from their joint article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1865), p. 1, will put the reader in possession of a general view of the locality and the more material constructive details of the

---

1 I exhibited General Cunningham’s paper impressions, with some brief remarks, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, on the 4th of July, 1870.

2 Syud Ahmad informs me that the technical meaning attaching to ججر in India, is a small chamber subordinate to the Mosque, in which the servitor of the shrine lives, and in which pilgrims and others occasionally find a refuge.
buildings. The inscription itself is cut upon one of the stone beams of the flat-roofed structure upon the western bank of the reservoir, which is thus noticed:—

"Ascending the terrace, you come to the building itself. . . The beams and slabs constituting the roof are in some cases 9 feet in length, and the roof is supported by three rows of immensely thick stone columns, the capitals of which are in the form of a cross. The cornice decorating the walls is not of modern narrowness, but is 12 inches deep, and is ornamented with carvings of various elegant devices. The outer wall on the western side is strengthened by a huge buttress of stone, 14 feet wide and 15 feet high."

"To the south of the tank is a ghaut, the stones of which are scattered about in great disorder, so that, looking at it from a distance, it has the appearance of an utter ruin. And such it really is. But it is nevertheless a comparatively modern structure, for the stones of which it is composed, judging from the elaborate and finished carvings on many of them, have been contributions from fallen edifices in the neighbourhood.

"At the south-west corner of the tank . . . overhanging the Kund, is a huge breastwork of stone, on the top of which is a spacious court-yard and a Muhammadan Dargah, or place of prayer. . .

"To the east of the Dargah is a small mosque, 37 feet long by 19½ feet broad, open to the east, and supported by three rows of pillars, five in each row. The pillars in the second row have deep scroll carvings on their sides with ornamental corners, consisting of Lotus seed-pods one on another."

". . . Some parts of this building are certainly original; and there can be no doubt of the antiquity of the pillars, which belonged to some Buddhist [Hindú] cloister, or of the fact of the modern character of the inclosing wall.

"A few steps off, is an inclosure in the form of an irregular parallelogram, a wall being on either side, and two small Buddhist [Hindú] buildings at its extremities. That situated at the northern extremity is in some respects like the mosque just described. Its carvings, however, are not all the same, and its ornamental band is of a very ancient type. There is a small building used as a Ranza
attached to its north-west angle, and sustained by ancient pillars and modern walls. The building is surmounted by a low cupola of primitive construction. It is not unlikely that originally there were cloisters on this bank of the Kund, and that the three small buildings just described were all at one time connected together."

If we could determine with any certainty when the Indo-Arabian Saint entitled Fakr-ud-dín 'Alawi flourished, we could, perhaps, better estimate and more definitely check the extent of the original or secondary work performed by the pious Muhammadan of Benares of the second half of the seventh century of the Hijrah.

**FIRUZ SHAH’S PUBLIC WORKS.**

 Firúz Sháh’s too modest enumeration of his own good works, as recorded in his autobiography, is reproduced is

---

1 Syud Ahmad speaks of a Fakhr-ud-dín Sáhib in his notice of Chiragh Dehli, but he gives no intimation of the epoch at which he flourished (p. 33); Journal Asiatique, 1860, p. 410.

2 Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad tells us that the text of this brief chronicle, entitled فتحات فیروز شاهی, was engraved on the octagonal dome of the Jami’ Mosque at Firdsábad.

و در مسجید جامع فیروزاباد بنا نهاده و مئسم است بر هشت طرف آن کتب مخصوص این كتاب را هشت باب خیال کرده فردیه است

See also Briggs’s Ferishtah, i. 462. Syud Ahmad’s Work, p. 34, under مسجد جامع فیروزاباد, and J.R.A.S. iv., N.S., 446.

The Futuḥat-i Firúz Sháhi opens with the following words, couched in the first person singular:—

من بیچاره مسکین فیروزاب دفع علم محمد شاه بن تغلق شاه **
The coins of *extenso* in the note below. Its chief merit consists in the information it affords regarding the archaeological monuments of Old Dehli. Shams-i-Siraj's list is far more comprehensive, and enters into numerous interesting constructive details, and

1 "Among the gifts which God bestowed upon me, his humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings. So I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries, that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy, might worship God in these edifices, and aid the kind architect with their prayers. The digging of canals, the planting of trees, and the endowing with lands are in accordance with the directions of the Law.

Again, by the guidance of God, I was led to repair and rebuild the edifices and structures of former kings and ancient nobles, which had fallen into decay from lapse of time; giving the restoration of these buildings the priority over my own building works. The Jami'-masjid of Old Dehli, which was built by Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Sâm, had fallen into decay from old age, and needed repair and restoration. I so repaired it that it was quite renovated.

The western wall of the tomb of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Sâm, and the planks of the door, had become old and rotten. I restored this, and, in the place of the balcony, I furnished it with doors, arches, and ornaments of sandal-wood.

The mindrak of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din Sâm had been struck by lightning. I repaired it and raised it higher than it was before.

The Haus-i Shamsh, or tank of Altamah, had been deprived of water by some graceless men, who stopped up the channels of supply. I punished those incorrigible men severely, and opened again the closed-up channels.

The Haus-i 'Adî, or tank of 'Alâ-ud-din [the Haus-i Khâ], had no water in it, and was filled up. People carried on cultivation in it, and had dug wells, of which they sold the water. After a generation (kawn) had passed, I cleaned it out, so that this great tank might again be filled from year to year.

The Mâdîrâm (college) of Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamah had been destroyed. I rebuilt it, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. The columns of the tomb, which had fallen down, I restored better than they had been before. When the tomb was built, its court (sahne) had not been made curved (kaj), but I now made it so. I enlarged the hewn-stone staircase of the dome, and I re-erected the fallen piers (pushti) of the four towers.

Tomb of Sultan Mu'izz-ud-din, son of Sultan Shams-ud-din, which is situated in Malikpur. This had fallen into such ruin that the sepulchres were undistinguishable. I re-erected the dome, the terrace, and the enclosure wall.

Tomb of Sultan Rukn-ud-din, son of Shams-ud-din, in Malikpur. I repaired the enclosure wall, built a new dome, and erected a monastery (khânkhâh).

Tomb of Sultan Jalal-ud-din. This I repaired, and supplied it with new doors.
the motives which led his patron to commence some of his exceptional undertakings. Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's totals, on the other hand, though not so obviously exaggerated as Ferishtah's, are clearly fanciful, especially in the number of even hundreds they display.

Tomb of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín. I repaired this, and furnished it with sandal-wood doors. I repaired the wall of the ḍabārkhānah, and the west wall of the mosque, which is within the college, and I also made good the tessellated pavement (farāh-i taʿshīb).

Tomb of Sultán Kūtb-ud-dín and the (other) sons of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, viz., Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán, Faríd Khán, Sultán Shahb-ud-dín, Sikandar Khán, Muhammad Khán, 'Uṣmán Khán, and his grandsons, and the sons of his grandsons. The tombs of these I repaired and renovated.

I also repaired the doors of the dome, and the lattice work of the tomb of Shaikh-ul Islám Nizám-ul hākk wa-ud-dín, which were made of sandal-wood. I hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome; and I built a meeting-room, for before this there was none.

Tomb of Malik Tāj-ul Mulk Kāftū, the great waṣīr of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín. He was a most wise and intelligent minister, and acquired many countries, on which the horses of former sovereigns had never placed their hoofs, and caused the ḵᵛutba of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín to be repeated there. He had 52,000 horsemen. His grave had been levelled with the ground, and his tomb laid low. I caused his tomb to be entirely renewed, for he was a devoted and faithful subject.

The Ḍahr-i āman, or 'house of rest.' This is the bed and resting place of great men. I had new sandal-wood doors made for it, and over the tombs of these distinguished men I had curtains and hangings suspended.

The expense of repairing and renewing these tombs and colleges was provided from their ancient endowments.

Jāhān-pandah. This foundation of the late Sultán Muhammad Sháh, my kind patron, by whose bounty I was reared and educated, I restored.

All the fortifications which had been built by former Sovereigns at Dehli I repaired.

I was enabled by God's help to build a Ḍahr-ṣā ṣifād, or 'hospital,' for the benefit of every one, of high or low degree, who was suddenly attacked by illness and overcome by suffering. Physicians attend there to ascertain the disease, to attend to the cure, to regulate the diet, and to administer medicine. The cost of the medicines and the food is defrayed from my endowments. All sick persons, residents and travellers, gentle and simple, bond and free, resort thither; their maladies are treated, and, under God's blessing, they are cured."—Futūḥat-i Firūz Sháhī, translated in Elliot's Historians, iii. 382.
Among the many works of direct utility or more enduring fame, there are three of Firúz Sháh’s exploits which claim especial notice in this place—two of them as intimately associated with the history of the capital, and the third as having given an impetus to the development of the resources of the land which we participate in to this day. The first of these operations was the removal of the Court to the new city of Fírúzábád, whose outline may be roughly traced on the illustrative plan as extending from Indrapat (“Indiput Fort”) along the Jumna by Fírúz Sháh’s Lát (“Feroze Shaw Pul Lath”), up to the Kúshk Shikár (“Shah Fukeer Lath”), covering a distance of more than six miles, and embracing the lands of eighteen separate townships. The second enterprise, which possesses considerable antiquarian interest, was the removal of the two Monoliths or Láts of Asoka from their normal sites near Khizrábád and Meerut respectively, and their erection, the one in the Kúshk of Fírúzábád and the other in the Kúshk-i Shikár. Both these monuments are inscribed with letters of the earliest-known archaic Pali characters, embodying the Edicts of King Asoka, the ardent propagator of Buddhism, promulgated by him in the 27th year of his reign (about 230 B.C.). The Khizrábád pillar also bears on its surface a later inscription of Visala-deva, Vigraha Rája, dated in Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1164). On the arrival of these columns at Dehli, Indian

1 Shams-i-Siráj ‘Affif; Elliot’s Historians, iii. 303.
3 Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, viii. 130; Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1884, p. xxxii.; Prinsep’s Essays, i. 325. There is an engraving of Firuz Shah’s Kotila, with the column standing in the centre, copied from a drawing made in 1797, published in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 180. See also vol. i. p. 379.
4 “The golden pillar is a single shaft of pale pinkish sandstone, 42 feet 7 inches
Pandits were summoned from far and near to decipher and explain the ancient writings on their surfaces, but they, one and all, failed to detect any trace of the symbols of their own every-day writing in the prototype of sixteen centuries anterior use; and it remained for that most prominent of our Indian archaeologists, James Prinsep, to rescue from oblivion the sacred alphabet of the Buddhists, to interpret the tenor of their then germinating professions of faith, and to reconstruct the progressive alphabets of India, whose modern derivatives are found to spread in so many varied forms over the entire continent of India, and to have penetrated into proximate lands, where the modern representatives of learning would assuredly deny their exotic origin.

Though the untutored eye may at first fail to recognize these identities, amid the conflicting agencies of crudities of vernacular definition, complications demanded by alien speech, and divergencies incident to materials and methods of writing, there can be no possible doubt but that, whether chiselled on stone, graven on metal, impressed upon clay, written with ink on primitive birch bark or more refined paper, or, as a final test, pierced with the iron style on in length, of which the upper portion, 35 feet in length, has received a very high polish, while the remainder is left quite rough. Its upper diameter is 25·3 inches, and its lower diameter 38·8 inches."

The second of Asoka's Dehli pillars is now lying in five pieces near Hindd Rao's house, on the top of the hill to the N.W. of Shâhjahânâbâd. The whole length of these pieces was 32½ feet—upper diameter, 29½ inches; lower diameter 33·44.—Gen. Cunningham, Arch. Report, 1862, pp. 17, 19.

A somewhat similar Monolith was erected by Firzâ in the Fort of Himâr.—Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, 1838, p. 429.

1 It is easy to understand the difficulty these unimaginative interpreters may have felt with the old Lat alphabet; but they must have been more than ordinarily obtuse or intentionally reticent if they failed to read the inscription of Vasala Deva, the characters of which are but little removed from the more recent varieties then current in the land.
Southern palm leaves, the entire range of existing characters now in use from Sind to Annam, however seemingly discordant, must all confess to the common parentage of some given form of the alphabet of the Pre-Aryan indigènes, the earliest extant example of which, in its lapidary or rock inscription form, dates at the very lowest estimate in 250 B.C.  

The most important feat of Firúz Sháh's reign was, however, the construction of a double system of canals to supply his new city of Hissár Firúzah, the head waters of which were drawn both from the Jumna and Sutlej; the former branch, but little modified, still supplies our British subjects in the nineteenth century along the full 200 miles of its ancient banks. The Sutlej section, which is stated to have joined the main line at Karnál, can still be indicated from Rúpar to Sirhind. The old line of the Jumna branch was carefully traced by Col. Colvin in 1833, and may be followed on the modern maps from Bádsháh Mahal at the débouchement of the river from the outer range of the Himalaya, by Chichróli and Búriah to Karnál, through the cut-

1 J.R.A.S. i., N.S., p. 466.
3 Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1833, p. 105.

—Sháma-i-Shiráj 'Aff M.S.

We have a curious antiquarian document connected with the history of Firúz
ting below Uncha Samána, into the eastern branch of the Chitang river,¹ near Sufidún, and thence through the old bed of the Chitang to Hánai and Hissár. The introduction of the water of this canal into the city of Dehli, which is noted (partly in pencil) on the plan of Col. Mackenzie as the “ancient canal of Firoz Sháh,” dates in reality only from the time of 'Ali Murdán Khán, early in the 17th century.

Sháh’s canals, in the form of an official Samad or grant of the Emperor Akbar, dated A.H. 978, the opening of which specifies “the Chitang Naddi, by which Firdúz Sháh Bábásháh, 210 years ago, brought water from the náds and drains in the vicinity of Sádhaaurah, at the foot of the hills to Hánai and Hissár.”—Col. Yule, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1848, p. 214. Col. Yule adds in a note, “Sádhaaurah is a town in the Ambálah district, about twenty miles west of the Jumna. The river flowing past Sádhaaurah is the Markanda, but the sources of the Chitang are only seven or eight miles distant.”

Of Firdúz’s other great work for the supply of water for the environs of Dehli, we have only casual mention by Timúr, who, in speaking of the capture of the Fort of Loni, describes it as situated between the two rivers Jumna and Hindún, the latter of which is stated to be a large canal constructed by Firdúz Sháh, taken from the Kalanadi, and connected with the Jumna opposite Firdúzbád.

See also Col. Colvin’s Notice, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, ii. p. 111.

¹ The Chitang was one of the sacred rivers of the Brahmanas, embalmed in ‘Manu,’ as “between the two divine rivers Saraswati and Drihadvati (Chitang), lies the tract of land which the sages have named Brahmadvarta, because it was frequented by gods” (ii. 17). “Kurukshetra (modern Dehli), Mathura (on the Jumna), Panchala (Kanyakubja, Kanaunj), and Saraswati (Mathurá), form the region called Brahmarshi, distinguished from Brahmapartha” (ii. 19). See also Dr. J. Muir, J.R.A.S. ii., N.S., pp. 12, 18; Wilson, Megha Duta, pp. 356–7–8.

The improved texts and translations of Timúr’s memoirs, now available, enable us to fix with precision the site of the ancient city of Sarsuti, which proves to be identical with that of the modern town of Sirsh, lat. 29° 31’, long. 75° 5’. We can readily follow Timúr’s march upwards from Bhatmír to Sirsh, towards Fathábád, Agrowah, and onwards to Firdúz Sháh’s canal works about Sufidún.
COINS BEARING THE CONJOINED NAMES OF FIRÚZ SHAH AND HIS SON FATH KHÁN.

Firúz Sháh, ill-fitted as he was in many respects to fill an Oriental throne, was ever ready to avail himself of the aid of stronger and more determined minds; hence his placid abandonment of all virtual authority to those singularly efficient Hindú administrators, Khán-i-Jahán, father and son, of that designation, who for 37 years guided the destinies of the narrowed dominions of the sovereignty of Dehli, while the Sultán employed himself in the exercise of his taste for building, the laying out of gardens, and improving his private estate.¹ Some such feeling of the need of political support

¹ I have previously adverted to the innate resources of India. The following incident is highly illustrative, as showing the accumulations it was possible to get together during the lifetime of a single prosperous slave:—"The great wealth of 'Imád-ud-dín has already been spoken of, it amounted to krore. The author was told that on one occasion bags were required for containing the coin, and 2,500 tankahs were expended in the purchase of the material, the cost of each bag being four jitala. . . . When the accounts were brought before 'Imád-ul-Mulk, he objected to this extravagant outlay for bags, and directed that pits should be dug in the ground and the money placed therein. . . . There were many rich kháns and Malikás in the time of Firúz Sháh, but no five of them possessed the wealth of this one noble. It is said that he amassed thirteen krore (of tankahs) [130,000,000 =£13,000,000], but was avid in the acquisition of more. He held the fief of Rápri, and looked very vigilantly after it. The clerks of the Exchequer (diwán-i wádral) were afraid of him, and they refrained from calling him to account, so that in the course of years a large balance was due by him. This fact became known to the Sultán. . . . When 'Imád-ul-Mulk heard about the inquiry, he drew up a statement of his wealth, which he himself presented to the Sultán, who read it without making any observation, and returned it. . . . One day 'Imád-ul-Mulk brought a krore (of tankahs) [10,000,000 =£1,000,000] to Court, and when the Sultán cried out,
may have led him to invest his son, Fath Khán, with the insignia of royalty so early as A.H. 760,1 and to adopt the unusual expedient of placing his name, in conjunction with his own, on the public currency. Extant money also seems to show that a parallel issue of a binominal coinage took place after Fath Khán’s death, in favour of another son, Zafar, whose own son, Abúbakr, eventually succeeded to the masnad on the death of Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak, the son of Fath Khán, in A.H. 791. Later in his reign, when Muhammad bin Firúz was formally associated in the government, a similar numismatic manifestation of Vice-regency was made.

Fath Khán was so effectively recognized as the heir-apparent, that we find the Egyptian Khalif Abu’l Fath Al M’utáqid billah2 forwarding him a special robe of honour on the occasion of Firúz Sháh’s investiture;3 and the coins themselves, though undated, bear record of this Pontiff’s name and that of his successor, Abú Abdallah.4

1 Bashir, what is this? he replied that it was a small contribution (chát álísah) for the use of the servants of the Court.”—Elliott’s Historians, vol. iii. p. 372.
1 Briggs’s Fereishtah, i. 461.
2 The sixth of his line. Date of inauguration, A.H. 768. See p. 258 ante.
3 The third chapter of the fourth book of Shams-i-Siraj ‘Àfí’s Táríkh-i-Firúz Sháhi contains a detailed account of the arrival at Delhi of the emissaries of the Khalif, ابّ اللفح ابی بكر، ابی الربع سليمان, who were the bearers of a Kházát for Firúz Sháh. The narrative enters into the ceremony of the reception of this robe of honour, and enlarges upon the high compliment paid to the reigning Sultán in the voluntary act of the Khalif, as contrasted with the solicitation which had secured a similar concession for Muhammad bin Tughlak. The title bestowed upon the Sultán on this occasion, and which he himself repeats with pride in his own autobiography, was سيف السلاطين. Firdu is not use this title on his coins, but, as has been seen, adopts the more imposing warrior title of the early days of Mahmúd of Ghazni سيف أمير الموميين “Sword of the Commander of the Faithful.” The Sháházadah Fath Khán and the ēzīr Khán Jahán were invested with Kházat at the same time.
4 No. 7. Accession, A.H. 763.
Fath Khán died in 776 A.H., and was buried in state by his father, who, with pious care, erected near his tomb, known as the Kadam Sharif, a dependent Mosque and a Madrasah; and likewise excavated a reservoir, which exists to this day. 1

Coins of Ficas Sháh and Fath Khán.


The letters of the legends of these coins are very imperfectly formed, and the words are arranged with but scant regard to legible sequence, while the Arabic invocation is altogether wild in its tenor.

No. 241. Silver and Copper. Weight, 138 g. Rare.

Obverse—

Reverse—

No. 242. Silver and Copper. Weight, 138 g. Rare.

Obverse as in No. 241.

Reverse—

No. 243. Silver and Copper. Weight, 52 g. Smaller coins of similar types.

1 Syud Ahmad, p. 87; Jour. Asiatique, 1860, p. 411.
COINS BEARING THE JOINT NAMES OF FIRÚZ
AND HIS SON ZAFAR.

The special coins of Firúz Sháh, incorporating the name
of his second son Zafar, require but brief notice after the
combinations already brought under review in the parallel
instance of the binominal coins of Fath Khán. It will be
seen that they constitute a very complete series in the various
metals, and, though usually undated, they may be taken, in
their material form, to represent a fairly sustained and con-
tinuous issue. Unlike the pieces of the elder brother, which,
in their crude legends, show signs of provincial treatment,
the coins of Zafar coincide closely in their general aspect
with the ordinary money of the reigning monarch, and in so
far fully bear out the declaration on their surfaces of a Dehli
mintage. There is one point in regard to the specimens quoted
below which seems to call for explanation, which is the appear-
ance of the date of 791 a.h. on No. 247, a period when Zafar
must obviously have been in his grave; but we have already
had experience of the unreserve with which the Dehli mint-
masters latterly put forth posthumous coins, under the pos-
sibly double aim of utilizing the already executed dies of the
obverse, supplemented by a confessedly responsible date of
issue on the newly-sunk die of the reverse, as well as in the
not unreasonable desire to perpetuate a specific coinage that
had already achieved good credit with the public at large.

No. 246. Silver (?). Weight, 140 grs. New variety. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

Obverse—فيروز شاه ظفر
Reverso—الخليفة امير المومنين خلدت خلافته


Obverse—فيروز شاه ظفر سلطاني ضربت بحضرت دهلي
Reverso—الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته 791

No. 248 (pl. iv. fig. 124). Silver and Copper. Weight, 78 grs.

فيروز شاه
ظفر ابن
فيروز شاه
No. 249. Copper. Weight, 78 grs. New variety.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{فـيروز} & \text{شاه ظفر} \\
\text{ابوعبدالله} & \text{السلطانی} \\
\text{خلد خلائتہ} & \\
\end{array}
\]


Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh II., the son of Fath Khán, was formally appointed successor to the throne, and invested with the direct administration of the State, on the defeat of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad bin Fírúz, in A.H. 789. Immediately on Fírúz’s death, on the 18th Ramazán, 790 A.H., he assumed the full insignia of royalty. His earliest efforts were directed towards the capture of the late associate king, the Sháhsádah Muhammad, but his generals were unsuccessful in their pursuit, and after some manoeuvring in the hills of Sirmúr, the Prince made good his retreat to the strong Fort of Nagarkót, where he was permitted to remain undisturbed.

In the mean time Tughlak Sháh had been surrendering himself to unbridled dissipation in his capital, leaving the management of the kingdom to the chance offices of the ministers by whom he was surrounded. Eventually a party, headed by the Náib Vazír, Ruṅ Chaṇḍ, put forward Abú-bakr Sháh, the son of Zafar Khán, as a claimant for the throne; and Tughlak Sháh, in attempting to escape from his palace towards the Jumna, was overtaken and killed on the 21st of Safar, A.H. 791.


No. 252. Silver and Copper. Weight, 80 grs.

Obverse—

Reverse—


No. 254. Copper. Weight, 68 grains.

Obverse—

Reverse—

Rukn Chand having raised Abúbakr bin Zafar Khán to the throne, naturally constituted himself prime minister, but this dignity scarcely satisfied his ambition, and he shortly proceeded to intrigue, with a view to supplant his own nominee; but the nobles, who were staunch to Abúbakr, getting information of his designs, took the initiative, and put him to death, with many of those upon whose support he had relied. The new king’s power now became consolidated in the capital; but the murder of Sultán Sháh, the governor of Samána, encouraged Muhammad Sháh to issue from his stronghold of Nagarkót, and eventually to advance in force upon Dehli. In the irregular engagements which took place at Firúzábád, Muhammad Sháh was unsuccessful, and retired into the Doáb; but being reinforced, he again encountered Abúbakr at Kandali, with a similar result; a third time he tried his fortune, at Paniput (his troops being commanded by his son), with an equal want of success. The Sultán, however, was unable to follow up his victories in an effectual manner, as it was unsafe to quit the capital which contained so many doubtful adherents; indeed, on the occasion of his absence in Jumáda’l awwal, 792 A.H., Muhammad absolutely made his way into the city, from which, however, he was speedily ejected. Shortly after this, Islám Khán, one of the most prominent of the old Firúz Sháhi adherents, quarrelled with Abúbakr, and invited Muhammad to join him at Dehli. The Sultán’s case now became hopeless, and on the 19th Ramazán, 792 A.H., Muhammad was formally installed as supreme monarch at Firúzábád, and Abúbakr, after some
ineffectual fighting, in Muharram, 793 A.H., surrendered at discretion, and died in prison at Meerut.


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{أبو بكر شاه} \\
\text{عبد الله خلدت} \\
\text{سلطاني} \\
\end{align*}
\]

No. 256. Silver and Copper. Weight, 47 grs. Small coin. Obverse and reverse legends similar to No. 255.

No. 257. Copper. Weight, 114 grs. A.H. 792.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{أبو بكر شاه} \\
\text{Margin—} \\
\text{زيور شاه سلطاني} \\
\text{Naib Amir ul Ummein 793} \\
\text{Revers} \\
\end{align*}
\]

No. 258. Copper. Weight, 155 grs. Imperfect.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{أبو بكر شاه} \\
\text{Margin—} \\
\text{زيور شاه} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Reverse as No. 257.


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{نايب} \\
\text{امير الامميين} \\
\text{خلدت خلائنه} \\
\text{أبو بكر شاه} \\
\text{زيور شاه} \\
\text{سلطاني} \\
\end{align*}
\]
No. 260. Copper. Weight, 58 grs.

*Obverse:* اوبٰکر شاء ظفر سلطاني
*Reverse:* الخلفه ابو عبد الله خلدته خالته

**POSTHUMOUS COIN OF ABUBAKR.**

One specimen of the coins of the identical type No. 260 is dated in clearly formed figures ^١٣٨١ ٨١٣ A.H. (My cabinet.)

---

**TWENTY-THIRD KING (A.H. 792; A.D. 1389).**

The Sháhzhádah Muhammad Khán, son of Fírúz, defeated the arrogant Vazír Khán-i-Jahán, in Rajab, A.H. 789, and in the month of Shabán he was associated with his father in the government of the kingdom, which the failing strength of the Sultán did not permit him efficiently to control.¹ The

---

¹ This appointment was attended with many of the forms and ceremonies of regal inauguration. The *khutbah* was read in the names of the two kings (در مساجد جمعه تمام بلاد مملکت خطبه بنام هر دو بادشاہ) می خوانندہ در ماه شعبان سنہ المذكور شاهزادہ محمد خان در قصر.

**Tarikh-i Mubáarak Sháhi MS.**

Sháms-ı-Siráj 'Aff makes also an incidental reference to this contemporary nomination. Book i. cap. 18. "On the names used in the *khutbah*. It had been a rule among the Sultáns of Dehlí that the name of the reigning monarch only was mentioned in the prayers of Sabbaths and festivals, and no reference was made to former Sultáns. When Sultán Fírúz came to the throne, they were about to follow the same rule, and to mention his name only in the *khutbah*; but he disapproved of the omission of former kings, and ordered that a *khutbah* should be said first in the names of those kings, and then one in which his own name should be mentioned. In accordance with this decree, the Sultáns in the
Prince was, however, unable to maintain his position in the capital, and had to retire to the hills of Sirmúr, where he was able to hold his own against the armies of his regnant nephew, Tughlak Sháh II. After the accession of Abúbakr, he obtained possession of Samána, and being reinforced from other quarters, he considered himself sufficiently strong to assume anew the ensigns of royalty (6th Rabí’ul ákhir, 791 A.H.), and further to attack Abúbakr at Firúzábád in Jumáda’l awwal, 791 A.H. In this attempt he failed; but, undeterred, he recruited his forces, and again encountered Abúbakr at Kandali, in Shábán of the same year, with a similar want of success. A third time, with a like result, the troops of Muhammad, under his son Humáyún, met the Sultán’s army near Paniput (in Muharram, 792 A.H.). Still trusting to the turns of fortune, Muhammad absolutely entered the metropolis during the momentary absence of Abúbakr, but was not in sufficient force to profit by his advantage. His eventual elevation to the throne was due to the defection of Islám Khán, one of the influential leaders of the anomalous institution of the “Slaves of Firúz Sháh,” who quarrelled with Abúbakr, and invited Muhammad to join him, and on the 19th Ramazán, 792 A.H., the son of Firúz once again entered Dehli as its Sultán.

following list were specially selected to be named in the khadbaḥ:—1. Sultán Sháháb-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám; 2. Sháma-ud-dín Altamsh; 3. Násír-ud-dín Mahmúd; 4. Ghíás-ud-dín Balban; 5. Jálal-ud-dín Firúz; 6. 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Kháji; 7. Kút-ud-dín Mubárak; 8. Ghíás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh; 9. Sultán Muhammad 'Adú; 10. Firúz Sháh. Two names were selected to be mentioned after that of Sultán Firúz Sháh, viz., Muhammad bin Firúz Sháh and his son 'Alá-ud-dín Sikandar Sháh; and till the end of the reign these names were mentioned in the prayers. . . .”—Elliott’s Historians, iii. 292, and MSS. This last name is clearly an interpolation of the author’s as his work progressed under succeeding kings. He speaks, in a subsequent passage, of Timúr’s admiring the monuments of Dehli in 801 A.H. (p. 358).
In 794 A.H., Harsing, the Rája of Etawah, and other Hindú Zemindars, revolted, but were defeated by the army of Islám Khán, and the Sultán himself proceeded to Etawah and demolished the Fort; from thence he went on to Kansauj and Dalamau, and commenced the foundations of a new city at Jalésur, to which he gave the designation of Muhammadábád. Suspicions having been fomented as to the fidelity of Islám Khán, he was finally condemned to death, on the false testimony of his own nephew, Jájun, an unconverted Hindú, and Khwájah Jahán was appointed Vazír in his stead.

In 795 A.H., the Sultán defeated Bahádur Náhir, who had been bold enough to ravage the country up to the gates of Dehli, but on his return to his new capital, he died of a fever in Rabí‘ul akhir, A.H. 798.

**COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN FÍRÚZ AS JOINT KING.**


*Obverse*—محمد شاه فیروز شاه سلطانی

Centre, ابوبکر الله

*Reverse*—خالدات خلافتہ ضریت بخصرت دهلی 790


*Obverse*—فیروز شاه سلطانی

*Reverse*—محمد شاه سلطانی

The specimen of No. 265, dated 790 A.H., must also be accepted as having formed an example of the Regency currency.

---

1 Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad has جلالیسر, but the Tarikh-i Mubárok Sháhi has جلالیسر.
MUHAMMAD BIN FİRŪZ'S OWN COINS.


No. 264 (pl. iv. fig. 134). Silver. Weight, 173 grs.
(Marsden, Nos. docxix., dccxx., B.M.).

A second. Weight, 171.5 grs. Mr. E. C. Bayley. A.H. 793.

Obverse—السلطان الأعظم ابنا المحمّد محمد شاه فيزوز شاه

Reverse—في زمن الإمام أمير المومنيين خليفته خليفتة

No. 265. Silver and Copper. Weight, 140 grs.
A.H. 790, 793, 794.

Obverse—الخليفة أبو

Reverse—عبد الله خليفت

No. 266. Copper. Weight, 140 grs. A.H. 793, 794.

Obverse (Centre, محمد شاه

Margin, نبرت بكفرت دهلي

Reverse—نائب أمير المومنيين 793
MUHAMMAD BIN FIROZ SHAH.

A.H. 798, 794, 795.

محمد شاه
سلطان
دهلي
793

No. 268. Copper. Weight, 30 grs. exact weight.

محمد
بحضرة
شاه
دهلي

No. 269. Copper. Weight, 52 grs.

Obverse محمد فیروز شاه سلطان
الخليفة ابو عبد الله

Reverse

POSTHUMOUS COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN FIROZ.

No. 270. Silver. Weight, 174 grs. A.H. 817, 818.¹
(B.M. and my cabinet.)

السلطان الاعظم
ابو المجاهد محمد شاه
فیروز شاه
سلطان

لا ٨

¹ Marsden detected these exceptional dates on his own coins. He says, "Yet a difficulty, that I am quite unable to explain, presents itself on some of these specimens, where we perceive, in characters rude indeed, but sufficiently distinct the numeral figures ٨١٧ on one, and ٨١٨ (٨١٨ on a second" (p. 542).

These later specimens vary in the substitution of Sultan in the place of سلطان.

There are no extant inscriptions bearing the name of Muhammad bin Firuz; but the erection of his father’s tomb on the margin of the Hauz-i Khâş, which is ordinarily attributed to his filial devotion, is associated with a record of the father’s name, on the inner semicircle of the archway, while the outer band or superimposed arch displays the titles and designation of Sikandar bin Buhlól Lodi, who seems, in the spirit of Firuz himself, to have repaired the original edifice, with many other monuments of Dehli, in 913 A.H. Both these inscriptions are stuccoed in Indian Chunam, or fine lime plaster, in alto-relievo, and, as might have been expected, have suffered considerably from the combined effects of time and climate. The following words may, however, still be traced in the primary legend:

سلطان السلاطين فيروز شاه طبر وذلك لجعل البند مئواد

In immediate proximity to this tomb are Muhammad Shâh’s own grave and that of his son Sikandar Shâh.

---

1 Syud Ahmad, facsimile, No. 23, pp. 32, 41, 61; Journal Asiatique (1880), p. 415. Timdâr mentions this tomb in his memoirs, and expresses his admiration of the reservoir, which he describes as a bow-shot square.—Petis de la Croix, cap. xix. Elliot’s Historians, iii. pp. 441, 501. The site of this tank is not marked on the accompanying plan; it may possibly have reverted to a similar state of disrepair to that which Firuz speaks of (p. 290) when the first English survey was made. The adjoining village still goes by the name of Hauz-i Khâsh.—Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 81.
TWENTY-FOURTH KING (A.H. 795; A.D. 1392).

Humáyún, the son of Násir-ud-dín Muhammad, assumed, on his accession, the designation of Sikandar Sháh. The historical record of the rule of this Sovereign is confined to the announcement, that he attained regal honours, and enjoyed them for the brief space of forty-five days.¹


Obverse—سکندر شاه محمد شاه سلطانی
Reverse—الخليفه ابر عبد الله خلدت خلافته


Obverse—سکندر شاه
Centre—ضریت جعفرت دهلی
Margin—نایب امیر اليمانین
Reverse—790


Obverse—سکندر شاه سلطانی
Reverse—دار الملكت دهلی

No. 275. Copper. Weight, 30 grs. (exact weight).

شہ ہند
سکندر دهلی

¹ From the 17th of Rabî‘ul awwal, when his father died, or, more exactly, from the 19th, when he ascended the throne, to the 5th of Jumáda‘al awwal, 795 A.H.—Tabakát-i-Akbari MS.

Of all the feeble inheritors of Firúz Sháh’s family honours, Mahmúd bin Muḥammad was perhaps the most insignificant—a very shadow of a king. The earliest recognition of his nominal supremacy was associated with evil omens; and the normal weakness of the central government of the empire was further augmented by insurrections, which sprang up on all sides. Prominent among the rest, was the important defection of the vāsīr, Khwájah Jahán, who, in this act, laid the foundations of the temporarily powerful kingdom of Jaunpúr. In 797 A.H., a new claimant to the throne was advanced by S’ádat Khán,¹ in the person of Nuṣrat

¹ S’ádat Khán, one of the leading nobles of Mahmu’d Sháh’s newly improvised Court, accompanied the Sultán in his expedition to Gwalior, in 796 A.H., and discovering a plot against his own life, quickly disposed of the leading conspirators, with the exception of Mullá Ḭkbál Khán, who was destined to play so prominent a part in the events of the period, and who succeeded in escaping to Dehlí, where he joined Muḥarrab Khán, who had been left in charge of the metropolis. In the strange turns of Indian politics, S’ádat Khán, carrying the Sultán with him, proceeded to besiege Dehlí; but some delay occurring in its capture, the Sultán was induced to take refuge within the walls. This encouraged the besieged to risk a battle, in which they were signally defeated; but S’ádat Khán was not sufficiently strong to capture the place, so he hit upon the novel expedient of setting up a king of his own, and selected Nuṣrat Khán, who stood in the same family relationship to Firúz as Mahmu’d himself, and duly installed him as king in the city of Firúzbád. Some of the old slaves of Firúz Sháh and other influential parties in that town having made overtures to Mahmu’d, S’ádat Khán found his position untenable, and retired with a scanty following within the walls of Dehlí. Muḥarrab Khán pretended to receive him with amity and overt attention, but took an early opportunity of putting him to death.
Khán, a son of Fath Khán, and grandson of Fírúz. His supporters actually took and retained possession of the new capital of Fírúzábád, while Mahmúd and his followers were confined to the triple town of Dehli.¹ In this anomalous condition matters continued for the space of three entire years, each being in a measure king, and each holding his own dependent provinces of the empire:² meanwhile, constant and sanguinary encounters occurred between the troops of the rival factions. At length, Mullá Íkblá Khán, who, in fit keeping with the whole of this strange state of political existence, had remained an observant and neutral spectator, first deceived, and, for the time, ruined Nuṣrat Sháh, and then succeeded in getting possession of the person of Mahmúd, in whose name he thenceforth pretended to rule. This irregular administration was, however, put an end to by the advance of the celebrated Timúr.³ The defeat of the Indian

¹ Under Muḥarrab Khán, Bahádur Náhir had charge of Old Dehli (ديلم دهلی), and Mullá Íkblá Khán commanded the Fort of Sír, the intermediate Jahán-panáh constituted the more open royal head-quarters.—Tárikh-i Mubárák Sháhí.

² Mahmúd's districts at this period are specified as—1. The Doáb (or portions of it S.E. of Dehli); 2. Sambal; 3. Pánipút; 4. Jhunjhur; and 5. Rohtak.—Tárikh-i Mubárák Sháhí MS.

³ Timúr, in his autobiography entitled “Mafzúsat-i Timúri,” contributes much curious information as to the state of India at the period of his invasion. Many of the details regarding the routes and the distribution of the strong places are of considerable interest; but his account of the capture of Dehli claims distinct notice. He tells us that in the engagement with the forces of Mahmúd and Mullá Íkbal Khán, the Indian troops bore themselves bravely, and showed no want of courage. He goes on to describe his entry into the capital and his special directions that the Kshap should be repeated in his name “in the pulpits and mosques of the city of Dehli;” and he relates, with an evident feeling of the need of justification, the sack and utter ruin of the three towns, and the ruthless extermination of their inhabitants, for which he condescends to give no less than five very insufficient reasons. His narrative proceeds—“By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Dehli, by name Sír, Jahán-panáh, and Old Dehli, had been plundered. The Kshap of my sove-
army, the surrender and subsequent merciless sack of Dehli followed; and, for five days, the Mughal conqueror continued feasting while his troops plundered and destroyed the hapless citizens of the ill-fated city; and, to finish the inconsistency, innate in the barbarian mind, “on the day of his departure he offered up to the Divine Majesty his sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise.”

The capital of Hindústán remained in a state of complete anarchy, to which were superadded the horrors of famine and pestilence, for the space of two months after the departure of Timúr. At the end of this period it was taken possession of by Nusrat Sháh, and shortly afterwards

reignty, which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was therefore my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable. When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Dehli, I took a ride round the cities. Sirí is a round city (sháh). Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications (ka‘bah), built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Dehli also has a similar strong fort, but it is larger than that of Sirí. From the fort of Sirí to that of Old Dehli, which is at a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. The part called Jahán-panáh is situated in the midst of the inhabited city (sháh-i-abddé). The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates. Jahán-panáh has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Sirí has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahán-panáh. The fortifications of Old Dehli have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the city, I went into the Maujíd-i-jámi’, where a congregation was assembled of wáqiids, lawyers, shaikhs, and other of the principal Musulmans, with the inhabitants of their parts of the city, to whom they had been a protection and defence. I appointed an officer to protect their quarter of the city, and guard them against annoyance.”—Eliot’s Historians, iii. p. 447. See also Zafar Námah, p. 502, ibid.; and Petis de la Croix’s translation, book iv. cap. xx.

1 Price’s Muhammadan History, iii. p. 267. This futile ceremony took place in Firúz Sháh’s Mosque in Firúzábád.
it again passed into the hands of Mullá ʿIṣbál Khán, whose sway at this time extended but little beyond its walls; the provinces being, in effect, independent under their several governors, who, one and all, held themselves as kings.  

`Iṣbál Khán, nevertheless, succeeded in gradually enlarging his boundaries; and in 804 A.H. was joined by Mahmúd (who had fled at the sack of Dehli to Gujárat), on whom he amiably bestowed his countenance and protection.  

`Iṣbál Khán now undertook an expedition against Ibráhím Sháh Sharkí, the Sultán of Jaumpúr, who had lately succeeded his brother Mubárrak; and Mahmúd, thinking to improve his position, deserted his guardian, and went over to Ibráhím.  He was, however, received with but small encouragement, and, finally, was allowed by both parties to establish himself as a sort of local king of Kanauj.  On the death of `Iṣbál Khán, which took place in an action with Khiṣr Khán, the governor of Multán, in Jamáda’l awwal, 808 A.H., Mahmúd was again invited to Dehli by Daulat Khán Lodi and other men of influence; but “deficient both in sense and courage,” he made but little profit of his restored rights; and, surrendering himself to dissipation, he unconcernedly allowed the various local governors to fight their own battles for the few districts

---

1 Distribution of the Pathán Empire after the Invasion of Tímúr in A.H. 801; A.D. 1398.

Mullá `Iṣbál Khán.............. Dehli and the Doáb.
Zafar Khán....................... Gujárat.
Khiṣr Khán ....................... Multán, Daibalpúr, Sind (سند).
Mahmúd Khán ....................... Mahóbah, Kálpi.
Khwájah-i Jahán ....................... Kanauj, Oude, Karrah, Dalamau, Sundaláh, Bahraich, Bahár, Jaumpúr.
Diláwar Khán ....................... Dhár.
Ghálib Khán ....................... Samánah.
Sháh Khán ....................... Blána.

—Tárikh-i Mubárrak Sháhi MS.
which still confessed a nominal allegiance to the throne of Dehli. Mahmúd died in Rajab, 815 A.H.

No. 276 (pl. iv. fig. 143). Weight, 174 grs.


Obverse—ムムドゥد شاه سلطانی—

Reverse—الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته 6-19

No. 278. Copper. Weight, 140 grs. A.H. 798, 800, 804, 812, 815.

Obverse

Centre, شاه سلطان ضربت بحضرت دہلی,

Margin, 

Reverse—نايب امیر المومنین 6-81

No. 279. Copper. Weight, 56 grs.

Obverse—Legend as in No. 277.

Reverse—الخليفة امیر المومنین خلدت خلافته—
No. 280 (pl. iv. fig. 147). Copper. Weight, 68 grs. A.H. 796, 797, 798, 800, 801, 802, 815 (816,1 Posthumous coin; several examples of this date are known).

**Obverse**

شامرد شاه سلطاني

**Reverse**

دار المالك دهلي 795

No. 281. Copper. Weight, 32 grs.

شامرد دهلي

1 The date of the death of Mahmud is fixed by Forishtah in Zi‘l k‘adah, 814 A.H.; and the assumption of power by Daulat Khán Lodi is affirmed, by the same author, to have taken place on the 1st of Muharram, 816 A.H. A difficulty is suggested in the very fact of the capital, and the country dependent upon it, having, as thus stated, remained for nearly fourteen months without even a nominal ruler. This anomaly is not attempted to be met by the compiler in question, nor is even its existence noticed by subsequent commentators. (See Bombay text, i. p. 292; Briggs, vol. i. p. 504; Elphinstone, vol. ii. p. 80.)

The point at issue seems to be authoritatively set at rest by the author of the Tárikh-i Mubarak Shahi, who is very full and elaborate in his dates bearing upon the conflicting events of this troubled period, when a king’s life was otherwise a matter of almost secondary importance. His text is most clear as to the month of Rajab, A.H. 816, and he adds emphatically—

مدة ملكت او بابین همه تزلزل و انقلاب بیست سال و دور ماه بود
Twenty-sixth King (A.H. 797; A.D. 1395).

The history of the partial sovereignty of Nuṣrat Sháh, dating from Rabí‘ul awwal, A.H. 797, including both his three years’ possession of Firúzábád and his momentary occupation of the metropolis after the departure of Tímúr, has been sufficiently adverted to in the notice of the reign of Mahmúd.

From 802 A.H. Nuṣrat Sháh appears to have been lost sight of by Indian historians.

No. 282. Copper. Weight, 143 grs.

Obverse—نصرت شاه سلطاني

Reverse—نايب امير المومئين

No. 283. Copper. Weight, 57 grs.

Obverse—نصرت شاه سلطاني

Reverse—دار الملك دهلي

No. 284 (pl. iv. fig. 150). Copper. Weight, 67 grs.
A.H. 797, 798.

Obverse as above.

Reverse—797

Similar to No. 284.

This coin, though it can scarcely be pronounced to be posthumous, in our present ignorance of the eventual fate of Nuṣrat Sháh, seems to have been an adaptation of an old obverse to a new reverse, which latter correctly declares the date of issue—a matter held to be of some importance, it will be seen, in estimating the good faith and responsibility of the party immediately in charge of the mint.
LOCAL COINS OF JAUNPUR.

In the introductory divisions of this work I have had occasion to trace the absorption of native states and the coincident adaptation of their currencies to the new phase of the political supremacy of the Dehli Patháns. The period
has now been reached in the history of that dynasty when the reverse process of disintegration had already made considerable progress, and the coins of local governors, or their successors, who had achieved independence, began to obtrude themselves in the general circulation. I do not propose to follow out the minor gradations of these local mintages; but where opportunities offer, I may, perhaps, advantageously notice representative numismatic illustrations of the advance of the more important kingdoms thus emancipated from central control.

The earliest contemporaneous issue, and that which is most closely connected with the decadence of Dehli, is the money of the Sultáns of Jaunpúr, whose reigning representative, Ibráhím, has been already noticed in connexion with the affairs of Mahmúd and Mullú Ikbál Khán.

The following is a list of the dynasty of the independent Kings of Jaunpúr, with their dates of accession:—

**The Kings of Jaunpúr.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Name and Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>796</td>
<td>1393</td>
<td>Khwájah-i-Jahán, vazír of Muhammad bin Fírúz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>802</td>
<td>1399</td>
<td>Mubárak Sháh, his adopted son (ملکت مبارک ترنفل).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>804</td>
<td>1401</td>
<td>Ibráhím Sháh <em>Šarkī</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>844</td>
<td>1440</td>
<td>Mahmúd Sháh bin Ibráhím Sháh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>862</td>
<td>1457</td>
<td>Muhammad Sháh (Bhíkun Khán) bin Mahmúd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>862</td>
<td>1457</td>
<td>Husain Sháh (defeated by Buhlól Lódi in 879 A.H.¹).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>879</td>
<td>1474</td>
<td>Barbak bin Buhlól Lódi placed in charge of Jaunpúr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On Buhlól Lódi's death Barbak opposes Sikandar bin Buhlól, but is defeated in A.H. 881, when Jaunpúr again becomes subject to Dehli.

¹ Husain is permitted to retain some outlying districts, and finally seeks refuge with 'Ala-ud-dún of Bengal.
THE JAUNPÜR MINT.

SPECIMEN COIN OF THE JAUNPÜR MINT.


Obverse—ابراهیم شاه سلطان خلد مملکته—

Reverse—الخليفة امیر المؤمنین خلدت خلافته 818

Mareden has engraved and described a very full list of Jaunpur coins, comprising the subjoined series (1–6), which I improve from Col. Guthrie's rich collection; the latter specimens are discriminated by italic letters (a–h):—

1. Gold. Weight, 148.5 grs. B.M.

Obverse—السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنیا والدین ابرالماظر ابراهیم شاه—سلطان خلد مملکته

Reverse—

Area, فی زمین الامام امیر المؤمنین اباالفتح خلد خلافته;

Margin, ضرب این الدنار .. فی سنه احد ....


The chief peculiarity of this gold coinage is the elongation of the down strokes of the leading letters on the obverse, so that the upper surface presents a similarity to a modern Organ front, with its array of parallel pipes; the characters of the legends are also exceptional, and are fashioned in struggling and imperfect outlines, in a manner altogether unworthy of a civilized mint.

2. Silver and Copper. Weight, 36 grs. Pl. xxxvii. fig. dceii. A.H. 822; irregular dates up to 834, 836, and 844.

Obverse—ابراهیم شاه سلطان

Reverse—الخليفة ابالفتح 822

3. Silver and Copper. Weight, 164 grs. Pl. xxxvii. fig. dceill. A.H. 813, 826. Specimen similar to that above engraved under No. 286 of the present series.


21
   Obverse—محمود شاه ابن ابراهيم شاه سلطان خلدت مملكته
   Reverse—ألفيخيه امير المؤولنن خلدت خلاته 845
   a. Copper. Weight, 144 grs. A.H. 844, etc.
      Obverse
      Circular area, محمود شاه
      Margin, ابن ابراهيم شاه سلطان
      Reverse—نائب امير المؤولنن 845

   d. Muhammed. Silver and Copper. A.H. 861, 862, 863.
      Obverse—محمود شاه ابن محمود شاه ابن ابراهيم شاه سلطان خلدت مملكته
      Reverse—ألفيخيه امير الممولنن خلدت خلاته 861
      Obverse
      Circular area, محمود شاه
      Margin, ابن محمود شاه ابن ابراهيم شاه سلطان
      Reverse—نائب امير الممولنن 861
      Type as in No. 1, but with the entire omission of the marginal record.

   g. Variety. Copper. A.H. 865.
      Obverse
      Circular area, حسنين شاه
      Margin, ابن محمود شاه ابن ابراهيم شاه سلطان
      Reverse—نائب امير الممولنن 865

   حسنين شاه ابن محمود شاه ابن ابراهيم شاه سلطان خلد
   الخلفيه ابو عبد الله امير الممولنن خلدت خلاته 897
   A. Coins of Barbak. A.H. 892-894. See under Sikandar bin Buhlol.
General Cunningham, who, in his earnest pursuit of the varied branches of Indian antiquarian lore, has devoted some attention to the provincial mintage of Jaunpúr, informs me that coins of Mahmúd are extant in continuous suites, dating from A.H. 844 to A.H. 863, and that during the concluding three years of his reign, in apparent imitation of Firúz Sháh, he associated his eldest son, Muhammad, in the ostensible government of his kingdom. This concurrence of power is so far numismatically demonstrated, as to enable us to quote a record of the name of the son upon pieces purporting to have been issued from the mint of the Eastern Metropolis during the years 861, 862, and 863 A.H.

The subjoined series of assays were likewise conducted under the immediate superintendence of General Cunningham; and although his object, in these analyses, was rather to arrive at a general average of intrinsic contents, than to discover discriminative proportions of silver in the gradational divisions of the ruling kámiss, the table itself is of considerable interest, not only as an additional evidence of the existence of the pervading system of mixed metals for the regulation of exchange rates, but as affording a totally independent test of the values of conterminous issues, whose bare names have hitherto carried but vague intimations of their effective position in the circulating media of the period. At the same time, I must guard my readers against any supposition that the apparent depreciation of the currency under Husain, as here set forth, is in any way real and positive. As coins were seemingly taken at hazard for these trials, the depreciated result of the silver return in the money of the latter king may merely imply that his de-kámiss were more largely current or more readily accessible to the modern collector than the shah-kámiss of his predecessors; and such, indeed, is the inference the comparative number of intrinsic grains of silver in the immediate contrast would seem to point to; but this is a branch of the inquiry which is more important in its relative than in its direct bearing upon the leading question of the Dehli mintage, and, as such, may be reserved for comment hereafter in its proper place, in connexion with the issues of Sikandar bin Buhlól and the black tankahs of Tírhút in Bábár's returns. But the most curious fact contributed by the
extant Jaumpur coins consists in their testimony to the diverse metric systems obtaining in closely proximate localities at this period. The monetary standard of Imperial Dehli is now pretty well ascertained, and coincidently evidence is afforded of the gradations of current Bazar weights and measures. The local Eastern Mint clearly coined money of a higher average weight both in copper and in gold. In the latter metal we recognize the tolah of 180 grains, which our early English officials too readily accepted as the normal weight for all India. Col. Guthrie's gold coin No. f absolutely exceeds this ponderary measure by a small fraction; and the piece itself, though defective as a work of art, is as sharp in its edges as if it had received its stamp but yesterday. The other specimens in gold, Nos. a, b, equally advance in a marked degree beyond the limited 175 grains of the assumed Dehli standard.

**Assays of Muhammadan Coins.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. marked</th>
<th>Mean weight</th>
<th>+ weight</th>
<th>Total Silver</th>
<th>Average Silver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahím...</td>
<td>140·2</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>13·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahmúd...</td>
<td>142·66</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>11·3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husain (1st)</td>
<td>149·0</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>13·5</td>
<td>3·4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (2nd)</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>299·0</td>
<td>3·125</td>
<td>3·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; (3rd)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35·0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 I preserve the returns of some other assays which General Cunningham has simultaneously favoured me with, though they do not correctly belong to this section of Indian currencies; but as they form a portion of his table, they range themselves more consistently under the present association than they would amid independent analyses undertaken with a different object in view.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Alá-ud-dín Khilji.</th>
<th>Mean weight.</th>
<th>Silver</th>
<th>Silver.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small name in circle.</td>
<td>52·218</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>2·584 grs. each.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No. 136 superd.) 164 coins.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto, silvery looking.</td>
<td>54·0</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3·70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(No. 136 superd.) 10 coins.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sikandar Lodi. 76 coins.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean of 2 assays, 14·18 grs. each.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the death of Mahmúd, in Rajab, A.H. 815, the notables of Dehli elected Daulat Khán Lódí to be their leader, and pledged their instant adhesion accordingly. To judge from the narrative of the best informed and nearly contemporary historian,1 there was no pretence of assumption of royalty, nor were any of the ceremonies of coronation or less formal investiture gone through upon this occasion. It was necessary to have some acknowledged head of the military oligarchy of the narrowed section of the country which still owned Dehli as its capital; and a recognition of the most powerful among the chiefs,—such as had sufficed for all purposes of government under Mullú Ikbál Khán,—to the utter disregard of the fiction of a king, was perhaps, under the peculiar circumstances, the wisest course that could have been pursued.

Daulat Khán’s position was further strengthened for the time by the cohesion of Mubáarak Khán and Malik Idrís, who had lately supported Khizr Khán, Tímúr’s governor of Dabalpúr, etc. However, the utmost the new ruler of Dehli was able to accomplish was a military promenade, in Muharram, 816 A.H., by the route of Katéhr2 and Bisáuli,3 leaving

1 The author of the Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi.
2 The Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi mentions that “Ráí Haráng and other Ráís of Katéhr (i.e. Bohilkand) met Daulat Khán on this occasion, and tendered their submission.” Nizám-ud-dín and Ferishtah have “Narsing” (i. 595). See also Elliot’s Glossary, i. 171, 307; ii. 160; and Elliot’s Index (1849), i. 192.
3 This was the site of Firdú S Sháh’s laste Firdáspr, seven kás from Badáon, which was quaintly entitled by the people of the land Khirínspér, “the last city.”—Ferishtah. Elliot’s Bibliographical Index, p. 330.
Ibráhím of Jaunpúr to continue undisturbed the siege of Kálpi, Daulat Khán returned to Dehli, where, after suffering a four months' siege in the fort of Síri, he finally surrendered to Khízr Khán on the 7th of Rabí’ul awwal, A.H. 817.

Daulat Khán Lódî having refrained from assuming the honours of royalty, ipso facto admitted his disability to coin money in his own name.

The posthumous coins bearing the names of Fírúz Sháh or those of other members of his family, struck under the presidency of Daulat Khán Lódî, may be recapitulated as follows:—

1. Positive issues from the Mint of Daulat Khán Lódî during his full domination at Dehli:—Nos. 238, A.H. 816, and 280, A.H. 816.

2. Possible issues during the initial or concluding years of his power:—Nos. 238 and 270, A.H. 817, and 280, A.H. 815.


Khízr Khán first appears in the political arena of northern Hindústán as governor of Multán under Fírúz Sháh. In the various complications consequent upon that monarch's subdued later life and the discordant heritages he left behind him, we only regain sight of Khízr Khán, in the general history of the day, when Sárang Khán, the brother of the all-powerful Mullú Ikbál Khán, besieges and captures him in his own stronghold of Multán in 798 A.H. Escaping from his imprisonment, Khízr Khán seeks refuge at Bístana, and in process of time, when Tímúr is on his way to Dehli, he casts his fortune with the alien invader. On the final
departure of these Tátár hordes, who pretended to no interest in the land they had devastated and ruined within the limits of their providentially confined track, this complacent "Syud" was left to resume his former holdings, and eventually, not without effort, he succeeded in installing himself in the capital on the surrender of Daulat Khán Lódī in 817 A.H. His seven years' tenure of power in his new position present but few incidents of mark: there is a seeming Oriental want of energy to sustain an accomplished triumph, an air of ease which so often stole over the senses of a successful owner of a Palace in Dehli; and so his vazír and deputy, Táj ul Mulk, went forth to coerce or persuade, as occasion might dictate, the various independent chiefs, whether Muslim or Hindú, whose states now encircled the reduced boundaries of the old Pathán kingdom. There were, of course, the ordinary concessions to expediency, so well understood in the East, submission for the moment in the presence of a superior force, insincere professions of allegiance, temporizing payments of tribute, or desertion of fields and strongholds easily regained; but there was clearly no material advance in public security or in the supremacy of the central government. The inevitable law of nature had, no doubt, been asserting itself anew in the ready recovery of the influence of the free Hindú tribes as against the effete dominancy of the domesticated Muslims; but this process had been in continuous action from the day that the thin wedge of Muhammadanism first thrust itself amid the overwhelming population of India, whose almost Chinese attachment to ancient ideas would have resisted far more persuasive arguments than the sharpest edge of a scimitar, or the most eloquent exhortations of the latest inspired preacher of Islám. Added to this nominally antagonistic element,
there had intervened in higher quarters an amalgamative process of intermarriage with Hindú females, and an admission of Hindú converts, upon very easy terms, to all the honours of Muhammadan nobility; so that any prestige the conquering race might once have claimed was altogether subdued, if not degraded, in these inconsistent concessions; and it required something more revolutionary than the accession of a local Syud to perpetuate a new dynasty.

Khizr Khán died at Dehli on the 17th of Jumáda‘l awwal, a.h. 824.

A curious numismatic myth has hitherto been associated with the chieftainship of Khizr Khán, inasmuch as it had been asserted by Ferishtah that he coined money in the name of his patron, Tímúr.¹ A more careful examination of the leading versions of the Indian historians, combined with the testimony of extant coins, summarily disposes of this fable. Ferishtah clearly derived this statement from Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad; and looking closely into the Persian text of the latter author, it is seen to be almost a verbatim copy of the narrative of the Táríkh-i Mubáarak Sháhi, with this remarkable exception, that the passage respecting Khizr Khán’s refrain-

¹ "He refrained from assuming royal titles, and gave out that he held the government for Tímúr, in whose name he caused the coin to be struck and the Khutba to be read. After the death of Tímúr, the Khutba was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh Mírza, to whom he sometimes even sent tribute at his capital of Samarkand."—Briggs’s Ferishtah, vol. i. p. 508.

Abd Fazl followed Ferishtah in this error.

"Khizr Khán, out of gratitude to his benefactor, Tímúr, did not assume the title of Sultán, but continued to have the Khotbah read in the name of that monarch, contenting himself with being styled Aýnt Aálí, or the Most High in Dignity. At the death of Tímúr, the Khotbah was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh, concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of Khizr Khán."

—Gladwin’s Aýn-i Akbér.
ing from assuming the title of king and holding himself as a vassal of Timúr and Sháh Rúkh,¹ proves to be a gratuitous interpolation of the later epitomist, the concluding portion of which assertion is not adopted or received by his better-informed contemporary, 'Abd ul Kádir Badásoni, who rightly confines his statement to the non-assumption of the titles of royalty.

As regards the numismatic aspect of the controversy, nothing could be more conclusive against any notion that Timúr's title was emblazoned on the Indian coinage for many years after he had left the country, than the appearance of specimens of Dehli mintages, in more or less sustained order, bearing the names of Fírúz Sháh and other duly-installed monarchs of his race, dated in full figures, and embracing several of the absolutely identical seven years during which Khizr Khán was master of the capital.

In short, Khizr Khán, in imitation of the practice already sanctioned by Mullá Ikbál, and more definitively recognized by Daulat Khán Lódi, issued money in the names, sometimes with the available original obverse dies, of his formally-crowned predecessors. It mattered little to one who did not care to call himself a king, whose superscription was placed on the public money,—his duty was confined to authorizing the

¹ "Notwithstanding his possessing the substantial power and authority of a king, he never assumed the title, but called himself Amir 'Alá. He allowed the coin to be stamped and the Khutbah to be read in the name of Amir Timúr, and subsequently in that of Mirá Sháh Rukh; but at last the people used to read the Khutbah in Khír Khán's name, and to include him in their blessings."—Nisám-ud-dín Ahmad; Tabakát-i Akbari; Elliot's Index (1849), p. 192.

The author of the Tárikh-i Mubárak Sháhi never thinks of calling Khír Khán by the title of Sultan. He is ordinarily entitled مسند عالي رايات اعلي (واسم بالدیشی بروخوی تجویز نکرد رايات اعلي), but after his accession خلطاب پانício) Badásoni, Calcutta text, p. 285.
legality of the new issues by so much of his attestation, as was implied in the annual date recorded on the reverse, which indicated one of the few years during which he was the responsible head of the provisional government of the country,—a system, indeed, which the East India Company, of their own free will, imitated with much credit and simplicity by striking their Rupees in the name of Sháh 'Alam and other defunct monarchs of Dehli, whose money had of old obtained good repute in the local Bazárs. But as the progressive annual dates, which were needed to test the good faith of Oriental princes, came, in process of time, to be a source of confusion and an opportunity for money-changers, the Government adopted the expedient of selecting the best current coin of the day, and based their standard upon its intrinsic value; and so the immutable date of "the xix san (year) of Sháh 'Alam," came to figure upon our much-prized "Sicca Rupees." 


The reign of Mubáarak Sháh II. (Mu'iss-ud-din) has had the advantage of a special biographer,—an author of more than usual merit, a careful epitomist of the initial history of the Muslims in India, a conscientious and exact narrator of the events of the later period, of which he had exceptional sources of knowledge, and a living witness of the personal government of his patron and that of his immediate predecessor, as well as of the introductory portion of the reign

1 Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, Useful Tables, pp. 2, 3, 24, 48, 74.
of Muhammad bin Farîd. But the most graphic historian, ancient or modern, could have produced but little instructive matter out of the thirteen years of provincial warfare that the newly-instituted Sultân of Dehli was doomed to encounter.

If Mubârak Shâh did not fight his own battles, he had to accompany his own armies at all times, and against all manner of adversaries; the more potent monarchs of Jaunpûr and Mâlwa affected his essential political position less than the fatal heritage of the Panjâb provinces, from which his father had gone forth to the bootless conquest of Dehli. In effect, the revered capital of the successors of Muhammad bin Sâm had long since lost its prestige in India, and Timûr’s invasion merely put a finishing stroke to the supremacy of the old Hindú reverence for the “Owners of Elephants,” or the

---

1 The author of the Turhkh-i Mubârak Shâhī gives us his own name and parentage in full in his preface as يحيى بن أحمد بن عبد الله السبهر ندي associated with his dedication in all form to the ملك ملوك العرب والعجم الوائط بحاث الرحمان معز الدنيا والدين اب الفتح مبارك شاه السلطان. The work itself is very rare, and none of our collectors of MSS. seem to have secured an original copy; even Sir H. Elliot himself, whose MS. I have had to rely upon for my quotations, only obtained a secondary transcript, from an unidentified text, made by one of his own Mânsâhis, who was neither a good calligraphist nor careful or critical in his reproduction of doubtful names. As I have before remarked, the author closely follows Shamî Sirâtî in the early portion of his history; and with regard to his own independent composition in the entire work, this division has been so largely taken advantage of by subsequent authors, that the chief value of the recovered original consists in its enabling us to check and restore the doubtful passages that have crept into the recensions of later compilers. The modern copy made for Sir H. Elliot concludes somewhat abruptly with Muhammad bin Farîd’s preparations for the march to Multan, in Rabî‘ul akhir, A.H. 838. I have been careful not to anticipate Sir H. Elliot’s biographical notice of this author, which will probably appear in the fourth volume of his “Historians.”—See Briggs’s Ferishtah, i. p. xliv.; Bâdâoni, Calcutta text, p. 7; J.R.A.S. iii. N.S., p. 455.

2 ब्रज पार्व, Gajpati, “Lord of Elephants,” a King.
more material purchasing power of the royal treasuries, the northern Barbarian took care to empty. Under these conditions, Mubarak Shah might make minor demonstrations against the Hindú Zamíndárs of Katehr, or recover balances of tribute within a very limited semicircle south of Dehli, but his real complications were dependent upon the movements of those indomitable "Kokars" (Ghakkars) over whom Timur himself had obtained but nominal victories, or the still more exhausting repetition of Tátár raids, organized by Sháh Rûkh’s governor of Kábul, under the guidance of that false slave Fâdd, whose intrigues were initiated in near proximity to Dehli itself.

Mubarak was murdered within the sacred precincts of the Mosque of the new city of Mubarakpúr, which he had

---

1 Elliot’s Historians, iii. pp. 415, 416, 473, 474, 485, 520; George Campbell, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., 1866, p. 96.

2 The site of Mubarakpúr is not fully determined; those who desire to place it about half-way, in a direct line, between “Shapor and Rooshun Serai,” of Colonel McKenzie's map, are met by the fact that it is definitely stated to have been built on the Jumna. Nothing, indeed, can be more clear than the statement of the author of the Túrikh-i Mubarak Sáhib, who absolutely witnessed the laying the foundations of the city in question, and who places it immediately on the banks of the river. His statement is as follows:—

بادشاہ عالم‌النواج را اٹیاق شد کہ شہری در کران آز لی آب جوی
بنا کند هفدر ماد رعیت اول سہ سیعم و شریف و نینمناہی شھری در
خراب آباد و نیابناد نہاد و آن شرہ شوم را مبارکباد نام نہاد
(See also his copyists, Nizám-ud-din Ahmad, M.S., and Badawi, Calcutta text, p. 297). Under these circumstances, I am inclined to think that the site of the intended city should be looked for near the existing emplacement of the tomb of Khizr Khan (or خضر کی خانی) in Mousah Ukkadah (اوکیہ) (Syud Ahmad, p. 41). I do not feel any difficulty in regard to the present village of “Mubarakpúr,” which in all probability only derived its modern name, as in the case of the village of the “Hauz-i Kháq,” from the ancient monument, the tomb of Mubarak still standing within its boundaries.—See Syud Ahmad, pp.
founded on the banks of the Jumna, by some Hindú assassins, instigated to their task by his own vasi, Sarwar ul Mulk. The date of this event is fixed by his biographer as the 9th of Rajab, A.H. 837.


Very rare. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

Obverso—في عهد السلطان الفارسي المتوكل علي الرحمن مبارك شاه 

Sultan

Reverse—في زمن الإمام أمير المؤمنين خلدته خلافته 58

No. 288. Silver and Copper. Weight, 172 grs. 

A.H. 832, 834, 835, 837.

Obverso

Margin, 

مبارك شاه

Reverse

نائب أمير المؤمنين

No. 289 (pl. v. fig. 154). Copper. Weight, 83·5 grs. 

A.H. 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838.

Obverso—سلطان مبارك شاه

Reverse—دارالملك دهلي 38

No. 290. Copper. Weight, 40 grs.

Obverso—مبارك شاه

Reverse—بحضرت ...

28, 41; Jour. Asiatique, p. 190; Memra. Lewis and Cope in Cooper's Handbook, pp. 49, 54; Gen. Cunningham's Arch. Report, Map; Mr. C. J. Campbell, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1866, p. 216, and Map; and Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1870, p. 88.
TOMB OF MUHAMMAD BIN FARÍD AT DELHI.¹

"The usual form of a Pathán tomb will be understood from the accompanying woodcut. It consists of an octagonal apartment, about 50 feet in diameter, surrounded by a verandah following the same form, each face being ornamented by three arches of the stilted pointed form generally adopted by the Patháns; it is supported by double square columns, which are almost as universal with them as the form of arch. It is evidently a reminiscence of the Hindú art, from which their style sprang."—Ferguson's Handbook of Architecture, vol. ii. p. 653.


Within a few hours of the murder of Mubarak Sháh, the perfidious Vásír had formally proclaimed another monarch, in the person of Muhammad bin Faríd, a grandson of Khízir.

¹ My authority for the assignment of this Tomb to Muhammad bin Faríd is derived from the testimony of that most experienced of all our archaeological explorers of ancient Dehli, Syud Ahmad Khán, C.S.I. His account of the edifice is to be found at p. 42 of the "Asár-us-Sunádeed," and Journal Asiatique (1860), p. 417.
Khán, whom the late Sultán had already adopted. Sarwar ul Mulk, however, had no intention that the new king should exercise any real power in the State, and unscrupulously proceeded to possess himself of the royal treasures and equipments, and to distribute the most important posts among his own creatures. A government thus constituted could boast but few elements of permanency; other men could plot and intrigue, and the Muslim nobles were not yet prepared to accept a Hindú dictator, who made no scruple in advancing men of his own creed to all the more influential offices. A strong combination was speedily formed, which, after some varied successes, reduced the Vaisr to stand a siege within the walls of Síri. In this crisis his puppet Sultán endeavoured to emancipate himself by entering into negociations with the besiegers; but Sarwar ul Mulk, obtaining intimation of this proceeding, determined to deprive his adversaries of the prestige of a royal coadjutor, by getting rid of his own protégé; but here, again, there were plots and counterplots, and the Vaisr's assassin band was met by a stronger party of loyal adherents, by whom they were cut to pieces, a fate which was shared by Sarwar ul Mulk himself.

Muhammad bin Faríd seems for a brief period to have infused some energy into his administration, but the effort was short-lived, and we soon find him subsiding into sensual pleasures and utter neglect of his duties as a king. The inevitable result was soon apparent in the total disorganization of the country, and the opportunity offered to the am-

1 Nizám-ud-din Ahmad, and after him severally Badáoni, Abd Fazl, and Feriahtah, have confessed to a difficulty about the parentage of this monarch. The Rubric heading in Sir H. Elliot's MS. copy of the Tārīkh-i Mubārak Sháhi is clear as محمد شاه بن فرید شاه بن خضر شاه السلطان, in exact accord with the tenor of the coin legends.
bition of neighbouring monarchs, which was quickly taken advantage of by Ibráhím of Jaunpúr, who possessed himself of several districts bordering on his own dominions, and Mahmúd Khíji of Málwah went so far as to make an attempt on the capital. To extricate himself from this pressing difficulty, the Sultán called in the aid of one who was destined to play a leading part in the events of his day, Buhlól Lódi, at this time nominal governor, though virtual master of the dependencies of Láhor and Sirhind. By his assistance, the king was relieved from his immediate danger, and the protecting subject was dignified with the title of Khán Khánán (first of the nobles). Buhlól’s next appearance is in a somewhat altered character, as besieger of Dehli itself, and the adversary of the monarch he had lately saved; he was not however successful. Muhammad died in 847.¹


Obverse: 

السلاطین ابوالمحسن محمد فریدشاه خضرشاه — 

Reverse: 

في زمن الامام اميرالمؤمنین خلیفتہ ہ — 


Obverse: 

السلاطین ابوالمحسن محمد فریدشاه خضرشاه سلطانی — 

Reverse: 

في زمن الامام اميرالمؤمنین خلیفتہ ۸۴۶ —

¹ There is an unimportant conflict of evidence in regard to the exact date of the death of Muhammad bin Farid. Ferishtah had succeeded in getting his record wrong by two years, by the process of post-dating Muhammad’s accession by that amount; but he makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years’ reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from “839 to 849” A.H. (Briggs, pp. 532, 639). Badàoni also, who is correct in the given dates of accession and death, as 837–847 A.H., insists upon adding that Muhammad reigned fourteen years (Calcutta text, pp. 300, 304). Nisám-ud-din Ahmad, on the contrary, is exact in his dates, and consistent in the assignment of a ten years’ reign.

² The silver coin (No. d.ccc.xxv. p. 545) attributed by Marsden to this Sultán is incorrectly assigned.
No. 293 (pl. v. fig. 156). Silver and Copper. Weight, 142 grs.
A.H. 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847.

*Obverse*—سلطان محمد شاه بن فريد شاه بحفرت دهلي

*Reverse*—الخليفة امير المومنين خلدت خلافته ٤٠٤


*Obverse*—محمد شاه

*Margin,*—سلطان ضربت بحفرت...

*Reverse*—نائب امير المومنين ٤٠٤

No. 295 (pl. v. fig. 157). Copper. Weight, 85 grs.
A.H. 837, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847.

*Obverse*—محمد شاه سلطاني

*Reverse*—دار الملك دهلي ٤٠٤

No. 296. Copper. Weight, 33½ grs.

*Obverse*—محمد شاه

*Reverse*—بحفرت دهلي

¹ This very early specimen of Muhammad bin Farid's coinage is the property of Major Stubbs. The last two figures are indisputable, and the first stroke of the v is sufficiently pronounced to satisfy the present reading. On closer examination, I find that I have a coin of 837 A.H. in my own collection; and General Cunningham's cabinet, lately made over to Colonel Guthrie, contains a third example of the date in question.

The 'Alá-ud-dín bin Muhammad of the historians, who is entitled 'Álam Sháh on the current money, succeeded his father in 847 A.H. His accession was not, however, recognized by Buhlól Lódi, whose obedience the new Sultán was in no position to enforce. The first acts of the public life of this prince clearly manifested to his subjects that they had little to expect from a monarch who, in their own terms, was less efficient than his own father. In 851 A.H., Buhlól Lódi made a second attempt on the city of Dehli, but with as little success as before; and shortly afterwards the Sultán determined upon the unwise measure of removing his capital to Badáon: his motives for this change do not appear very obvious, as it was effected in the face of the advice of his whole Court. It would seem as if he hoped for some fancied security which he did not feel at Dehli, to which the boundaries of so many adverse chiefs had attained an inconvenient proximity.  

1 "Buhlól Lódi . . . was raised to the throne by a confederacy of six or seven great Afghan chiefs. At the period when this confederacy was formed, the empire of Dehil had really ceased to exist, having been broken down into a variety of kingdoms and principalities. Of all the former vast empire, Dehil alone, with a small territory around it, was held by the Syud Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, the nominal sovereign. The more considerable provinces, Multán, Jaunpúr, Bengal, Máluhá, and Gujarášt, had each its separate king. The provinces around Dehli were in the condition emphatically called Muluk-i Tawkif, or governments of tribes. Mahróli and Mewát, to within seven aos of Dehil, were in the hands of Ahmad Khán of Mewát; on the opposite side, Samhóli, to the very suburbs of Dehil, was occupied by Daria Khán Lódi; Kol-Jalésar, in the Dokh, by Isá Khán Türk; Rápri and its dependencies, by Kuth Khán Afgán; Kampila and Patiháli, by Raja Partáp Sing; Biana, by Dadd Khán Lódi. . . . Buhlól himself possessed the extensive provinces of Láhor, Daíbalpádr, and Sírhind, as far south as Pani-pot."—Erakine’s Lives of Baber and Húmsíyán, i. 405.
ruin, the Sultan allowed himself to be persuaded to disgrace his
east, Hamid Khan, who, escaping to Dehli, quickly welcomed
the powerful Buhlod Lodhi, who at once, on becoming master of
the capital, assumed the title of Sultan; somewhat strangely,
however, retaining 'Alam Shâh's name in the khutbah.¹ Not
long after this, 'Alam Shâh offered to concede the empire to
Buhlod, on condition of being permitted to reside in peace at
Badâon: no difficulty was made in taking advantage of this
proposal; and from this time Buhlod is reported to have re-
jected the name of 'Alam Shâh from the public prayers, and
the latter was allowed to enjoy his insignificant obscurity
undisturbed till his death in 883 A.H.

No. 297 (pl. v. fig. 159). Silver and Copper. Weight, 146 gra.
A.H. 851, 853. Rare.

Obverse: Sultanuman Nasir Shah b. Iskandar Dehli

Reverse: Khilafat umr ul mominin khilafat ala

No. 298. Silver and Copper. Small coins, similar in fabric
and legends.

No. 299. Silver and Copper. Small coin of similar type to
No. 297, but inserting irst Dehli on the obverse.

No. 300. Copper. Weight, 135 gra. A.H. 553. Rare.

Obverse: 

Reverse: Nabi amir ul mominin

No. 301 (pl. v. fig. 160). Copper. Weight, 66 gra.
A.H. 852, 853, 854. Rare.

Obverse: 

Reverse: Dar almalik Dehli

¹ Nizam-ud-din and Badâoni do not give any sanction for this statement of
Ferishtah.
No. 302. Copper. Weight, 46 gra. Rare.

Obverse—سلطان عالمشاه بن محمد شاه جهانز دهلی

Reverse—القلمیه امیرالمؤمنین

I avail myself of the break in the continuity of my leading subject afforded by a change in the dynasty of the ruling power at Dehli, to advert briefly to the coins of the contemporary Muhammadan kingdoms of Kulbarga, Málwah, and Gujarát, whose independence, in the one case, grew out of Muhammad bin Tughlak's difficulties towards the close of his reign, and in the others, took their rise from the weakness of the government of Firúz's successors in the old capital of the Patháns. As in the previous instance of the severed Jaunpúr line, I propose to confine the present numismatic illustrations to representative or otherwise remarkable specimens of these confessed offshoots of the imperial coinage, subordinating, in smaller type, the more ample outline of each local series immediately within reach.

I. THE BAHMÁNI KINGS OF THE DAKHÁN.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>A.h.</th>
<th>A.d.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>1347</td>
<td>Hasan Gango</td>
<td>1347–1358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>1358</td>
<td>Muḥammad Sháh, Ghází</td>
<td>1358–1375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Forištah, Bombay Persian Text, i. pp. 525, 730; Briggs's Forištah, ii. p. 283; Captain Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas (1828), i. p. 50 et seq.; Prinsep's Essays—Useful Tables, p. 314; Elphinstone's History of India, Appendix, p. 755; Elliot's Index, pp. 331–386.

² The parallel dates here entered are designedly more reserved in their definitions than the leading scheme of comparative Hijrah and Christian eras pronounced at page 6, supra. If difficulties environed the specification of exact days and months in the one case, they more distinctly counsel an equal reserve in subordinate and more obscure records.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>1375</td>
<td>Mujahid Sháh</td>
<td>مjahid Sháh بن محمد شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>1378</td>
<td>Dáúd Sháh</td>
<td>داود شاه بن علاء الدين حسن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>1378</td>
<td>Mahmúd Sháh I</td>
<td>معمود شاه بن علاء الدين حسن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Muhammad on the coin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>1397</td>
<td>Ghfás-ud-dín</td>
<td>غيات الدين بن معمود شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>1397</td>
<td>Shams-ud-dín</td>
<td>شمس الدين بن معمود شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>1397</td>
<td>Firúz Sháh (Ros Afsán)</td>
<td>فيروز شاه بهمني</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>الملقب بrozanzo شاه بن داود شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>1422</td>
<td>Ahmad Sháh I</td>
<td>احمد شاه ولي بهمني بن داود شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>1435</td>
<td>'Alá-ud-dín (Ahmad) II</td>
<td>علاء الدين بن احمد شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>1457</td>
<td>Humáyún (Zalim)</td>
<td>ولد سلطان علاء الدين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>المشهور بهمايون شاه ظالم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>1461</td>
<td>Nisám Sháh</td>
<td>نظام شاه بن همايون شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>1463</td>
<td>Muhammad Sháh II</td>
<td>شمس الدين محمد شاه بن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>همايون شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>1482</td>
<td>Mahmúd Sháh II</td>
<td>معمود شاه بن محمد شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>1518</td>
<td>Ahmad Sháh II</td>
<td>احمد شاه بن معمود شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>1520</td>
<td>'Alá-ud-dín III</td>
<td>علاء الدين شاه بن احمد شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1522</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wali-ullah</td>
<td>شاه ولي الله بن معمود شاه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1525</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kalím-ullah</td>
<td>شاه كليم الله بهمني بن معمود شاه</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the period of Hasan Gango's death, the dominions of the Muhammadans in the Dakhan extended over nearly all Mahara-shtra; a small portion of Telingana, together with Raichor and Múdgul in the Carnatic. When Muhammad Sháh succeeded to the throne, he divided the kingdom into four parts, or tarafs. In the course of 130 years the territory had been greatly increased by con-
quests, and under Muhammad Sháh II. a new division was pro-
posed, according to the following outline:—

OLD DIVISIONS. NEW DIVISIONS.
I. Kulbarga.................. 1 Bijapúr.
    2 Ahsanábád.
II. Daulatábád .............. 3 Daulatábád.
    4 Junfr.
III. Telingana............... 5 Rajamundri.
    6 Warangol.
IV. Berár..................... 7 Gawel.
    8 Mahúr.

Out of these governments arose the several dynasties of 'Adil Sháhi, Nizám Sháhi, Kutb Sháhi, Imád Sháhi, and Barid Sháhi.\(^1\)

A.H. 797.

الناصر لدين

الرحمن أبو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

۷۹۷

\(^1\) Capt. Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas (London, 1826), i. p. 64
Ferishtah, who was learned in Southern story, contributes some curious information in regard to the difficulties surrounding the early currencies of the Bahmani kings. He states that the money of Muhammad Shah (A.H. 759–776) consisted of pieces of four different denominations, in gold and silver, ranging from two *tolahs* to a quarter of a *tolah* in weight;¹ he then proceeds to describe the legends employed, in which we need not follow him beyond his full text quoted below; but he adds an instructive notice of the tendency of the Dakhani *Sarrafs* to break up the new Muslim

¹ وزر سلطان محمد شاه بهمنی از قسم طلا و نقره چهار کونه بود باوزان مختلته نهایتش از دو تله زیاده نبود و از ربع تله کم نه و در یکطرف کلمنه طبیعی شهادت و نام چهاریار و درطرف دیکنام یادشان

*Bombay text, i. p. 537.*
money for the purpose of reconverting it into coins after their own ideals, bearing Hindu devices. The King is stated to have resorted to extreme measures to repress this practice, but with little effect, until he appears to have given the Khatris, who had originally migrated from Dehli with the conquering hosts, the monopoly of verifying the current coin, which incidentally carried with it the far more important prerogative, too well understood in loco, of precedence in money-changing.

بموجب حكم كهيريان كة همراه لشكر دهلي در سنوات سابقة بدکن آمده بودنبد بشغل صرفی پرداخته تا اواخر عهد بادشاھان

Bombay text, i. p. 587.

The most important fact to be gathered from this statement is that, in the southern provinces, goldsmiths and dealers in bullion would seem to have been authorized, by prescriptive right, to fabricate money at will on their own account, without being subjected to any check or control on the part of the officials of a Regal mint, supposing such an institution to have formed a constituent division of governmental polity among these still primitive nationalities, where intrinsic values were ordinarily checked and determined by the rough process of the touchstone of the village sondr, or tested by the equally imperfect machinery of the responsible authority in the urban communities, with but little reference to royal or other stamps.¹

¹ I have had within my own experience, in the Sangor and Nerbuddah territories, a striking instance of the direct and personal responsibilities of the officials of the normal village communities, which quaintly illustrates the practical working of this testing process. A son of a village sondr, in the uncertainty of human life, succeeded to his father's office before he had had time to acquire the full knowledge of his ancestral craft, and in his new capacity was rash enough to put his punched attestation of genuineness upon some 350 rupees that were sub-
THE BAHMANI KINGS OF THE DAKHAN.

BAHMANI COINS.

The subjoined skeleton list of the coins of the Bahmani dynasty has been mainly derived from the collection of Gen. A. Cunningham, which has lately passed into the possession of Col. Guthrie. Readily available additions have been made from other sources; but the catalogue is avowedly incomplete, and is only inserted as a serial nucleus, to be filled in hereafter by local collectors. I must avail myself of this opportunity of exonerating Gen. Cunningham from any of the errors which may be discovered in my transcripts of the necessarily obscure legends of the coins of this or of the other provincial dynasties now restored from the original pieces.

The contents of these cabinets were delivered in due numismatic order, but the interpretation of the legends did not, even if time had permitted, constitute an obligational part of the transfer to the new owner.

5. MUHAMMAD SHAH. Silver. A.H. 794, 795 (Sir W. Elliot, 797).
   (Engraved above.)

8. FIRuz SHAH (AHSAWABAD). Silver. A.H. 804, 807, 810, 813, 814, 817,
   818, 819, 822, 823. Maresan, pl. 38, fig. DCCLXVIII.

   Obverse—سلطان العهد و النور و الولائى بنائيد الرحمن ابّو المظفر
   Reverse—تاج الدنيا و الديني نور زاه السلطة
   Copper. Obverse—راجي رضوان مهيمي
   Reverse—نور زاه بعمن

10. 'ALU-ud-DIN AHMAD SHAH. Silver. A.H. 845 (Sir W. Elliot, 856).
    (Engraved above.)

   Copper. A.H. 825, 828, 834.

   المنصور بصرالله المتان ابّو المغازي احمد شاه سلطان
   Copper. A.H. 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 854. Large coins.

   المعتصم بالله المتان سمي خليل الرحمن ابّو المظفر
   Reverse—علا الدنيا و الديني احمد شاه بن احمد شاه السلطان

mitten to him for examination by members of his own special community. As these pieces proved, one and all, to be forgeries, the ordinary homely rule required him to replace every rupee he had so incantiously put his hand to;—it is needless to say that he was hopelessly ruined. See also Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 27.
Small coins have Obverses varying from 
المتولى بالياد الملك


Obverse—
المتولى على الله القوى الغني ابرالمغازي

Reverse—
علا الدنيا والدين همايكن شاه بن احمد شاه بن احمد شاه

الولى اليمنى ۸۶۳

13. MUHAMMAD SHÁH BIN HUMÁṬUN SHÁH (SHAMBAUD-DÍN).

Silver. A.H. 880. (Sir W. Elliot)

14. MAHMÚD. Copper. (No dates.)

II. KINGS OF MÁLWAH AND MÁNDÚ.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>1401</td>
<td>DILÁWAR KHÁN</td>
<td>Ghorí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>1405</td>
<td>HÚSHANG</td>
<td>Sultan Hoshnúk Gúrúí °</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>1434</td>
<td>MUHAMMÁD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>839</td>
<td>1435</td>
<td>MAHMÚD KHIJÍ</td>
<td>(defeated by Buhlól Lódí),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>1482</td>
<td>GHÍÁS-UD-DÍN</td>
<td>Khíjí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>NÁSIR-UD-DÍN</td>
<td>Khíjí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>MAHMÚD II.</td>
<td>(Muźaffar Sháh Gujárátí aids him in 923 A.H.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a.H. 937, Málwah annexed by Bahádur Gujárátí).

The Mualim state of Málwah was at its zenith under Muhammad Khíjí. At this period its boundaries embraced the cities of Chandérí, Islámábád, Húshángábád, and Kírláh (the capital of Gondwárí); extending on the south to the Satpúrah range, on the west to the

¹ Ferashtah, Persian text, ii. p. 360; Briggs's translation, iv. p. 167; Kín-i Akbarí, ii. 53–63; Malcolm's Central India (1835), i. 28; Scott's Deccan, etc.

² Lat. 22° 20', long. 76° 27'.
THE KINGS OF MĀLWAH AND MĀNDŪ.

frontier of Gujarāt, and on the east to Bundelkhand; while northwards the limits were marked by Mēwār and Harauti, with occasional tribute from Chitor.¹

Husām-ud-dīn Hūshang Ghorī.

السلاطين
العظم حسام
الدنيا و الدين

'Alā-ud-dīn Mahmūd, Khījī.

السلاطین
عظم ابو المظفر
عبل الدنيا

¹ Malcolm's Central India, i. p. 34.
MÁLWAH COINS.

This list has also been compiled from the contents of Col. Guthrie's cabinet, comprising the careful selections of Gen. Cunningham, obtained through many years of diligent research.

2. Húrám-ud-dín Húshang Ghórá. Silver. (Coin engraved above.)
   Copper.  
   
   _Reverso_—839 ضرب قلعه بنس اوجين (؟)

3. Copper.

4. MAHMÚD.  
   a. Gold.  A.H. 870. (Coin engraved above.)
   
   _Gold_.  Square.

   
   السلطان حليم الكرم علاء الدنيا والدين
   
   _Reverso_—Square area.  أبو المظفر معمود شاه خليلي

   d. Copper coins of the same device.  A.H. 848, 854, 856, 857.

   e. Smaller type.  A.H. 850.

   
   الخلفيه امير الموميين خلد الله خلفته
   
   أبو المظفر معمود شاه خليلي ضرب بخضرت شادياي باد

   g. Silver and Copper.  Small coins.  A.H. 845, 854.  (Dehli type.)
   
   _Obverso_—845 السultan المظفر علاء الدنيا والدين
   
   _Reverso_—845 أبو المظفر معمود شاه خليلي ضرب بخضرت

   A. Silver and Copper.  Small coins.  (Dehli obverses as above.)

   Centre—مصمود شاه خليلي
   
   Margin—بخضرت


Obverse—السلطان بن السلطان وله عهد خليفه الزمان في العالمين

Reverse—ابو الفتح غياث شاه السلطان الخليجی ضربت بدارالملک

Margin—ابو المظفر حمود شاه خليجی


walain بالملك الملتهب ابوفتح غياث شاه

bin حمود شاه الخليجی السلطان خلد مملکه 885

With a full design of the Swastika in the field.


British Museum.

Copper. A.H. 883, 887, 894, 896, 903, 904, 905.


الوائق بالصدم • • ابومظفر ناصر شاه

بن غياث شاه الخليجی السلطان خلد مملکته

Copper. A.H. 907, 914.


الوائق بالملك الصديق ابومظفر حمود شاه

بن ناصر شاه الخليجی السلطان خلد مملکته 912

Copper. A.H. 917, 918.

Copper. A.H. 914.
III. The Muhammādān Kings of Gujarāt. 1

1 778 1376 Fūḥat ul Mulk, appointed Viceroy by Fīrūz Fīrūz al-Mulk.

2 793 1390 Zafar Khān superseded him by order of Muhammad bin Fīrūz, and eventually assumes independence under the title of Muzaffar Shāh.⁵

3 814 1411 Aḥmad Shāh (grandson of Muzaffar Shāh) builds Ahmadābād and Ahmadnagar.

4 846 1442 Muhammad Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh. Shāh al-Kurām

5 855 1451 Kūt Shāh (conflicts with Kumbho, Rāna of Mewār). Qutb al-dīn Shāh Gāzi

6 863 1458 Dāūd Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh. Daud Shāh Shāh

7 863 — Mahmūd Shāh bin Muhammad, Bigara. Mahmūd Shāh Bīkara

8 917 1511 Muzaffar Shāh II. (wars with Rāna Sanga). Muzaffar Shāh Shāh

9 932 1525 Sikandar Shāh. Sikandar Shāh Shāh

10 932 — Mahmūd Shāh II. bin Muzaffar Shāh. Mahmūd Shāh Shāh

11 932 — Bahādur Shāh. Bahādur Shāh Shāh


2 بعَد كَشَّة هَدَى دَامْغَان اقْطَاعُ جَبَرَت بِحَوَالَه مَلْكُ مَفْرَح سَلَانِي

Gīrdaṇīd wa Fīrūh al-malik ḳatāb Kīr②

—Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī MS. a.h. 778.

3 "King of the land, martyr of the sea." Killed at Dīū, in 943 a.h., by the Portuguese.—Faria e Souza.
Elphinstone gives the following outline of the possessions of this dynasty: —“When Gújárát separated from Dehli, the new king had but a narrow territory on the plain. On the N.W. were the independent rajas of Jhálór and Siróhi, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. The raja of Ídar, another Rájpút prince, was in possession of the western part of the hills. . . . The rest of the hilly and forest tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhils and Kúllás, among whom some Rájpút princes had founded petty states (Dóngarpúr, Bhánswárah, etc.). The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindú tribes, who had mostly come from Cach and Sind, at different periods, some centuries before. They were probably tributary, but by no means obedient. . . . The real possessions of the kings of Gújárát, therefore, only included the plain between the hills and the sea; and even of that the eastern part

1 “The whole collection from the government lands and those assigned in Jágtr (in A.D. 1571) was 5,84,00,50,000, or 5 arabs, 84 krores, and 50 thousand Gujarát tankehás; . . . there were in those days 100 tankehás to a rupee, and the same is now (A.D. 1756) reckoned at 40 ñáms, so that the whole amount would at the present time be equal to 5 krores 47 lakhs of rupees (5,84,00,000). Editor’s note. A sum also of 25 lakhs of Hiems, and 1 krore of Ibrahimis, that were two parts greater, being altogether equal to 5 krores 62 lakhs of rupees, was collected annually from the kings of the Dakhan, etc.” —Bird’s Gújárát, p. 109.

The silver currencies of the Mahámdí and Múzaffari of Gujarát and Málwah are noticed in the Aín-i Akbarí, and their intrinsic values specified with reference to other coinages.—See Gladwin, i. p. 17; Blochmann, i. p. 23.
belonged to the rāja of Chāmpāṇīr. On the other hand, the Gújarat territory stretched along the sea to the S.E., so as to include the city of Surat and some of the country beyond it.”

Ahmād Shāh.


السلاطين الأعظم
نامر الدنيا و الدین
ابو الفتح

Mahmod bin Latif.


الواكئ بایللہ الامام
ابو الفتح نطق
الدنيا والدین

المحمد شاہ بین محمد شاہ
بین مظفر شاہ
خلد خلائقه

838
Gujarat Coins.

   a. A.H. 528. (Engraved above.)
   b. Variety similar to a, but with square area on the reverse. Weight, 175 grs.
   Copper. Small coins. A.H. 843.

   b. Square coins. A.H. 856? Similar legends, with the prefix of
   "Abu al-Mahmud" on one face and "al-sultan al-azam" on the other.

   Silver and Copper. A.H. 870.
   Copper. A.H. 869, 900, 909, 917.

   Copper. A.H. 922, 923, 924, 928.

10. Mahmud II. Silver.

    Copper. A.H. 937, 938, 940.
    "Qutb al-din wa al-dini" on the reverse.

13. Mahmud bin Latif III. (Kutb-ud-din).
    Copper. A.H. 946, 947, 949.

    Silver. A.H. 968.
    Copper. A.H. 961.

    Silver. A.H. 969, 979.
    Copper. A.H. 969, 971, 978.

المولد بنايذ الرحمه النصرالدنيا والدين
مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان 77
Another contemporary dynasty, whose history is closely interwoven with the annals of Dehli, Málwah, and Gujarát, claims a passing notice, both for the heroism of its leaders, the interest attaching to the recovery of power by the Hindús, and the re-establishment of a kingdom which might possibly have progressed into a more permanent form had its adversaries been confined to the detached and weakened Muslim monarchies encircling its frontiers, but which was destined to fall, with the surrounding states of hostile creed, before the assaults of the alien Mughals, whom Bábar led into India.

Khumbo's victory over the combined Muhammadan forces of Málwah and Gujarát is commemorated by the costly "pillar of victory," at Chitor, an engraving of which faces this page. And Sanga's valour and success are alike proclaimed by his Hindú title of the "Kalas (or pinnaole) of Mewar's glory," and as frankly acknowledged in his conqueror's own memoirs.

**Khumbo's Monumental "Jaya Stambha."**

"The only thing in India to compare with this pillar of victory, erected by Bâma Khoombo on his defeat of the combined armies of Mâlwa and Gujarât, is the Kuth Minâr at Dehli. This column is 123 feet in height, the breadth of each face at the base is 35 feet. It has nine distinct stories. Around the chamber on the ninth story had been arranged on black marble tablets the whole genealogy of the Rânas of Chitâr. Only one slab remains, the inscription on which records that 'in Samvat, 1515, the temple of Brintha was founded, and this year... this Khirut Stamba was finished.'"—Tod, ii. 761. The subjoined engraving is taken from Fergusson's History of Architecture, ii. p. 635.

1 Another memorial of this success was preserved in the family, and finally passed into the possession of Bâbar, who tells us that "when Râna Sanga defeated Sultân Mahmûd and made him prisoner, the Sultan had on a splendid crown cap (Tâji kuldâ) and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the Pagan, who, when he set Sultân Mahmûd at liberty, returned them. They were now with Bikramaji. His elder brother, Ratanâ, who had succeeded to his father as Râna, and who was now in possession of Chitâr, had sent to desire his younger brother to give them up to him, which he refused to do. By the persons who now come to wait upon me, he now sent me this crown and golden girdle."—Erakine's Memoirs of Bâbar, p. 385.

2 Tod's Râjasthan, i. p. 299.
PILLAR OF VICTORY AT CHITOR.
356 THE COINS OF

THE GEHLOT KINGS OF MÉWAR.

1381 1275 Chítor captured by 'Alá-ud-dín.
1357 1301 Accession of Hamír. He recovers Chítor.
1421 1385 Khaíyái.
1439 1373 Lakha Rána.
1454 1398 Mokulji.
1475 1419 Kumbho. (Defeats the armies of Gujárát and Málwah, and captures Mahmúd Khíllí in A.D. 1440.)
1525 1469 Ooda.
1530 1474 Raimál.
1565 1509 Sanga.¹ (Finally defeated by Bábár, at Kanwa, in 1527 A.D.)

Coins of Rána Kumbho and of his grandson, Sanga, were engraved and published by James Prinsep in 1835.²

No. 309. Copper. Square. Fig. 26. Príñsep.

Obverse—कमभका Kambhaka, with the symbol ☢: dotted margin outside the square area.

Reverse—कक्षन्धि Eklinga (the celebrated temple near Oodípúr).³

¹ Singram Singh, "the lion of war."—Tod, i. p. 292.
² Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, pl. iv. figs. 24, 25, 26. See also Prinsep's Essays, vol. i. p. 298, pl. xxiv. Prinsep was able to decipher only two letters of the name of Kumbho खं. The full reading has been communicated to me by General Cunningham, who is in possession of better specimens of the coins in question.
³ "The strange gods of the Jumna and Ganges have withdrawn a portion of the zeal of the Gehlotas from their patron divinity Eklinga, whose diwán (Ekling ka diwán) or vicegerent is the Rána. The temple of Eklinga, situated in one of the narrow defiles leading to the capital (six miles north of Oodípúr) is an immense structure, though more sumptuous than elegant. It is built entirely of white marble, most elaborately carved and embellished. . . The brazen bull, placed under his own dome, facing the sanctuary of the phallus, is nearly of the natural size, in a recumbent posture. It is cast (hollow) of good shape, highly polished, and without flaw, except where the hammer of the Tartar had opened a passage in the hollow of the flank in search of treasure."—Tod, i. pp. 222, 515.
The jealousy displayed by Mahmūd Khiljī at Rāna Kumbhō's presuming to coin money is amusingly recorded by Ferishtah.

وهم در آن ایام سلطان مسعود خلفی متوسطه ونیس جیتور
کریدد رانًا کوئنها از طریق مدار او مواسا پیش آمده پاره نز و نقره
مکسکوپ پیشکش فرستاد و جوی آن سکه رانًا کوئنها داشت باعت
ازدید اغلب مسعودی کریده پیشکش را پس فرستاد
—Ferishtah, text, ii. p. 495; Briggs, iv. p. 221.

SAKHA.


The vigorous rule of the Afghān Buhlōl Lōdi offers a strong contrast to the inane weakness of the sway of the two miscalled Syuds who preceded him. His lengthened supremacy of thirty-eight years, however, affords but little of variety to dilate upon. The principal characteristics of his domination being defined in the energetic and successful subjection of his local governors, and a prolonged war, marked by the utmost determination on both sides, with the kings of Jaun-

pur: for a long time neither one party nor the other can be said to have obtained any very decided advantage, such as might have been expected to result from the great efforts made on either side. The balance of success generally terminated in favour of the monarch of Dehli; and at length, in the year 893 A.H., after a twenty-six years' war, he finally re-annexed the kingdom of Jaipur to his own empire. It is recorded of this Sultán, that, unlike Eastern monarchs in general, he was no respecter of pomps and ceremonies, remarking "that it was enough for him that the world knew he was king, without his making a vain parade of royalty."


نتوكل علي
امير المومنين
خليدت خلافته

No. 312. Silver and Copper. Weight, 52 grs.

Obverse
بهلول شاه سلطان حضرت دهلي
Reverse
الخليفة امير المومنين خليدت خلافته


Obverse
بهلول شاه سلطان
Reverse
دار الملك دهلي

_Obverse_—Legend similar to No. 313.  

_Reverse—٨٨٦٠_  


_Centre—بهلول شاه_  

_Margin—السلطان_  

_Reverse—٨٧٧٧_  

 Таиб أمير الدومنين

I subjoin the results of some assays of coins of Buhlól Lódi and his son Sikandar, conducted under the native process:—

1. A.H. 858. Wt. 138 grs. Result—Silver, 0 grs. (No. 311.)
2. A.H. 859. Wt. 143 grs. Result—Silver, 15.3 grs. (No. 311.)
4. A.H. 893. Wt. 141 grs. Result—Silver, 6.7 grs. (No. 311.)

Sikandar bin Buhlól.

5. A.H. 904. Wt. 136 grs. Result—Silver, 7 grs. (No. 316.)
7. A.H. 918. Wt. 139 grs. } result, a mere trace } (No. 316.)
8. A.H. 919. Wt. 139 grs. } of silver. } (No. 316.)
9. A.H. 92. Wt. 137 grs. Result—Silver, 5 grs. (No. 316.)

**NOTE ON THE COINS OF BUHLOL LÓDI.**

Amid the chance references to the cost of articles of everyday consumption and other current prices to be found in the works of Indian authors, who flourished shortly after the reign of Buhlól Lódi, we meet with frequent repetition of the term _Buhlól_, as applied to a recognized and quasi-standard coin of the period.  

1 "In Ibráhím bin Sikandar's time, corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandise, were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign,
recapitulator of the various independent currencies assimilated or adapted by his patron, Akbar, had already sufficiently declared its intrinsic value as 1/4th part of a rupee, and its weight as 1 tolah, 8 máshas, and 7 ratis, though there were conflicting opinions as to the exact sum represented by the figures in question. In addition to these identifications, the Buhlōli was stated to have succeeded to the previous functions of the paisa, and to have constituted the connecting link between that coin and the dám, in which the entire except, perhaps, in the time of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín Khilji ... In the time of Sikandar, also, the markets were very cheap, but still not so much so as in the time of Ibrāhīm. Ten maunds of corn could be purchased for one Buhlōli; five sires of clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin. If one (man) offered four maunds (of corn) for the Buhlōli, another would offer five, and some even more than that, until at last ... ten maunds would sell for a Buhlōli. Gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty. A horseman received five tankas a month, and if any one spent 100 tankas he might be considered to be possessed of great wealth. If a traveller wished to proceed from Dehli to Agra, one Buhlōli would suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and four attendants.”—Elliott's Index, pp. 273, 292, quoting the “Zubdat ul Tawārīkh” of Nār ul Ḥāji. The work is an expansion and amplification of his father’s Tārīkh Haḵḵi, which was composed in A.H. 1005 (A.D. 1696–7). Abd ul Ḥāji states that after completing his selections from Zīā Bārni, he was indebted to the Tārīkh-i Bahādur Shāhī, of Sām Sultān Behādur Gujratī, for his information down to the close of the reign of Buhlōli Lōdī, and thereafter his knowledge was derived from verbal and personal investigations.

1 دآم مسيس تقديست وزن پنج تانک کہ یکہ توہہ و هشت ماسہ و هفت رئیج باشد - چهل بخش رویہ - نخش آنا پیسہ گفتی و بھولی نیز خواندی امروز بدال نام اشتہار دار - یکہ سو ضرب نلم جانی و دیگر جانب سال و مشہ 

—Ain Akbari, Calcutta text, p. 27; Gladwin’s translation, i. p. 35; Blochmann’s ditto, p. 31. The passage in question goes on to explain, that in Akbar’s time the term jital had been so far modified in its meaning and application as to have come to be used as a definition for an imaginary division, “in account,” of 1/4 of a dám.
revenues of the State were assessed under the Great Mughal. These definitions, however apparently complete, left several practical points undetermined; it was not expressly stated whether the Buhlóli was composed of copper, or of the mixed compromise of metals, so exaggeratedly favoured in the contemporary mint system: the preferable inference certainly pointed to the former conclusion, but, on the other hand, there was no such copper piece of Buhlól Lódi to be found, in the whole range of modern collections, as would at all assimilate with the heavy mass of that metal rising up to, if not over, 323.5625 grains, which clearly constituted the authorized coined dám of Shír Sháh and his imitator, Akbar.

Moreover, the subject was encumbered with an altered scale of proportions, both in the official increase of the weight of the silver coins under Shír Sháh, and the subsidiary question of the simultaneous advance of the copper standard, or a possible re-adjustment of conflicting ratios dependent upon progressive changes in the values of the two metals. Shír Sháh’s rupee, with which he replaced the old tankah, avowedly involved an advance of 3 grains upon the old standard of 175 grains; and I shall be in a position to show in detail from his own coins the relative increments, which, however, form only a secondary portion of the present argument.

But what the new numismatic data, aided by stray waifs from written history and tradition enable us now to assert is, that the paisa, wherever it obtained its more modern name, was simply, to all intents and purposes, the mere successor of the double káraha of remote antiquity, one of the primitive measures of copper adverted to in the “Laws of Manu,”¹

¹ káraha கரா தாங் ச; Tamil, kóla, “cash;” Toda, kus; Chinese, “Cash;” the Kañjépas of Ceylon (Mahawansa), and the Western Cave Inscriptions.
and whose exact counterpart, singular to say, declares itself in the earliest scheme of Egyptian Metrology under the nearly parallel term, which the hieroglyphics render as 2 KeT.¹

To all appearance the recognized weight retained in full its theoretical place and position in India, though practically as tangible money it is found to be represented by two single kāraha pieces. Of this latter coin of 140 grains, we can quote continuous examples, ranging from the archaic copper coins of Rāmadatta² to the coarse miantages of the early Pathāna,³ and onwards, in consecutive order, till Buhlól Lódi assimilated their fabric to the type and execution of his miantages in the higher metals; but the vitality and immutability of the ancient measure is proved triumphantly by its acceptance, so to say, intact, in all the minor mints under Bábār,

The Mitākshāra (ciros A.D. 1049) defines the Kāraka as “measured by a Kāraka (Karkhenonmita),” and the copper Kāraka itself is described as Tāma-rasya Vikāra, or “copper transformed,” i.e. worked up from its crude metallic state into some generally recognized form.—Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 404; Prinsep’s Essays, i. p. 53; G. Bühler, Bombay Branch Jour. Roy. As. Soc. October, 1888; Cowell, in Elphinstone, p. 89; Burnouf, Intro. à l’Hist. Bud. pp. 236, 258; Spence Hardy, Manual of Buddhism, pp. 119, etc.: Bombay Jour. As. Soc. (1853) (1864) p. 1.; Inscriptions, pp. 3, 9, (1862) p. 1, and (1863) p. 1, et seq. See also Yājnavalkya, § 363; Amara Koaha, ii. pp. 9, 86.

¹ Ancient Egyptian Weights.

A. Ciroa 1400 grains = MeN, or VTeN (Maneh i).
B. Ciroa 700 grains = 5 KeT.
C. Ciroa 280 grains = (2 KeT).
D. Ciroa 140 grains = KeT.
E. Ciroa 70 grains = (4 KeT).

The copper coins of the Ptolemies follow this standard; their gold and silver standsards adhere to the Aeginetan weight.—R. S. Poole, Smith’s Dictionary of the Bible, iii. p. 1732.

² Prinsep’s Essays, i. p. 216, pl. xx. figs. 47, 48.
³ Balban’s copper coin, No. 114, seems to have been a half kāraha. So also the piece of Jalāl-ud-din Firūz, No. 123, and others in succession.
where copper was struck as an inferior metal, and assert its own value, for, to its surface, the conqueror, ing the custom of the west, declined to attach his name.

The author of the "Institutes of the Emperor" gives a second or alternative definition of the value a trinsic contents of the assimilated paisa, Buhlóli, or a equal to five tanks. Whatever doubt might once have as to the measure of this weight, is now satisfactorily rest by the coins themselves; the tank, in short, is the old dharana of 32 ratis (or 56 grains) which, e the remote period of the crude tabulation of weights, the simple nomenclature of the seeds of the earth whence their denominations were chiefly obtained already acquired the optional name of purána, "old."

The two systems are fully represented in the coinage of the Pathánas, and conjointly offered consid facilities for the settlement of broken change. T double kárshas, or 80 current single kárshas, or 16 kárshas (No. 183), were equal to 200 copper tanks, e which amounts represented the established value of a tankah. 3

In respect to the weights of copper, in either ca totals ran 280 grains x 40 = 11200 grains, and 56 x 11200 grains.

These figures have an additional importance in the 1 See p. 221 ant, Babar's Table of Weights, 32 ratis = 1 tang.

2 Sir H. Elliot has preserved a curious record of the practical workin intricate sub-divisional exchanges of the lower coinage under the head of दमरी. In the Dehli territory, the term is applied to the sub-of a village. Thus in Gopálpur, of Rohtak, there are 160 domris, e being equivalent to twenty-five kachcha bighas. But domri is commonal as a nominal coin, equal to 3½ or 4½ damu; or between two and three ga that a domri varies from 8 to 12 cowrie, according to the good-will and
instance, as they establish conclusively what was heretofore somewhat of a matter of conjecture,\(^1\) that the ratio of copper to silver was 64:1 (11200÷175=64).

of unscrupulous Banyas. It may be useful to subjoin from the 'Diwan Pasand' a table showing the value of *damris* and *dams*:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & \text{damris} & = & 2 \frac{1}{4} \text{ dams}.
\\
2 & \text{''} & = & 6 \frac{1}{4} \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \text{ chhadem}.
\\
3 & \text{''} & = & 9 \frac{1}{4} \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \text{ adhela}.
\\
4 & \text{''} & = & 12 \frac{1}{4} \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \text{ paisa}.
\\
5 & \text{''} & = & 15 \text{ '}' \\
\\
6 & \text{''} & = & 18 \frac{1}{4} \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \text{ paisa}.
\\
7 & \text{''} & = & 22 \text{ '}' \\
\\
8 & \text{''} & = & 25 \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \text{ Pana}.
\\
9 & \text{''} & = & 28 \text{ '}' \\
\\
10 & \text{''} & = & 31 \frac{1}{4} \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \frac{4}{4} \text{ '}'
\\
11 & \text{''} & = & 34 \frac{1}{4} \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \frac{3}{4} \text{ '}'
\\
12 & \text{''} & = & 37 \frac{1}{4} \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \frac{1}{2} \text{ '}'
\\
13 & \text{''} & = & 40 \text{ '}'
\\
14 & \text{''} & = & 44 \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \frac{1}{4} \text{ '}'
\\
15 & \text{''} & = & 47 \text{ '}'
\\
16 & \text{''} & = & 50 \text{ '}' \ldots \ldots 1 \text{ Taka}.
\end{array}
\]

The table is given with some slight variations in the 'Zubdatul Kawain,' but in neither are the smaller fractional amounts given with correctness." Sir H. Elliot, at the same time, is careful to warn us that the popular *dams* quoted in this table have nothing in common with the *dams* of Akbar's revenue accounts (ii. p. 81).

\(^1\) "The tale of shells compared to weight of silver may be taken on the authority of the *Lilavati*: 20 *kapardakas* (shells or cowries) = 1 *kikini*; 4 *kikini* = 1 *pana*, *kawkipana*, or *kawshika*; 16 *pana* (=1 *purupa* of shells) = 1 *kherma* (of silver); 16 *kherma* = 1 *nikka* (of silver). It may be inferred that one shell is valued at 1 *raktika* of copper; 1 *pana* of shells at 1 *pana* of copper; and 64 *panas* at one *tilaka* of silver, which is equal in weight to 1 *pana* of copper. And it seems remarkable that the comparative value of silver, copper, and shells, is nearly the same at this time [1798] as it was in the days of *Bhadkars*."

The comparative value of silver and copper was the same in the reign of Akbar. For the *dams*, weighing 5 *tanka*, or 20 *nikes* of copper, was valued at the 1-40th of the Jalali rupee, weighing 12\(\frac{1}{4}\) *nikes* of pure silver; whence we have again the proportion of 64:1. — H. T. Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, v. p. 92.

[Colebrooke was in error in regard to the relative value of silver and copper obtaining in Akbar's time, as will be shown hereafter.]

Some time before his decease, Buhlól had nominated as his successor his son Nizám, who, not altogether without opposition, ascended the imperial masnad under the title of Sikandar Sháh. In the division of his dominions in 883 A.H., the Sultán had assigned the kingdom of Jaunpúr to his son Bárbak. On attaining supreme power, Sikandar demanded the nominal allegiance of his brother in the still cherished recitation of his own name in the public prayers of the country over which Bárbak ruled; this homage being denied, it was deemed necessary to compel its concession by force of arms. In the action which ensued, Bárbak was worsted, but was subsequently forgiven, and reinstated in his government. During the succeeding years the Sultán was occupied in the subjection of Sultán Sharf, which was completed by the capture of his stronghold of Bíána, and in the suppression of two somewhat formidable insurrections in Jaunpúr and Oude. In 897 A.H., Sikandar extended his conquests over the whole of Bihár, dispossessing Husain, the last of the regal line of the Sharkís, who was forced to take refuge with 'Alá-ud-dín, king of Bengal. With this monarch the ruler of Dehli arrived at a satisfactory understanding, involving a mutual recognition of boundaries and other rights. In 909 A.H., the Sultán, for the first time, fixed his residence at Agrah, which henceforth was to supersede Dehli as the metropolis of Hindústán. Sikandar’s reign was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindú temples, on the sites of which were raised Múslím mosques.
No. 316 (pl. v. fig. 167). Copper. Average weight, 139 grs.

في زم
امیر المؤمنین
خُلدت خُلافته
۹۰۴

المتولک على الرخم
سکندر شاه
بهلول شاه سلطان
حضرت دهلی

No. 317. Copper. Average weight, 55·5 grs.
A.H. 905, 907.

Obverse—المتولک على الرحمن سکندر شاه بهلول شاه
Reverse—امیر المؤمنین خُلدت خُلافته

NOTE ON SIKANDAR LODI'S COINAGE.

As Buhlól Lódi's name is associated with a fixed money value in account, involving a seeming return to a partially obscured system of reckoning, so his son Sikandar’s title is identified with a coinage which took a more definite and prominent position amid the succeeding currencies of the land. These two issues, confessedly composed of different metals, might at first sight be supposed to have but little in common; but on a more close examination the Sikandari tankah is found to have formed the connecting link between the Buhlólí and the dám of Shír Sháh; there is one break, however, in the completeness of this continuity, inasmuch as the Buhlólí was made up of two kárshás, while the Sikandari tankah doubled that amount; twenty pieces constituting the change for a silver tankah, instead of the 40 Buhlólíis or 80 kárshás of the previous scheme of exchange.
In the one case the design seems to have been to reintroduce the division by 40 to the supercession of the complicated 64 űrnis, with its attendant gradational proportions of silver and copper; in the second instance, the same motive is more definitely developed in the rate established of 20 Sikandarisis to the silver tankah, and the complete rejection of all traces of 64ths, inasmuch as the value of the new piece would not accord with any of the established űrni pieces, nor would it even range with an imaginary division of half a Shashkáni. The reverting to the alloy of mixed silver and copper regained all the old advantages of the portability of the coin, and all objection to the use of composite metal was removed in the limitation of the entire issue to one average value; while, on the other hand, the difficulty and loss incident to the recovery of the silver from this money for the construction of ornaments, etc., secured for it a permanency in its coined form which pure silver and gold could never have commanded.

The estimate of intrinsic contents derived from the accompanying Assay Table gives the rough average of silver to each coin as 5·647 grains; and adding the price of the copper basis at the rate of 64 copper to one of silver, we get something over a total silver value of 7·747 grains.¹ The parallel ¼th of the 175 grains of the full silver tankah would be 8·750 grains, so that the combined metals furnish a very

¹ This is merely a tentative calculation, taking 41 coins to the lb. (it should be more exactly 41·142). Then 299·1148 × 24 = 7178·7552 ÷ 41 = 175·09208 ÷ 31 = 5·64813, average grains of silver per coin. Copper contents remaining, 140 — 5·648 = 134·352, at 64 grains per grain of silver = 2·0989 grains, or a total silver value of 7·74703 grains. Gen. Cunningham’s assay, by the native process, gives a much lower average of silver contents, rising only to 4·18 grains per coin. See p. 324, ante. But in neither case nor the other need we expect any very uniform results. The Calcutta table itself furnishes ample evidence of the irregularity of the action of the Delhi Mint, which we have seen, by Firuz’s own confession (p. 281), had very much its own way in regard to the equitable value of the mixed metal coins put forth from time to time.
fair approximation to the value theoretically required, especially if we make allowances for the very imperfect manner in which the two metals were obviously amalgamated and distributed in the general mass.

List of Delhi Coins, composed of silver and copper, in varying proportions, forwarded to the Calcutta Mint for examination by Edward Thomas, Esq., C.S., 10th June, 1853.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.H.</th>
<th>Reference to Numbers of Coins in &quot;Pathân Sultan.&quot;</th>
<th>Weight in Grains</th>
<th>Dwts. Fine Silver, per lb. in each.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>895</td>
<td>&quot;No. 316.&quot;</td>
<td>143·438</td>
<td>1·900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>896</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>142·163</td>
<td>2·025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>142·936</td>
<td>1·925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>138·913</td>
<td>1·815</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>140·088</td>
<td>2·000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>898</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>141·500</td>
<td>1·5825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>140·800</td>
<td>2·000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>127·600</td>
<td>3·0125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>903</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>143·100</td>
<td>4·650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>904</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>142·500</td>
<td>5·624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>907</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>148·250</td>
<td>15·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>141·150</td>
<td>16·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>139·900</td>
<td>16·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>905</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>144·500</td>
<td>17·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>909</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>141·500</td>
<td>15·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>910</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>140·200</td>
<td>15·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>912</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>142·500</td>
<td>12·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>135·500</td>
<td>15·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>913</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>132·250</td>
<td>15·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>140·750</td>
<td>15·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>914</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>140·000</td>
<td>15·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>138·500</td>
<td>15·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>141·000</td>
<td>16·5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>140·500</td>
<td>16·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>918</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>138·250</td>
<td>10·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>133·250</td>
<td>10·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>139·750</td>
<td>9·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>125·000</td>
<td>8·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>919</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>133·250</td>
<td>12·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>137·250</td>
<td>8·0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>137·500</td>
<td>8·0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 299·1140
Under the written evidence of contemporary and other authors, the authoritative value of the Sikandari is equally well established in its full identity. Bābar, in his Memoirs, adverted to his own gift to his son Humāyūn, on the occasion of the distribution of the accumulated treasures of the Lōdis, as amounting to “70 laks,” we must conclude of current coin. Nizám-ud-dīn Ahmad specifies the like sum of undefined but manifestly ordinary coin; Khwandamīr more explicitly designates the gift as being composed of Sikandari tankāha; and Ferishtah, to complete the definition, capitalizes the sum in more modern currencies as “350,000 rupees,” which determines the ruling value of the piece at two dāms, or a sufficient approach to the amount which the intrinsic contents of the coins now assayed would average. Furthermore, the system of computing by double dāms was clearly widely spread and of very general acceptance; so much so that Akbar himself is found to have provided a special copper coin of that denomination, truly of very inconvenient proportions,

1 Nizám-ud-dīn Ahmad Bakhaš, who was learned in currencies, fixes the sum of “70 laks” as given to Humāyūn, but there is no specification of any particular coin. The text runs—خززاین بکشاده هنناد لکش شاهزاده عالمیان محمد همایون مرزا انعام نروده امرارا دی لکش و هشت لکش و شش لکش و بنچ لکش
p. 132, E.I. MS., etc.

2 I have little hesitation in correcting his “7 laks” into 70. Most of these references were collected by Erkine (History of Bābar and Humāyūn, ii. p. 544). He, however, missed the passage from Nizám-ud-dīn; and in the absence of the coins, properly hesitated to correct the seven laks of Khwandamīr, whose information was otherwise most exact, as he was a contemporary and well-informed author. See Elliot’s Index, p. 108; Ferishtah, Briggs, ii. p. 48.

3 مله لکش و میصد و بنچق هزار و رویه نقد
p. 282. Khād Khan has

53, Calcutta text. بنچق هزار تنهکه نقش رآمی وقت

4 See Sir H. Elliot’s table, quoted p. 364; Erkine’s Bābar, i. pp. 542–4.

5 Such a piece is extant in the British Museum, weighing 664 grains, an
ingly more designed to meet the contingency of an appeal to such a weight in its legalized form than for any purposes of practical utility in the general circulation.

T. INSCRIPTIONS AT DEHLI OF SIKANDAR BIN Buhlôl.
2. Dated A.H. 906, on the bastion of Shahâb-ud-dîn Tâj Khân.
3. Dated A.H. 909, on the lower entrance of the Kûth Minâr.
4. Dated A.H. 912, to the following effect:

در عهد دولت همايون سلطان العظم المعظم الموكل على الرحمن
سکندر شاه بن بخلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه با کر
این کنبد بنده امیدوار رحمت پوریکار دولت خان خواجه محمد
غری ماه رجب سه اثنی عشر و تسعماية

5. Dated A.H. 913, on the arch of the Makbarah of Fírúz Shâh
(p. 310, ante).

THE YARD MEASURE OR GAZ OF SIKANDAR LO’DI.

Abúl Fazl, in noticing the various descriptions of yard-measures introduced at different times into Hindústán, makes incidental mention of certain coins designated Sikandariess—upon the basis of a given number of diameters of which the gaz of Sikandar Lódi was authoritatively defined. The class of money described under No. 316 evidently furnished, among other uses, the data for this singularly defined measure. Any tyro in Indian Numismatics, under whose eye specimens of this mintage may chance to pass, cannot fail to remark that, imperfect as their configuration undoubtedly is, as compared amount which is rather over the estimated ratio; but the coin is sharp, unworn, and is, perhaps, affected by the oxydation of its once clear surface.
with our modern machine-struck money—yet, that they hold a high place among their predecessors in respect to their improved circularity of form, and general uniformity of diameter—points which had certainly been less regarded in the earlier products of the Dehli mints.

The passage alluded to is to the following textual effect:

"سلطان سکندر لودھی در هندوستان نیز گز پیشتم میان آورد و آنرا چجه و یک نیم اسکندری اندوزه گرفت و آن مسیون نقدی است. گرد نقره آمیز جدید آشنان نیم دیگر انرژد و چجه و دو رازه گرفت. اگر بکاراند و در زمان شیرخان و سلیم خان • • بیشین گز پیمودند تا مقدار آن سی و دو اگرشت بود و از پیشتن حکما نیز بدلانس بکاراند. البته اگر به حکم میخواهد، که کل سی و یکم البته اگرچه در کرایاس گناکرده المیشود، و چجه و شش اگنشت برای لیتک در زراعت و عمارت اسکندری بکار دانست."—Calcutta text, p. 296.

With a view to make these coins, even at the present day, contribute towards our knowledge of the true length of this gas, which is still a vexata questio, I have carefully measured a set of 42 of these pieces, arranged in one continuous line; the result is, that the completion of the 30th inch of our measure falls exactly opposite the centre of the 42nd coin.

The specimens selected for trial have not been picked, beyond the rejection of five very palpably worn pieces, out of the total 48 of Mr. Bayley’s coins, which I have at my disposal.

The return now obtained I should be disposed to look upon as slightly below the original standard, notwithstanding that it differs from the determination of the measure put forth by Prinsep;¹ but I must add that Prinsep himself distrusted

¹ Prinsep’s Essays, Useful Tables, pp. 123, 126.
his own materials, and was evidently prepared to admit a higher rate than he entered in his leading table.

Since the observations here reproduced were printed at Dehli, in 1851, Gen. Cunningham has examined the general question, from an independent point of view, and to establish other coincidences.¹ His measurement of the given number of Sikandaris is found slightly to exceed the above amount; this result I was, to a certain extent, prepared for, though I did not anticipate so close, and I may say satisfactory, an approximation to my own tentative returns. The very nature of the materials, constructed, as we have reason to suppose, from a hammered bar or imperfectly cast rod of mixed silver and copper (under the similitude of a light crowbar), divided off in cross sections to form the individual coins,² did not encourage us to expect any approach to the accuracy of modern

¹ General Cunningham remarks—"To determine the exact value of those measures we must have recourse to the unit from which they were raised. This is the *angula*, or 'finger,' which in India is somewhat under three-quarters of an inch. By my measurement of 42 copper coins of Sikandar Lodi, which we know to have been adjusted to fingers' breadths, the *angula* is .72978 of an inch. Mr. Thomas makes it slightly less, or .72289. The mean of our measurements is .72632 of an inch, which may be adopted as the real value of the Indian finger, or *angula*, as I found the actual measure of many native fingers to be invariably under three-quarters of an inch. According to this value, the *hasta*, or cubit, of 24 *angulas*, would be equal to 17.78368 inches, and the *dhana*, or bow, of 96 *angulas*, would be 5.81 feet. But as 100 *dhana* make one *válos*, and 100 *válos* make one *krośa* or *kos*, it seems probable that the *dhana* must have contained 100 *angulas* to preserve the centenary scale (the same confusion of the numbers 96 and 100 exists in the monetary scale, in which we have 2 *pedagasia*, or twelves, equal to 1 *punchi*, or twenty-five). According to this view, the *hasta*, or cubit, would have contained 25 fingers instead of 24, and its value would have been 18.018 inches, which is still below many of the existing *hastas*, or cubits, of the Indian Bákara. Adopting this value of the *hasta*, the higher measures would . . . give 8052 feet for the *krośa*, . . or within 15 feet of that derived from the statement of Megasthenes."—The Ancient Geography of India, by Gen. A. Cunningham. p. 575. (London: Trübner & Co., 1871.)

² See ante, pp. 225 note, 229; Gladwin's Ayin-i-Akbar, ii. p. 15.
mechanical appliances, and to all appearance the presiding authorities of the period scarcely contemplated exceptional exactitude in this summary but ever-ready test. No doubt the fiscal administrators were furnished with critical official standards, but the immediate object in view in the present adjustment seems to have been to supply the mass of unlettered purchasers with a prompt means of checking the professional frauds of the shopkeepers, so that the simple exhibition of a row of Sikandarís, the leading current coin of the realm, on the counter, would on the instant determine the fullness or deficiency of the tradesman’s yard; constituting, in brief, a popular ready-reckoner, especially adapted to the notions and traditions of the indígenes. I freely accept Abúl Fazl’s suggestion, that this gaz was no new measure of length introduced by Sikandar; the original (and possibly aboriginal) gaz was already obviously in full use and recognition, and Akbar himself, with all his needless but otherwise systematic innovations, had to confess, in the 31st year of his reign, that though he had carried his own Akbarí gaz of 46 finger breadths into the cloth merchants’ shops, that the Sikandari gaz of 32 fingers was still “employed for every other purpose;” and thus he confessedly met the difficulty by subsiding into the compromise of the Itáhi gaz of 41 fingers.  

1 See p. 164, ante.

2 These numbers are suggestive; the ancient 32 (or half of 64) as superseded by the irregular totals of the Muslim theory. Abúl Fazl further confesses that “in some ancient books (کمین نامه, دو شپر و دو گر) the gaz is said to consist of two spans and two inches (گی), and this gaz is divided into 16 equal parts (گی), each of which was subdivided into quarters called pahar (پیر), so that the pahar was the 2 of a gaz.”—Gladwin’s Ayin-i-Akbarí, ii. p. 852; Calcutta text, p. 294.

In connexion with this question of normal Indian numbers, I may refer to the archaic Dravidian kópi in the existing land measures of the south.—Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 124.
Those earnest men who followed the pioneers of our conquest in Upper India, and who were content to identify themselves with the nation over whom they were appointed to rule, displayed much interest in the determination of the imperfectly preserved definitions of the Iláhi gas. It was somewhat of a cardinal point with comparative strangers, who had to assimilate their feelings to local prejudices, to prove themselves in advance of the crude knowledge which insisted upon the supremacy of provincial standards; and so it came about that all sorts of positive data were put under contribution to establish the infinitesimal unit from which the more ample and enlarged land measures of Akbar's empire were avowedly derived. Hence investigations were instituted under many varied aspects—open tradition, extant buildings of historically defined measurement, barley corns of primeval repute, home and foreign men's forearms and fingers' breadths, square Akbari rupees, and very modern round "Mansúri" paisa, were pressed into the service. But, perhaps, the best and closest estimate was furnished by the crucial test of the "average of copper wires returned by the Tahsildárs of Murádábád as the counterparts of the actual measures from which their bighás (quasi-acres) were formed," amounting to an average of 33·50 inches per gas, on the rough calculation of three-fourths of an inch for each finger breadth.\(^1\).

In the end, for all practical purposes of modern measurements, the Government of the day (1825-6) adopted, as a convenient solution, an arbitrary value for the Iláhi gas of 33 English inches.

---


Ibráhím succeeded his father Sikandar; from the very commencement of his reign his arrogance disgusted the nobles of his own tribe of Lódi, who speedily sought to reduce his power by placing his brother, Jalál, on the throne of the kingdom of Jaunpúr. Having compassed this purpose, however, some doubt arose as to the wisdom of their own act, and hence an attempt was made to weaken Jalál by the withdrawal of several Amírs who had joined his standard. Jalál, detecting this design, determined upon active measures to secure himself; he therefore collected his forces and advanced to Kálpi, assuming the style of Sultán, with the title of Jalál-ud-dín. He next entered into negotiations with 'Azím Humáyún, who held Kálinjar for Ibráhím, and at length induced him to desert the cause of the Emperor. 'Azím Humáyún failed at the time of need, and Jalál was reduced to a position of much difficulty, from which, however, he had a favourable opportunity of extricating himself, by the success of a sudden march upon Agrah, which he found almost undefended; but, from some strange infatuation, he allowed himself to be deluded into treating with the governor of the city, and on the advance of Ibráhím he was compelled to flee to Gwálior, where he received a temporary shelter; he was, ultimately, after various adventures and escapes, captured and put to death.

The alarm excited by the unrestrained cruelties dictated by the distrustful disposition of the Sultán, led to numerous other revolts: among the rest, Daria Khán, viceroy of Bihár, openly disclaimed allegiance; and his son, Muhammad, who
shortly succeeded him, even caused the Khutbah to be read, and coin to be struck, in his own name. Daulat Lódi, the governor of some of the dependencies of the Punjáb, also rebelled, and solicited the protection of Bábar, who had already, in 930 A.H., obtained possession of Láhor. Subsequently, an expedition was organized against the ruler of Dehli under his own uncle, 'Alá-ud-dín; but in the engagement which ensued, the contingent of the Mughals was defeated with great slaughter. This was followed by the advance of Bábar in person; and on the 7th of Rajab, 932 A.H., on the celebrated battle-field of Paniput, Ibráhím, after an individually well-contested though ill-directed action, lost his kingdom and his life.

No. 318. Copper. Weight, 83 grs. Rare.

مَاتَوكَل عَلَى
الرحمن ابراهيم شاه
امير المومئين
خُلُدَت خَلَافِه
سلطان

No. 319. Copper. Weight, 87 grs. Rare.

Obverse—ابراهيم شاه سلطان
Reverse—امير المومئين خُلُدَت خَلَافِه

No. 320. Copper. Weight, 42 grs. Rare. A.H. 926, 927.

Obverse—ابراهيم شاه سكندر
Reverse—امير المومئين خُلُدَت خَلَافِه

1 Gladwin's Ayin-i Akbari.
IBRÁHÍM LÓDLI.


The issue of this coin, which follows the Málwah square type of money, is supposed to commemorate the fraudulent acquisition of Chandéri by Ibráhím, who, taking advantage of the death of Muhammed Sháh (the rebel opponent of his regnant brother, Mahmúd of Málwah), obtained possession of the person of his heir, and placed a dependent of his own in charge of the country, from whence it passed in later days, by Rána Sanga's gift, to Madíni Ráo.

Bárbak of Jaunpúr.

No. 322. Silver and Copper. Weight, 120 grs. Rare.

A.H. 892, 894.

Centre.

Margin illegible.
THE MUGHAL (CHAGHATAI) CONQUEST.

The narrative of Bābar's persevering efforts towards the conquest of India, and the eventful career of his son Humáyún, are, perhaps, more pertinent to general history than germane to the limited notices of the local succession of the Pathán dynasty of Hindústán, with which we are immediately concerned. It may, therefore, be sufficient to indicate more concisely than usual the dates of the prominent occurrences in the Indian reigns of the two monarchs, under the tabular form already adopted, where it was felt desirable to economize space in these pages.

BĀBAR IN INDIA.

\[932 A.H. \rightarrow 1526 A.D. \]
(9th Rajab.) Defeat and death of Ibrāhīm Lōdí, at Paniput.
(12th Rajab.) Bābar enters Dehli; on the Friday following he has public prayers pronounced in his name as Emperor; and with proper Mughal craving for plunder, has seals put upon the treasures of the old metropolis,\(^1\) while he hastens on to Agra to secure the accumulated wealth of the house of Lōdí.\(^2\)

Capture of Jaunpūr by Humáyún.
Surrender of Bīāna, Gwálīor, and Multān.

\(^1\) In a similar spirit, Humáyún broke these seals on his "way home in 1527, and appropriated his father's money."—Bābar's Memoirs, pp. 368, 371; Erakine's History, i. p. 476.

\(^2\) Bābar himself, in his Memoirs, has left upon record a concise epitome of the distribution of power in India at the moment of his conquest in A.D. 1526. "At the period when I conquered the country, five Musulmān kings and two pagans exercised royal authority. . . . One of these powers was the Afghān, whose government included the capital, and extended from Behrā to Bihār. Jaunpūr, before it fell into the power of the Afghān, was held by Husain Shāh Shārkhī. . . . The second prince was Sultān Muhammad Muzaffar, in Gujarāt; he had departed this life a few days before Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdí's defeat. . . . The
Defeat of Rána Sanga at Kanwah; Bábar assume the title of Ghásí on this occasion.

Capture of Chandéri (Madíni Raó’s stronghold).
(29th Jumáda’l ákhir.) Occupation of Lucknow.
(5th Muharram, 935.) Occupation of Rantambhór.

(Sh’abán.) Bihár subdued and entrusted to Muhammad Zamán Mirza.
(27th Sh’abán.) Final defeat of the troops of the Afghán coalition. Treaty with Nugrat Sháh of Bengal.

(5th Jumáda’l ákhir.) Bábar’s death at Agraḥ.¹

**Humáyún in India.**


Kámrán takes Láhor and occupies the Punjáb.

third kingdom is that of the Bahmania, in the Dakhan; but at the present time the Sultán of the Dakhan have no authority or power left. The fourth king was Sultán Mahmdí, who reigned in the country of Málwah, which they likewise call Mándá. This dynasty was called the Khilji. Rána Sanga, a pagan, had defeated them, and occupied a number of their provinces. . . . The fifth prince was Nugrat Sháh, in the kingdom of Bengal. . . . The most powerful of the pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Rája of Bijanagar. Another is Rána Sanga, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitór.”—Erkine’s Memoirs of Bábar, p. 311.

¹ His dominions at the period of his decease “stretched from the river Amn to Bihár,” etc.—Erkine’s History, i. p. 526.

³ Kámrán’s coins are extant. The following is a description of a specimen in the East India Company’s collection, struck at Kábul in A.H. 947:—

Silver. Weight, 71 gra.

Observes—Area (diamond shaped)

Margin, المملك السلطان العظيم الفاتوق خلد الله تعالى ملكه

والسلطان ضرب كاب سنه 947

Reverse—Circular area, the Kalimaḥ.

Margin, ابابكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان البندري علي المرتضى
937 1530 Humayún defeats the combined army under Mahmud Lodi at Doura, and gets possession of Jaunpur.

938 1532 Advances against Shir Khan at Chunar, but is obliged to return to meet the threatened hostility of Bahadur Shah of Gujarát. Campaigns in Malwa, Gujarát, etc.

942 1535 Capture of the Fort of Champañír.

946 1539 (9th Safar.) Shir Sháh's perfidy at Chonsa (Chúpar Ghát); ruin of Humayún's army, and his retreat to Agra.

947 1540 Final defeat of Humayún by Shir Sháh, near Kanauj, and flight of the former.

BÁBAR.

No. 323 (pl. v. fig. 172). Silver. Weight, 71·5 grs. Very rare.

*知道了 translates to *知道了
Margin (worn) *知道了

No. 324 (pl. v. fig. 173). A silver coin of Bábar (East India Cabinet), somewhat similar to the above, has the word غازی at the end of the inscription on the obverse area, in addition to the legend detailed under No. 323; marking, in this addition, his very hazardous encounter with Rána Sanga in A.H. 933. Another specimen gives the full date of A.H. 936.

On the obverse margin is to be seen—العظم خاتان

Margin, *العظم خاتان

These silver coins correspond to the class of money designated by Abúl Fazl under the generic term of Bábaris, which he states weighed one miskál each, and to have
been rated in exchange at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per rupee. The contemporary quoted Shah Rukhis of contemporary authors constitute identical currency, as this piece is also defined as the equivalent of 16 damas, which gives the like return of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per rupee in effect, Babar's northern money appears to have been a mere continuation of the earlier issues of Shah Rukh of the Mughal Sultan of Persia (A.H. 807-850), whose coinage so largely spread over all Asia.

HUMAYUN.

No. 325. Gold. Irregular weights, 8, 10, and 13 grs.

Obverse—لا الله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—حموين بادشاه غازى خلد الله تعالى ملكه

No. 326 (pl. v. fig. 175). Silver. Weight, 71 grs. A.D.

Very rare.

Obverse—Centre,

Margin, لا مل ير السلطان الأعظم الخاقان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه ضرب اكره سنة 944

The King, the Amir, the most mighty Sultan, the

May Almighty God prolong his dominion and sover.

Struck at Agra, (in the) year 944.

Reverse—Centre,

للله محمد رسول الله بل ير حسوب

There is no god but God; Muhammad is the apostle of God is bountiful unto whom He pleaseth, without m.
No. 327 (pl. v. fig. 176). Silver. Weight, 71 grains. Struck at Agra, 945 A.H. A variety, with a nearly square area, has the date 952 A.H.; the name of the place of mintage is obliterated.

No. 328 (pl. v. fig. 176a). A coin of the same type, which is unfortunately wanting in both date and place of mintage, has the countermark or Hall stamp of Kámrán, attesting the current value of the piece. Of this impress the following words are still legible: عدل كمران بادشاه غـ

Another silver coin of Humáyún (weight, 71 grains) has the محمد همايون غازي only, in an oblong area. The reverse area being circular, as in the specimen engraved, the legend itself is confined to the usual short symbol. The margins are much worn, but apparently vary slightly in their legends from those of the above coins. There are traces of the figures 937.

I have inserted the subjoined coins of Akbar in this place, irrespective of their order of date, with a view to keep together the various specimens of this foreign type of money, the issue of which seems to have been persevered in amid the migratory Mughal camps and temporarily occupied cities of India.

AKBAR.


Obverse—جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي 119
Reverse—The Kalimah.
ANONYMOUS COINS.

I have considered it preferable to class the anonymous coins hereunto appended, under a separate head, as although their dates would in general indicate the Sovereign during whose reign they were struck, still the absence of any name upon the individual piece might leave a possible doubt as to the true presiding authority of the moment, especially in money coming to us from such disturbed times as witnessed the issue of many of these fulus; and as exactitude is a high conceit among Numismatists, I would not knowingly so offend against the prejudices of caste as to claim reliance upon aught that was susceptible of critical question. These coins of unavowed kingship are therefore
grouped in a series apart, an arrangement which has the advantage of bringing them all under one compact view, and developing in continuity, the special merit they possess, strangely enough in greater perfection than more imposing medals, viz., of assisting in the elucidation of the contemporaneous geographical status, and of indicating in the fact the relative importance, of the leading cities of the epoch.

These coins seem to date their origin from Bābar's conquest, and we recognize in the earlier specimens both the hand and the art of workmen other than indigenous. The practice of striking coin in subordinate cities also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Mughals, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultán's name likewise indicates a departure from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designation of the supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value.

Bābar's introduction of so much of the leading ideals of his Bokhárá money into Hindústán was destined to be attended with more permanence in the coins of the poor, whose standard he adopted, than in that of his more elaborately executed dirhams and ashrafs, in which he outraged local associations.

The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 140 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Pathán issues, 80 of which went to the old tankah, 4 to the modified Sikandari, and 32 to the foreign Bābāri and Sháh Rukhi.

1 Frahn's Recensio, p. 432, etc.; M. Soret, Léttré sur la Numismatique, June, 1843, p. 28.
Their relative value in exchange against silver may have varied from time to time; but the fact of Akbar's accepting copper as his universal standard shows that he felt that all important fluctuations, as might have been predicted, virtually took place in the more readily affected ratios of the precious metals.

No. 331. Copper. Weight, 142 grs. Agraah, A.H. 936. Unique. Obverse—Circular area, within a margin of fine lines and dots run into a scroll pattern.

Legend—ضرب أكره

Reverse—Oblong area (Mihurdbi), with ornamental flowered scroll margin.

Legend—في تاريخ سنة 1337


Obverse—دارالصرب تلع أكره

Reverse as above.


Obverse—Plain surface, with the Legend—ضرب بدارالخليفة أكره

Reverse—Simple marginal lines encircle the field; the inner portions above and below the legend are filled in with scroll-work.

Legend—في تاريخ سنة 1337


Obverse—ضرب بدار العدل أكره

Reverse as above.

Obverse—ضرب دارالعثمانه لاہور

Reverse—في تاريخ سنة 1381


Obverse—ضرب دارالملك دهلی

Reverse as usual.


Obverse—ضرب دارالملك حضره دهلي

Reverse as usual.


Humáyún in possession? (See Table, p. 380.) Rare.

Obverse—ضرب مندور

Reverse as usual.


Obverse—دار النصر قلعة الور


Obverse—خطه جونپور

Reverse as usual.
BÁBAR'S INDIAN REVENUE.

One of the most interesting documents relating to the fiscal history of India has been discovered and preserved by Mr. Erskine in the unique detail given by Bābar himself of the revenues of his newly-acquired kingdom. ¹

Mr. Erskine felt some difficulty in satisfying himself as to what this nominal total of fifty-two krors, summarized by Bābar, might chance to represent in English money, and he was constrained to leave it an open question between no less than five several amounts, ranging from £1,300,000 to £52,000,000.² There can be little hesitation—now that we have discovered the true value of the Sikandari tankah and its direct association with the double dáms of Akbar—in adopting that standard and almost exclusively current piece as the real measure of value in this and in all similar instances, where the tankah is not qualified by some descriptive term. In the present table, the introduction of the specification of silver tankahs and black tankahs, in the Tīrhūṭ return, implies, prima facie, that the general total

¹ This return was wanting in all the MSS. previously accessible.
² "The amount of this revenue of 52 krors, if considered as represented in single dáms, according to the mode of computation in Akbar's reign, would be £1,300,000; if in double dáms, according to the calculation of Ferishtah, £3,000,000; if we adopted the mode of reckoning suggested by the facts stated by Mirza Haidar, it would be £4,212,000; while, if we take the tankah at 7½d., which is somewhat below the lowest rate it reached in the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlak [see correction, p. 229 ante], the amount would be £16,250,000; but if at its full and proper value of a rupee, £52,000,000.

Everything considered, I should consider £4,212,000 as the amount of Bābar's nominal revenue; a very large sum when the working of the American mines had not yet produced its full effect. It is not easy to find any unobjectionable point of comparison. The statements of Akbar's revenue given in the translation of the Kins-i Akbari have not been generalised, and are far from being always distinct."—Erskine, i. p. 542.
was based upon some coin which would not directly come under either category; the Sikandari tankah, however designedly lowered in value, had an equal claim to the generic name with its predecessors of higher metallic mark. As has been already explained (pp. 336, 369, 384), these Sikandaris represented, irregularly perhaps in individual pieces, but satisfactorily in large amounts, a value of \( \frac{1}{5} \) of the old silver tankah. Under this test, Bābar’s given total corresponds to a sum of 2,60,00,000 silver tankahs, or £2,600,000.\(^1\) Akbar’s revenues are not quite so uncertain or indeterminate as Mr. Erskine was inclined to suppose. We have definitions of their amount from two different sources. Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad’s return, which refers to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), is quite explicit, and places them at 640,00,00,000, “six hundred and forty krore\(^2\) of tankah murādī.” Taking these as Sikandari tankahs, we obtain a sum of 32,00,00,000 (640,00,00,000 ÷ 20) silver tankahs (roughly modern rupees), or the equivalent of £32,000,000.

Abūl Fazl’s revenue estimate for the fortieth year of the reign, or A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), is far more obscure. It is epitomized in the introduction to his twelve Sūbāhs, or divisions of India, as 3,62,97,55,246 dāms;\(^3\) but this aggregate

---

\(^1\) Bābar confesses that he added, at one time, 30 per cent. to the ordinary taxes to meet the enhanced expenditure upon his army of occupation. This does not appear to have been included in the above summary.—Bābar’s Memoirs, p. 387; Erskine, i. p. 488.

\(^2\) Whatever complications may exist about dāms in the K’in-i Akbarī, the text of Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad (a paymaster), is clear and definite as to كور تنکه مرادی “640 kror.” See also Elliot’s Index, p. 204.

\(^3\) The printed Persian text, even with all the advantages of Dr. Blochmann’s choice series of MSS., only confirms Gladwin’s original rendering (ii. p. 1.) The passage runs: سه آرب و سخت و دوکور و نود و هفت لک و پنچه و نج از هزار و دویست و چهل و شش دام. There is a possibility that the 3
BÁBAR’S REVENUE.

389

does not correspond with the grand total to be obtained from the more comprehensive provincial tables in his own work, nor do those tables themselves always coincide with the preliminary summary prefixed to the returns of each fiscal division; indeed, there is internal evidence that the detailed statistics were corrected-up, independently, from later documents, when Akbar’s dominions had extended their boundaries; but as regards the figures above quoted, there must clearly be an error either of calculation or of transcription: the given sum reckoned in single dáms gives the absurdly small amount of 9,074,388 rupees, or £9,074,388. Understood as double dáma, or Sikandaris of identical value, the total would still only reach 18,148,776 rupees, or £18,148,776, or little more than half the sum the more authoritative assertion of Nizám-ud-dín places it at. It is possible that a more close examination of the fiscal returns of Akbar’s reign may throw light upon this unaccountable divergency; but for the present I am content to adhere implicitly to Nizám-ud-dín’s figures, and to suspect that Abúl Fazl’s sum indicated origi-

may be intended for 30, a very frequent error (ordinarily guarded against by the insertion of the figure r over the ō, thus 30), which would produce at 40 dáms the large but not impossible sum of 76,574,388 rupees, or £76,574,388. But the rectification that most commends itself to me, as an occasional reconstructor of Persian texts, does even more violence to the extant version, inasmuch as I should go so far as to suggest a substitution of the more divergent word 3 or six, for the opening written word, 3 or three, which now appears in the MSS. and their printed reproductions. This would establish a very near approach to the result of Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad’s return, and one fully within the range of identities and probabilities. Under this scheme, the long array of figures would present themselves as 6,62,97,65,248, which, divided by 20 (the ruling number in the parallel case), would produce a sum of 33,14,87,772 silver tankahs, or a very close approximation to the 32,00,00,000 obtained from our leading authority, Nizám-ud-dín, which is fixed at the latter amount, though specified in different terms, and ruled by an independent scheme of exchange.
nally a very moderate increment upon the ordinary revenue of the preceding year. Though, of course, if the leading total was altered under later authorities to meet the ever varying annual income, the irreconcilable figures themselves become comparatively unimportant.

Mr. Erskine quotes another very curious table of the revenues of India under Aurangzéb (A.H. 1068–1118; A.D. 1651–1707), which produces a grand total of 38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,400, at which period the provinces entered in Bábar's schedule had risen to an improved revenue return of 7,81,46,550 rupees, or £7,814,655.

**The Revenues of Bábar's Indian Dominions.**

1. The Sirkár west of the Satlege, Bhíra, Láhor, Siáilkót, Daibálpúr, etc. ... ... ... ... 36,315,989
2. Sírhind and its dependencies ... ... ... ... 12,931,985
3. Hissár Fírúzah ... ... ... ... ... ... 13,075,104
4. Dár ul Mulk, Dehli, in the Doáb ... ... ... 36,950,254
5. Méwát (not included in Sikandar's Revenue roll) ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 16,981,000
6. Blíana... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 14,414,930
7. Agra ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 2,976,919
8. Mián-i Viláat ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 29,119,000
9. Gwálior ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 22,357,450
10. Kálpi, etc.... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 42,855,950
11. Kanauj ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 13,063,358
12. Sambal ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 13,844,000
13. Lakhnau, etc. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 13,982,433

---

1 This is taken from Catron's Histoire de l'Empire Mogol, Paris, 4to., 1715, i. p. 264. The information is supposed to be derived from the papers of Manucci, the Venetian traveller. Catron adds to his other remarks, that "other taxes and duties equal or exceed the land revenue." Bernier also gives an imperfect return of the revenues of twenty divisions, in Aurangzéb's reign, amounting to 22,58,78,000 rupees (ii. p. 354.)
| 14. Khairábad... | ... | ... | 1,265,000 |
| 15. Oude and Bahrách | ... | ... | 11,721,369 |
| 16. Jaunpúr | ... | ... | 40,088,333 |
| 17. Karrá and Mánikpúr | ... | ... | 16,327,280 |
| 18. Bihárá... | ... | ... | 40,560,000 |
| 19. Sirwárá... | ... | ... | 15,617,506½ |
| 20. Sáran... | ... | ... | 11,018,679 |
| 21. Chumpáram | ... | ... | 19,086,609 |
| 22. Gondih... | ... | ... | 4,330,300 |
| 23. Tírhubté Tributé (Khidmatána) |... | ... | 2,000,000 |
| of the Tírhubt Rája 250,000¹ |... | ... | 13,000,000 |
| SilverTankahs, and 2,750,000² |... | ... |... |
| BlackTankahs... | ... | ... |... |

| 24. Rantambhór | ... | ... | 2,000,009 |
| 25. Nagór... | ... | ... | 13,000,000 |
| 26. Rája Bikramájít from Rantambhór | ... | ... |... |
| 27. Rája of Kálinjar | ... | ... |... |
| 28. Rája Birsíng-deo | ... | ... |... |
| 29. Rája Bikram-deo | ... | ... |... |
| 30. Rája Bikram Chand... | ... | ... |... |

\[
\text{Silver Tankahs.} \quad 443,788,457\frac{1}{2} = 2,21,89,172
\]

\[
\text{Tankahs, and 2,750,000, at 10 per Tankah, or 275,000]} \quad 525,000 \quad 525,000
\]

\[
\text{2,27,14,172}
\]

[Or at \( \frac{3}{4} \) of a Tankah, at the exchange of 2s. per Tankah, £2,271,417, exclusive of the tribute from the five Rájas, the totals of which are left blank.]

¹ Tankah-nakrah, "silver Tankahs," or full money.
² Tankah sidh, "black Tankahs," at 2½d. See p. 230 ante.

The history of Shír Sháh has yet to be written, and it is to be feared that those who undertake the task will find much difficulty, at this late period, in doing justice to his masterly administrative abilities, or in restoring to him that meed of honour for his systemization of the revenue and fiscal departments of Indian policy which Akbar's eulogists have appropriated to their own master.¹ His chequered career, his rise from a comparatively humble sphere, and his success so often due to his individual efforts, are soiled by the frequent association of the Afghán national vices of duplicity, treachery, and unscrupulous breaches of faith. The introductory annals of this reign embrace so many minor incidents, that, following earlier precedents, I have reduced the details into the more compact form of a tabular outline, instead of attempting to generalize the narrative of the consecutive events.

¹ "It is impossible to conclude the history of such a prince without regretting that so few materials remain for affording a view of the internal administration of his dominions. Many of his revenue regulations were retained or renewed by Akbar, and seem to have made a part of Todar-Mal's improved system of finance. But Shír Sháh was soon succeeded on the throne by a hostile family, whose partisans were not disposed to see any merit in the virtues of an enemy."—Erskine's Bákár, ii. 446. See also Elphinstone, pp. 457, 541.

Sir Henry Elliot was likewise strongly impressed with the value of Shír Sháh's reforms, regarding which we were quite in accord; and I have reason to believe he will be found to have collected much information on the subject during his patient investigations into this interesting portion of the history of India. These details will probably appear in the fourth volume of the Historians of India, now in course of publication under Professor Dowson's editorship.
OUTLINE OF SHIR SHAH'S CAREER.

934 1528 Shir Khan Jagirdar of Sahsaram (in Shahabad) is presented to Babur, and accompanies him in the expedition against Chanderi. Becomes prime minister to Jalal-ud-din Lohani, king of Bihar, who eventually, in fear of his own vassal, takes refuge with Nusrat Shah of Bengal. Shir Khan defeats Ibrahim Khan, the general of Nusrat Shah. Jalal-ud-din escapes from the field.

935 1529 Shir Khan submits to Sultan Mahmud Lodhi, who is proclaimed king of Bihar; but who, shortly afterwards, has to retire before the army of Babur, into Bengal. Shir Khan is meanwhile left in possession of his own Jagirs.

937 Shir Khan obtains possession of the Fort of Chunar.

938 Humayun makes terms with Shir Khan.

942 Shir Khan defeats Ulugh Mirza, plunders Benares, reduces Patna, and in 943 pushes his forces into Bengal and besieges Gour. Chunur surrenders to Humayun; Gour capitulates to Shir Khan; Syud Mahmud Shah seeks refuge with Humayun.

945 Temporary check to Humayun's advance at Terigarhi. Shir Khan acquires the Fort of Rhotas (lat. 24° 38', long. 82° 25') by treachery. Gour occupied by Humayun. Shir Khan, already in possession of the passes, takes Benares, proceeds against Jaumpur, and thus isolates Humayun in Bengal. Hindal Mirza revolts and proclaims himself Sultan at Agra. Shir Khan assumes the title of Shaah, or king of Bihar.

946 1539 Shir Shah circumvents Humayun at Chona (Chupar Ghat) on the Ganges; and after terms of peace had been settled, with true Afghan perfidy, he arranges a night attack upon Humayun's camp, and totally destroys his army, the Sultan himself escaping with the greatest difficulty. Shir Shah improves his advantage, renews the siege of Jaumpur, and occupies Kanauj.
Total defeat of Humayun at Kanauj. Shih Sháh occupies Agrah and Dehli, and subsequently the Panjáb. Humayun retreats to Bhakkar. Shih Sháh's expedition against the Ghakars in the Panjáb: he erects the new Fort of Rhotas (lat. 33°, long. 73° 20').

Reduces Málwhá; Rantambhór surrenders; Multán annexed.

Occupation of Ráisen, and treacherous destruction of the garrison after surrender.

Invasion of Márwár; engagement with Maldeo; submission of Chítor.

Siege of Kálinjár, and death of Shih Sháh in the trenches (12th Rabúl awwal).


Obverse—الله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—شیر شاہ السلطان خلیف الله ملکه


1 Shih Sháh's Mausoleum at Sahsaram, an edifice of note, is described as being
SHIR SHAH.

The reading of the place of mintage is uncertain, the letters alone being fairly legible; so that the city the die was designed to indicate may possibly have been Kuldunur.

No. 342. Gold. Weight, 166.4 grs. Round coin.

Square area.

لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله

Margins illegible.

No. 343. Silver. Weight, 163 grs. Unique.1 Col. Guthrie.

السلطان العادل الموبد بخليفة الرحمن فريد الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه 1636

Shir Shah's defeat of Humayun, at Chouza, dates 9th Safar, 946 A.H. (June, 1539 A.D.).2

"built in the middle of a great reservoir of water. The monument rises from the centre of the tank, which is about a mile in circumference, and bounded on each side by masonry; the descent to the water being by a flight of steps, now in ruins. The dome and the rest of the building is of a fine grey stone."—Hamilton's Hindostan, i. p. 281.

2 Erakine, ii. p. 178; Stewart's Bengal, p. 142.


Margin—The usual legend, comprising the names of the four associates, with their honorific titles.
No. 346. Silver. Weight, 176 grs. Shírgarh, (9)49 A.H.¹
(Prinsep collection.²)

Obverse—Square area, لا الله الا الله ۳۱۳۱۴۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰۳۱۴۰ۢ Margin—ابابکر الصديق عمر الفاروق عن طفان ذي النوريين ³
على المرتفع

Reverse—Square area, شیر شاه سلطان خلذ الله ملکه
Margin—sword sheaf. Sri Ser Sdih.

فرید الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر ضرب شیکده ²⁹

No. 347. Silver. Weight, 176 grs. Coins similar in legends to
No. 346. Struck at Gwalior, A.H. 951, 952.

The Hindí legend varies slightly in the orthography, and usually
runs جر جر جر.

¹ Shírgarh, i.e. Rhotas, the fortress situated on the table land, five miles by
four, on the left of the Son (lat. 24° 36', long. 84°), taken by stratagem from the
Hindí Rája by Shír Sháh (p. 393 ante), and converted into a refuge and place
of safety for his family and treasures during his wars with Humáyún.—Kin-i
Akbari, ii. 32. See also Briggs's Ferishtah, ii. 114; Tiefenthaler, i. 309;
Buchanan, i. 434; Hamilton's Hindustán, i. 281; Erakine's Bābar and Humáyún,
ii. 147; Thornton's Gazetteer, and voce.

² The silver coin of a similar type to the above, described by Marston under
No. DOXXIX, as dated 946, is not so defined in the only specimen of the kind
in his cabinet in the British Museum. Marston was unable to detect the Hindí
inscription on the margin of the reverse of this medal, which, with the aid of a
better specimen, such as the specimen now described, is clearly recognisable.

Marston's No. DOXXXVII is seen from the original coin to have been struck at
Gwalior, and not at "Korah."

³ "Possessor of two lights," in reference to his marriage with
two daughters of the Prophet.
No. 348 (pl. v. fig. 179). Silver. Weight, 176 grs. (Also Marsden, DCCXXXIII.) No mint specified. A.H. 948, 949, 950.

Circular areas.

لا الله إلا الله

السليمان العادل

 Margin—

شیر شاه سلطان

خلد الله ملكه

وسلطانه

فرید الدين والدين—

Margin—

ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

900

Some of these coins, in addition to the exclusively Muslim devices, such as the Seal of Solomon, etc., have clearly defined outlines of Hindú Svastikas at the divisional gaps of the marginal legends, which may possibly connect them with the Málwah expedition of Shír Sháh.

No. 348a. The curious coin here engraved is inserted less on account of its historic importance than for the exemplification of the artistic model upon which some of the best specimens of the flowing style of Akbar’s early mintages were based.

No. 349. Variety of No. 348. Weight, 175.4 grains. Struck at Sharífábád, A.H. 949.

The name of شریف‌باد takes the place of the ordinary سلطانه on the obverse area. A second coin from the same mint, in the British Museum, is dated in 951 A.H.
SHIR SHAH.

The Afn-i Akbari notices Sharifabad as a Sirkár of Bengal, containing 26 Maháls, with an assessment of 2,24,88,750 dámas—5,62,213 rupees. The leading township in the list of Maháls is Burdwan (lat. 23° 12', long. 87° 56'; 75 miles N.W. of Calcutta).


No. 349a. The greater number of this class of coins are absolutely deficient in any record of the place of mintage. This may be due to a variety of causes—simple want of space in the general die arrangement of the legends, advised omissions of the names of localities of the case of money struck in movable camps, or the supposition of a more subtle motive, attributable to an intentional contrast between the quasi-home of Shir Khán at Sharifabad and his triumphant occupancy of Jahanpanah, "the asylum of the world," or Denví in its full significance, on the immediate expulsion of his Mughal adversaries.

No. 350. Silver. Weight, 169 grs. Unique. (My cabinet.)

Chunár, A.H. 949.

Circular areas.

لا الله إلا الله
شیر شاه السلطان

محمد رسول الله
خلد الله ملكه

وسلطانه
 Margin—

ابن الكثير الصديق
 Margin— فريد الدنيا والدين

امير الخطب عثمان الفاروق
 Margin—

علي المرتقص السلطان العادل


1 There need be no reserve in admitting that the which occurs at the conclusion of the Sultán's titles (after the ) in exceptional cases, has hitherto been read as part and parcel of the honorific designations of the monarch himself, instead of, what parallel examples now sufficiently prove it to be, the abrupt and irregular insertion of the name of the mint.
Shír Khán seems to have acquired the important Fort of Chunár as early as 937 A.H. It originally passed into his hands on his marriage with Lád Malek, the widow of Táj Khán Sárangkhání, who held the stronghold for Sultán Ibráhím Lódi, and subsequently for the Emperor Bábár.¹ On Sultán Mahmúd Lódi’s defeat by Humáyún, in 937 A.H., Shír Khán, after basely deserting the former, temporized with the latter, and succeeded in retaining possession until 938 A.H., when Humáyún conceded to him the title to Chunár and his other fiefs.

No. 351. Silver. Weight, 175·2 grs. (Marsden, docxxx.)

Mints generally unrecorded; but two specimens in the British Museum have the name of Sharífábad inserted in the field after ملكه (946, 947). A.H. 946, 947, 948 (four specimens), 951, and 952.

Square areas.

لا الله إلا الله
محمد رسول الله
السلطان العادل

شیر شاه السلطان
خلد الله ملكه ۹۴۶

बो बेर साही
Margin—
فرید الدنيا والدين ابن المظفر

Margin—
ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي—

NB. In some cases where space admits is added after ملكه.

¹ History of India, Bábár and Humáyún, Erakine, ii. pp. 131, 134; Stewart’s Bengal, p. 120; Bábár’s Memoirs, by Leyden and W. Erakine (London, 1826), pp. 405, 407, 408.

² Marsden’s own published coin, No. docxxx, has the name of the mint fully and freely legible on its surface, though he himself did not detect it.
SHIR SHAH.

Square areas.

The Kalimah.

Margin—The names and titles of the four companions.


Bhánpúra (lat. 24° 30', long. 76° 45').

Legends generally as in No. 352, but the Persian letters are very crudely though clearly formed, and the Hindi name is even less definitely expressed. The conclusion of the obverse marginal record seems to run "Struck at Bhánpúr, San. 950," the figures following-on at the top of the square area. The doubtful sentence might possibly be read as "Struck Shāh Jahanpur, but Bhánpúr seems to be the preferable rendering.

\(^1\) The strong fortress of Rantambhor, in the province of Ajmir (lat. 76° 23', long. 26° 1'), 75 miles S.E. of Jaipur, surrendered to Shir Sháh in A.H. 949 = A.D. 1542 (Erskine, ii. 432), and, with its dependencies, was assigned as a Jāgir to 'Adil Khán, the eldest son of the Sultán (iii. 439). Sirkár "Rhintenpoor" is stated, in the Kín-i Akbari, to have contained 83 mahála, measuring in all 60,24,196 bigāhs, with a revenue of 8,98,65,876 dánas (or 22,91,614 rupees).—

28

Square areas.

لا الله إلا الله
محمد رسول الله
غرب كالبي

Margin—Names and honorific titles of the four companions.


This half piece, with its demi-proportion, brings the normal and official weight of the full rupee up to 176, out of the theoretical 178 grains.


Obverse—في عهد الأمير العامي الدين الدنان

Abu al-mustafir shah Sultan Khuld Allah Malikha

Reverse—

No. 356 (pl. v. fig. 185). Copper. Weight, 315 grs.

Aagrah, A.H. 950 (or 951 ?).

Obverse—Area, في عهد الأمير العامي

السلطان العادل فريد الدين و الدين

Reverse—Area, شير شاه سلطان غرب أك coh

Margin, Abu al-mustafir Khuld Allah

Gladwin's Aīn-i Akbari, iii. 78. See also Rennell, p. 232; Tr. R.A.S. i. p. 143; Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1837, p. 937; Ferishtah, i. p. 301, etc.; Tod's Rājasthān, ii. p. 147.
No. 357. Copper. Highest (exceptional) weight, 329 gra.¹
Hissár, A.H. 950.

*Obverse—Square area,*

Margin, خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه

*Reverse—Square area,*

Margin, ***الله ءی ***

No. 358. Similar coins, varying in the minor details of the legends.

- Gwálior, A.H. 950, 951, 952. (Highest weight, 312.5 gra.)
- Narnól,² A.H. 948, 950, 951. (Highest weight, 322 gra.)
- Shírgarh, A.H. 950, 951. (Highest weight, 314 gra.)
- Bímá, A.H. 951. (Highest weight, 315 gra.)
- Kálpt, A.H. 949. (Highest weight, 311 gra.)

Note on Shír Sháh's Coins.

Shír Sháh's reign constitutes an important test-point in the annals of Indian coinages, not only in its specific mint reforms, but as correcting the progressive deteriorations of previous kings, and as introducing many of those improvements which the succeeding Mughals claimed as their own. Though it is to be conceded that their occupation of Hindústán was followed by marked elaboration in the artistic developments of the local mints—due either to the more cultivated taste of the northern sovereigns, or to the superior excellence of their foreign workmen; still, associated with these mechanical ameliorations, no effort seems to have been made

¹ Average weight of four specimens, 316 grains.
² Narnól was celebrated for its copper mines and mints. See infra, p. 416.
by these Chaghatáí kings to assimilate their system of coinage to the wants of their new subjects. The intention, in this regard, appears rather to have been to force upon the conquered country the style of coin and scheme of exchange in use in the distant kingdoms whence the invaders came. This exotic system, owing, however, to causes other than any default of its own, was doomed to be but short-lived, inasmuch as Shír Sháh soon sat in the place of Humáyún; and, with the advantages of his individual local experience and clear administrative capacity, quickly reconstructed the currency upon the most comprehensive basis; and when this operation is followed out into its nicer shades, we are satisfied that as the abundance of his coins now extant attests the magnitude and settled nature of his power, so do the numerous geographical records they display assure us of the unusual completeness of his subjects' recognition of his sway.

Foremost among Shír Sháh's monetary improvements stands the supercession of the use of the time-honoured, though most indeterminate, admixture of silver and copper, and the employment in lieu thereof of avowedly simple metals—a cursory glance at any cabinet of the coins of the later Pathán monarchs will satisfy the inquirer of the interminable abuses a coinage composed of mixed metals of unequal value was subject to under the administration of careless workmen, unscrupulous rulers, and seldom severely honest mint officials; were there no other object in view, this motive alone would suffice to prove the policy of the changes introduced.

The authoritative remodelling of the coinage effected at this period appears from internal evidence to have been accompanied by a revision and readjustment of the relative values of the lower metals of silver and copper.
There are no data to show at what exact rate silver exchanged against gold in the time of Shír Sháh; but we have been able approximately to determine the ratio in 725 A.H. as 7 or 8 to 1 (p. 235 ante); and Akbar's official enumeration of the weights and relative values of his gold and silver coins demonstrates, beyond a doubt, that silver in his day stood to gold as 9·4 to 1.

Abúl Fazl's casual allusion to certain additional details of Shír Sháh's coin system, in illustration of that adopted by his own master, throws much light on our present inquiry, and with the aid of the test the coins themselves supply, permits of our forming a fairly approximate idea of the ruling scale of the more common monetary exchanges.

I have previously assumed, from existing specimens of the silver money of Shír Sháh, that the original mint standard of these pieces was calculated at an average weight of 178 grains, if not more. Abúl Fazl's statement on the point, scrutinized more critically than heretofore, affords a singularly close confirmation of this inference. I find it recorded in no less than four excellent copies of the original Persian Aín-i Akbari, that the rupee of Akbar, which was avowedly based upon that of Shír Sháh, weighed 11½ máshas; the same weight (expressed in distinct words) is assigned in these MSS. to Akbar's Jaláli, which is confessedly identical in value with the former. I mention this prominently, as Gladwin in his translation (i. pp. 34, 87, etc.) has given 11½ máshas as the weight of these two coins; and Prinsep (Useful Tables, p. 19), in accepting Gladwin's figures, was led to place the weight of the old rupee at nearly four grains below its true standard.¹

¹ Aín-i Akbari, Calcutta edition, 4to., 1783. I take this opportunity of noticing some further errors of Gladwin's original MSS. in connexion with this
There is some doubt as to the precise weight we have to allow to the másha, which varied considerably in different parts of India. Prinsep has determined the Dehli másha to be 15·5 grains (Useful Tables, pp. 19, 20); and admitting this estimate, the result shows that Shír Sháh’s rupee ought to have weighed 178·25 grains of what was esteemed pure silver.

The assignment of 15·5 grains to the Shír Sháhi másha is equally well borne out in the test afforded by Akbar’s own coins. In order to avoid the very probable error of mistaking the identical class, among three but little varying denominations of the gold coinage, to which any given specimen within our reach should belong, I confine my reference to the silver money of Akbar, which, though differing in its various mintages, in types and legends, was preserved intact, uniform in weight and value. Marsden has contributed an example (No. dccoxxiv.) of a square Jaláli of this Pádaháh weighing 176·5 grains. Had the official tolah at this time been fixed at 180 grains, this coin would virtually contain four grains more than the law required; as it is, even allowing for wear, it shows a return of 15·3 grains to each of the 11½ máshas of 15·5 grains, which should, under the higher scale of weights, originally have constituted its specific total on issue from the mint.

The adoption of this 15·5 grain másha, as a standard, necessitates a concurrent recognition of a proportionately increased weight in the tolah as then in use; we can scarcely suppose the twelve máshas composing the tolah to have aggregated 186 grains, while the tolah itself remained at the 180 grains modern usage has assigned to it. We have fortunately at

subject—i. p. 31, under Jaláhi, “for 12 máshas 13½ rupees,” read “12 máshas 14½ rupees;” and for “is in value 12 rupees,” read “10 rupees.” At p. 37, line 10, for “12½ máshas,” read “11½ máshas.”
hand a second means of proving the question in the ultimate
determination of the intrinsic contents of the pieces constitu-
tuting the lower currency of the period, and the result will
be found to show sufficient confirmation of the theory which
has already placed the másha of Shir Sháh at 15·5 and the
tolah at 186 grains troy. Forty dáms of copper, we are told,
were in Akbar's time equivalent in account, and ordinarily
in actual exchange,¹ to one rupee; and the dám of copper
is itself defined at five tanka, or one tolah eight máshas and
seven ratis in weight. The measure of value thus specified is
likewise distinctly stated to have been a continuation of a
previously existing species of money, which, at the moment
when Abúl Fazl wrote, went by the name of dám. There
can be but little hesitation in admitting, almost primum facie
on the evidence available, that the copper pieces classed
under Nos. 355, 358, were the identical coins of Shir Sháh,
to which the succeeding dáms of Akbar were assimilated;
or, in other words, that they were in weight and value
(whatever their name) the dáms of the Afghán Sultán. It is
a nicer point to determine the precise contents in grains
attending the professed mint issue of these coins; but first
taking the figures now proposed for máshas and tolahs, we
obtain from one tolah eight máshas and seven ratis, at 186
grains per tolah, a sum of 323·5625 grains; and then testing
this return of the actual present weight of extant coins, we
obtain a very reasonably close approximation to our figured
result. It is true that the general average of the various
existing provincial coins of this class, minted during the
reigns of Shir Sháh and his Afghán successors, would neces-
sarily run somewhat below the rate of 323·5 grains; but we
have to allow a considerable per-cent age for loss by wear

¹ See above, p. 366.
in such heavy coins, composed, as they were, of copper, which metal would always continue more freely current, and consequently suffer far more from the abrasion incident to frequent transfers, than the more carefully guarded and less readily exchanged silver or gold. However we may, without claiming too much margin on these grounds, fairly consider ourselves within the mark in identifying the general series of coins under review as having originally an intentional standard of 323·5 grains, inasmuch as we can at this time produce several specimens of the coinage weighing 322 grains, and in one instance, of a Hissár coin, we can reckon no less than the large overplus of 329 grains. Added to this, we have the indirect evidence of Ferishtah that in his day there was a pasa! (or fixed weight?) which was rated at 1½ tolae, which, at 186 grains the tolah, gives the close though higher return of 324·5 grains.

At the same time, it would be impossible to reduce per contra the coins which furnish our means of trial to anything like so low a general average as would admit of 314 grains (or the produce of the simple 180 grains tolah) being accepted as the normal issue weight.

The later and more ample investigations which have suggested themselves during the progress of this enlarged work on "The Chronicles of the Pathán Kings of Dehli," bear out, in a remarkable manner, the accuracy of the results previously obtained from Shír Sháh's extant coins. Now that we have ascertained the precise application of the term tank, as distinguished from tankah or any other misleading association, we are able to check the return obtained from the definition of the weight of the dám as one tolah eight máshas and seven ratte (which produces a total of 323·5625 grains); by the second estimate of five
tanka, a weight which Bābar himself defines as 32 ratis\(^1\) [or 56 grains], and which crops up under the palpable and tangible form of the medieval representatives of the old purāṇa in the present series (Nos. 102, 108, 118, \textit{et seq.}). This latter calculation produced a return of 280 grains (56 × 5), which proved to be the exact amount required to constitute the old paisa, forty of which went to the 175 grain silver tankah, giving a grand total of 11,200 grains of copper to 175 of silver, or at the exchange rate of the two metals of 64 to 1.

We need not subject the old copper tank to any tests or trials by the new copper standard, as the value of that metal in reference to silver was avowedly altered from the rate obtaining when the coined tank or purāṇa first constituted the secondary authoritative and corrective measure. And here we are forced to encounter another supposed difficulty: we have seen that allowance had to be made for the increased weight of the māsha consequent upon the advance on the rate of the tolah and rupee; but the question of the rati did not form part of the then leading argument, but by parity of reasoning, this weight must equally have felt the change, and hence we find that as the old rati of the early Patháns stood at 1·75 grains, so the revised rati under Shír Sháh and Akbar rose to 1·9375 grains (186 ḍām); or by the ḍām test, 323·5625 ÷ 167 [the number of ratis in a ḍām] to 1·9375,—a solution which will reconcile the difficulty heretofore experienced in the admission of the correctness of my independently devised estimate of the weight of the ancient rati.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Page 223 \textit{ant.}.

\(^2\) Gen. Cunningham (\textit{Jour. As. Soc. Bengal}, 1866, p. 46), proposed to correct my estimate of 1·75 into 1·8229, making the eighty ratis, which is rather a
The exchange rate of copper and silver in Shír Sháh’s time would appear from these returns to have ranged at something over 72:6 to 1 (178.25 ÷ 1294.25 [i.e. 323.5625 × 40] = 72.60).\(^1\)

**THIRTY-SEVENTH KING (A.H. 952-960; A.D. 1545-1552).**

'Adil Khán, the eldest son, had been nominated as the successor to the throne of Shír Sháh. Jalál Khán, the younger brother, however, taking advantage of his absence from the capital at the time of the death of their father, assumed the imperial dignity under the title of Isláم Sháh; and not long afterwards, 'Adil Khán made a formal resignation of his birthright, and saluted Islám Sháh as Sultán, simultaneously accepting, for his own portion, the Jâqîr of Bîána. Eventually, seeing cause to distrust the good faith of his brother, 'Adil fled to Méwat, and went into open revolt. This futile effort was quickly crushed by the Sultán, and 'Adil took standard weight, equal to 146.833 grains. This calculation is reproduced, and the inference reiterated by the General in his article, “On the Indian Prince Sophytes,” in the Numismatic Chronicle (October, 1886, p. 230); and he further extends his comparisons to the ancient punch-marked thirty-two rati parímanas, two (exceptional) specimens of which he has found to weigh as much as 56.5 grains each, marking an excess of half a grain upon my extreme limit. I should not be disposed to allow this fact to disturb my previous determination of the standard of 56 grains, as the accretion of the half grain in such rare instances might be due to many extraneous causes; indeed, I should rather argue from the General’s own data, the result of which he specifies as “out of 186 specimens,” ten only weighed “above 56 grains,” that my maximum of 56 was preferable to his of 58. Mr. N. S. Maskeleyne estimated the ratio of Bábár’s time at 1:862—1:80, the basis of his calculations being Humáyún’s diamond.—J.R.A.S. 1886, p. 152.

\(^1\) Col. W. Anderson made his return 70:1.—Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 22. He seems, however, to have worked out his totals from the mere text of the Afín-i Akbari, without the all-important check of coin weights.
refuge in Bihár, where all traces of his eventual fate are lost. This outbreak was followed by a rebellion in the Punjáb, under 'Azim Humáyún, which was for the time subdued by the defeat of the insurgents. The rest of the reign of Islám was disturbed by repeated insurrections, and during this period he had to reckon no less than three remarkable escapes from assassination. He died in 960 A.H.


Obverse—Square area, الله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Margin, ابابكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان العون علي المرتضى

Abábákír the true, 'Umar the discerning, 'Usmán the defender, 'Alí the chosen.

Reverse—Area, اسلام شاه ابن شيرشاه سلطان خلدر الله ملكه ١٠٥٩

बी ईस्लाम साहि

Margin, १७७४

ジェラル الدنيا والدين ابن الامام السلطان العادل

1 The "The defender," "patron," also "servant," is a somewhat doubtful reading, as on many coins there seems to be a dot over the third letter, making it الفون. Maraden has given this word as الفون, but the best cut specimens of Islám's mintage display the medial ﺖ or ﺚ in its perfect shape. The proper word is المفان. Islám's coins are very dubious in their orthography in other respects, the ابن being frequently written ابن, and the شاهí Sháhi being used indiscriminately with شاهí Sháhi.

The same uncertain method of expressing the Devanágari equivalent of the Persian name of شیر شاه Shír Sháh is also to be seen in its full defects on the coins of that prince.
The Coins of

No. 360. Marsden, Docxlii.

Varieties—Agra, 952.

" Gwâlior, 952, (953), 957.
" Satgâon, 951, 952, 953.
" Shaâk-i Bakar, 953, 959.
" Other dates, 956, 958, 960.

Square areas.

لا الله الا الله
محمد رسول الله
903

Seal of Solomon.

Margin—The names and titles
of the four companions.

اسلام شاه ابن
شير شاه سلطان
خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه

Margin—Jalal al-dîn wa dînya—
ابو المظفر ضرب سكنتنو

Some examples vary the Hindi orthography of the name of Islam to

sveejam sveejam sah etc.

No. 360a. A half piece of this type. Weight, 84.5 grs.

No. 361. Silver. Weight, 171 grs. New variety. (My cabinet.)
Sharísâbâd, a.h. 953.

Circular areas.

اسلام شاه سلطان
ابن شیر شاه
سلطان خلد
الله ملكه

Margin—Jalal al-dîn wa dînya—
المظفر (ضرع) شريف واد 950

The Kalimah.

Margin—Abubekr عمر عثمان—
علي السلطان العادل

اسلام شاه سلطان
ابن شیر شاه
سلطان خلد
الله ملكه
No. 361a. Similar coin, without any mint record. Dated 952 A.H.


Obverse—The Kalimah.

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

Reverse—Asma'a Allah Ul-Malik


Obverse—Fi 'l-mawā'id al-mukhāmil al-insan al-nāṣih

Reverse—Abu al-malik 'Alam al-Abbās b. Sh. al-Sultan Khud al-Malik

No. 364. Copper. Weight, 38 grs.

Obverse—Asma'a Sh. al-Sultan

Reverse—Khilaf al-zaman al-adil


U. Inscription of the time of Ila'm Shíh, A.H. 952, on Ima'd ul Malik's Well at Dehli.

Bismillah al-Rahman al-Rahim. In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

Asma'a Sh. al-Sultan Khud al-Malik wa-sultan 'e. Ya kiran wajah

Jahat tabī' Khayrul Rasul al-malik Madad al-malik urdu khayyaj

'Abdullah al-azz ar-Risali. Bada' malik hajrat dehlī, inn-sin anī wa

Nos. 85 and 61, Syed Ahmad's Asār-us-Sunnad. Khamsin wa-Tusuyā.
V. Second Inscription of the time of Islam Shah, A.H. 958, on 'Imad ul Malik's Edoli at Dehli.

There is also a short inscription, dated, in Persian, A.H. 954, on 'Issa Khan's Makbara.—Syud Ahmad's Asar-us-Sunnadeed.

The public buildings, for which Islam Shah's reign is remarkable, are the Fort of Selim Gurch, marked B on the accompanying plan of Dehli, and the extensive fortress of Mankot or Manghar (32° 37' N. 74° 55' E.), 76 miles N. of Amritsar.

THIRTY-EIGHTH, THIRTY-NINTH, AND FORTIETH KINGS.

The historical events of the reigns of the three kings, who represent the obscuration of the Pathan dynasty of Dehli, are so interwoven with one another that it may be convenient to notice them in concert. On Islam Shah's death, his son, Firuz Khan, a boy of twelve years of age, was for the moment elevated to the throne of his father, only to be quickly disposed of by Mubarak Khan, a nephew of Shir Shah, who thereupon usurped the sovereignty under the title of Muhammad 'Adil Shah. Equally infamous and ignorant, the self-elected Sultán entrusted the direction of his kingdom
to one Hímú (a Hindú, accused by his enemies of having once been a shopkeeper); fortunately, the individual thus selected was as capable, as he subsequently proved himself true, and for the time he loyally upheld the fortunes of the monarch he served. The Sultán’s singular tendency to resume Jágirs and other governmental estates from the parties in possession, and to transfer them to new nominees, apparently without any further object than to show his power so to do, led to an attack upon his person in open Darbár, from which a hasty and undignified flight but narrowly saved him. In 961 A.H., so serious a rebellion was organized that the monarch was obliged to march against the insurgents in person, when he attacked and routed them near Chunár. Shortly after this, Ibráhím Súr, ’Adil’s cousin and brother-in-law, revolted, and obtained possession of Dehli and Agrah, obliging ’Adil Sháh to confine himself to the eastern portions of his dominions. No sooner, however, had Ibráhím seated himself on his newly-erected throne, than another competitor started up in the person of Ahmad, a nephew of Shír Sháh, who, under the designation of Sikandár Sháh, assumed royal honours, and defeating Ibráhím, succeeded to the rulership of his lately-acquired territories. In the mean time, Muhammad Khán Gúria, governor of Bengal, disavowed allegiance to Muhammad ’Adil, but was eventually vanquished and slain by Hímú. Prior to this last action, Humáyún, operating in another direction, had repossessed himself of Agrah and Dehli, and thus, in acquiring Sikandár’s provinces, found himself in direct antagonism with Muhammad ’Adil. Hímú, hearing of the death of Humáyún, which occurred about this time, and leaving his master in safety at Chunár, advanced upon Agrah, which he entered unopposed, and thence proceeded to Dehli, where he overcame Tirdí Beg,
the Mughal governor. He next prepared for a march on Láhor, but was met on the plain of Paniput by Bahrám, the guardian of the young prince Akbar, and defeated and slain, after a display of considerable valour. 'Adil Sháh continued to reign in his eastern dominions till he was killed, in 964 A.H., in an encounter with Bahádúr Sháh, a pretender to the throne of Bengal.

**MUHAMMAD 'ADIL.**

No. 365 (pl. v. fig. 194). Silver. Weight, 174 grs. Rare.
A.H. 961, 963. One specimen struck at Narnól.¹

*Obverse—* Square area, لا الله إله محمد رسول الله

*Reverse—* Square area, محمد عادل شاه سلطان خالد الله ملكه 911

बी महमद सह Sri Mahamad Sah.

Margins illegible.

No. 366. Copper. Weight, 322 grs. Rare.
A.H. 961, 962, 963, 964.

*Obverse—* أبو المظفر محمد شاه سلطان خلدة الله ملكه

*Reverse—* في عهد الأمير الحامي الدين الدنان 911

No. 367. Copper. Similar coins struck at Gwálior.
A.H. 961, 962, 963, 964.

**IBRAHIM SUR.**

No. 368. Copper. Damaged coin. Mr. Freeling's cabinet.

*Obverse—* * * *

*Reverse—* ضرب بحضرت * 911

¹ Narnól is a district N.W. of Agra, and in Akbar's time comprised seventeen *mahdís*, with an area of 20,80,046 *bighas*. The capital is situated "in lat 28° 5' N., long. 76° 52' E., 86 miles S.W. from the city of Dehli. It is a place of considerable antiquity, but now greatly reduced in size." Ábdul Fazzi mentions that this *mahdí* was celebrated for its copper mines, and mints were established in various localities for the immediate production of coin.—Kin-i-Akbari, ii. 48, and iii. 48; Hamilton's Hindústán, i. 401; and p. 403 ante.
SIKANDAR SHAH.


Obverse—Square area, لا الله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Reverse—سلطان سکندر شاه دور * * * ۱۳۱۹

Margins illegible.


Obverse—سلطان سکندر

Reverse—سکندر شاه سلطانی

The subjoined coin is somewhat out of place in the present series, which professes to limit itself to purely Pathán times; but the design of the piece identifies itself curiously with the prior mintsages of Shír Sháh and the succeeding types accepted by Akbar. (Stewart's Bengal, p. 147.)

JALAL SHAH OF BENGAL.


Square areas.

سلطان جلالدین

لا الله الا الله

محمد شاه غازی

محمد رسول الله

خلد الله ملکه ۱۳۱۸

کی بہاہ شاهی

ابابکر صدیق عمر

خاطب عثمان عفان علي

Margin—

ابو المظفر نسب جاجپور

Margin—

27
AKBAR'S COINAGE.

I do not propose to include in the pages of this work any extended notice of the coins of Akbar, but there are many details in the practical working of his mints, of which we have an unusually full and complete record, under the hand of his minister, Abúl Fazl, that specially illustrate the antecedent developments of the coinages of his predecessors. His fiscal theories, whether in the elaboration of pure revenue accounts, or the subordinate adjustments of scales and weights, confessedly followed local standards, and, as such, may be said essentially to belong to the prior period. As bearing upon this transitional epoch, four points of interest present themselves—I. The remodelled and reconstructed coinage itself, with its singularly complicated adaptations to minor and pre-existent subdivisions of the currency. II. The more general question of the relative values of the precious metals at the moment, which forms a curious item in the exchanges of the Eastern world. III. The very complete scheme of Seigniorage in recognized operation as between the State and the bullion merchant. IV. The geographical distribution of the provincial mints, which necessarily followed, in more or less completeness, the ancient traditions of the land.

I. COINS OF AKBAR.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tolaha, Mashaq, Ratis.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Sikhsah** . . . 101 9 7 = 100 l'al Jalalimuhara at 10 rupees each = 1,000 rupees, or 40,000 adms.
NAME.  WEIGHT.  VALUE.

Tolaha, Mashas, Rattas.

2. Smaller variety of No. 1.  91 8 0 = 100 round mubars at 11 masha of gold or 9 rupees each = 900 rupees or 36,000 dams.

3. رهس  راکس  = \(\frac{1}{4}\) of Nos. 1 or 2, as their individual contents may indicate.

4. آئنه  اسماء  = \(\frac{1}{4}\) of No. 1.

5. بنست  بینسات  = \(\frac{1}{4}\) of No. 1. Similar coins, officially declared of the lower values of \(\frac{1}{10}\), \(\frac{1}{8}\), \(\frac{1}{5}\), and \(\frac{1}{3}\) of No. 1.

6. جهانگوش  چهارگوش  (i.e. square).  9 5\(\frac{1}{2}\) = 30 rupees. Stated in the text to be \(\frac{1}{10}\) of No. 1, but seemingly nearer the proportion of \(\frac{1}{12}\).

7. جغول  چغول  2 9 0 = 3 round mubars (No. 10), at 9 rupees each = 27 rupees. Recorded in the official summary as \(\frac{1}{9}\) of No. 2, though in actual value more like the previous fraction of \(\frac{1}{12}\).

8. الامي  الامي  1 2 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) = 12 rupees.

9. اندازي  اضلاعی  12 1\(\frac{1}{2}\) = 10 rupees. The square L'al Jalali is stated to be identical in weight and value. (The standard equivalent of 400 dams.)
The extra weight beyond that allowed in the new coin, No. 9, is probably due to the lower degree of fineness of the gold, which was confessedly less pure, quoed its metal, than the new coins issued from Akbar's better organized mints.

Most of these latter coins have minor subdivisions of ¼, ½, ¾, ⅞, ⅞.

Marsden has several gold coins weighing as much as 168 grains, which may be supposed to correspond with the *round mukar*, No. 10, whose full issue weight would have been (15½ x 11) = 170.5 grains. Among the rest, he has a *Mihrdib*, No. DCCCXVII., 166½ grains. And there are pieces, Nos. DCCCXVIII. and DCCCXIX., of 187.5 grains, and No. DCCCXXVI. of 188.0 grains, which are all very close upon the weight required for No. 9.

---

1 Calcutta text, p. 27; Gladwin, i. 37; Blochmann, p. 32. There is some obscurity in this passage. Gladwin's text gave a weight of 1.0.13½. My Dehli MSS. all concur in the figures 1.0.12½, and accord with the weight adopted in the Calcutta text. Under these circumstances, the translation of the context as "of the greatest degree of fineness," or "quite pure," must be modified to suit the facts. The original passage runs in my Dehli MSS.—

اول لمل جلالی و آن
بکریمی نام رشناص * وزن یک تویله یبت سرخ و سه ربع و عیار یبت (بکمال) نیم سه میلیمتر چهار صد دام

2 Also called under other forms, *Mihrdib* and *M'win*. 
AKBAR.

SILVER.

Robe. Rupee (round) = 11 māshas 4 ratis.

Jalal (square) = 11 māshas 4 ratis.

Subdivisions—Darb, \( \frac{1}{4} \); Charn, \( \frac{1}{5} \); Pāndu, \( \frac{1}{6} \); Asht, \( \frac{1}{8} \); Dasa, \( \frac{1}{10} \); Kāl, \( \frac{1}{10} \); Sākā, \( \frac{1}{10} \).

The old Akbar Shāhi round rupee was estimated at 39 dāms. The above coins were the revised representatives of 40 dāms.

COFFER.

Dām = 1 tolah 8 māshas 7 ratis, or about 323.5625 grains of copper (estimating the rati at 1.9875 grains).

Adhēlah = half a dām.

Pāulah = a quarter of a dām.

Damri = one-eighth of a dām.

The numismatic world in Europe was greatly excited a short time ago by the discovery of a Bactrian coin of Eukratides (B.C. 185), in gold, of the unusual weight of 2593.5 grains.

Inscription.

Obverse—Date.

Revers—Date.

1 To show how completely the dāms was understood to form the unit or standard in all exchanges, it may be noticed, in addition to the theoretical evidence quoted above, as to the adjustment of the coinage in the higher metals to the more comprehensive totals in dāms, that, practically, the dāms was the ready money of prince and peasant. Abul Faiz relates that a krorof dāms was kept ready for gifts, etc., within the palace, "every thousand of which is kept in bags." Bernier mentions the continuation, even to Aurangzēb's time, of the same custom of having bags of 1000 dāms ready for distribution. His words are—"et leur fait donner sur l'heure un sac de Peyssas, ce qui vient à environ cinquante francs" (ii. p. 65).

2 This piece is highly finished in some of its artistic details, but is crude and imperfect in other respects. The difficulty of driving the high relief of the obverse die home is curiously illustrated by the palpable reappearance of that die, and a second resort to the hammer; but, in the process, the reverse die, which was less deep in its engraved surface, had been disregarded and shifted half way round, so that the second impression nearly obliterates the first, but still the former has left traces, in the texture of the gold, of the previous impact. The
grains, constituting, in the Greek scheme, a *twenty-stater piece*, or ¼ *talent*. Is it curious that the Greeks should so early have adapted themselves to Eastern notions of bullion and ingots, although they reduced the crude lump of metal to the classic form in which it now exists. This numismatic precedent introduces us appropriately to the massive medals of Akbar's mints. There was an idea abroad at one time that these Sihansah *coins* were merely occasional pieces, struck more for vanity sake than for real utility; but the number of specimens found ready prepared amid Akbar's reserved treasures,¹ and the continuity of their issue by succeeding
card presented no particular novelty, such as should enhance its value to a numismatist, except its weight, as the type of the helmeted head of the king and the Dioscuri reverse were sufficiently common. The coin is now in the Bibliothèque in Paris. See M. Chaboulet, Revue Numismatique, 1867, p. 382; Gen. Cunningham, Numismatic Chronicle, 1869, p. 220; Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. iii. figs. 1–3; Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. 186, etc.

¹ ً علي ده كور روبه و هزار كور لعل خاصة كه پادشاه بدست
خورد جدا كره برد ده من بخته طالب غير مسکوت و هفتاد من بخته
نفرة غير مسکوت و شست من بخته بول سیاه و یانجهز كور تنکه
—Ferishta, Bombay Lithographed Persian text, i. p. 517.

That is to say—α. 10,000,00,000 *Alai* rupees (Nos. 132–134, *supra*).
" "  " δ. 1,000,00,000. *Special* gold Muhars (or square L'al Jalalis, No. 9 of Akbar's own coins).
" "  "  " ρ. 10 mans of uncoined gold.
" "  "  " σ. 70 " " " silver.
" "  "  " ε. 60 " " " copper.
" "  "  " χ. 5,000,00,00,000 *tankas* (? copper).

Briggs's translation (ii. p. 281) varies some of these items; for instance, δ is given as 1 kror only, and is associated with the *Aldi* of the opening sentence.

Khâfi Khân's enumeration, in the Muntakhab al Lubâb, is as follows:

و وقت وقت نگات أو كه عرض خزانه كرفتند سواي اشرفيهای کل که
ایم توله تا پانصد توله هزار اشرفي در خزانه موجود بود و ده كور
kings,¹ seems to indicate that they were consistently designed to serve for the purposes of larger payments, such as our civilized age recognizes in one hundred pound notes, etc. Moreover, there was clearly a great temptation to the production of such single pieces when the State or the Sovereign himself, as will presently be shown, could realize the seigniorage of 5½ per cent., or from £5 10s. to £27 10s., by each application of the royal dies.

¹ Calcutta Persian text, i. p. 243. The printed Persian text is obscure. The MS. of the Royal As. Soc., No. 77, xvii., slightly improves the run of the sentence.

a. No definite specification is given, except the general reference to Gold Muhars of three varying standards (8, 9, 10, Akbar's series? whose weights are erroneously given as 11, 13, and 14 mukhas), and an allusion to the massive gold pieces of 100 toliks and upwards to 500 toliks.

b. 10,00,00,000 rupees.

c. 272 mans crude gold.

d. 370 " " silver.

g. 1 mans of selected jewels, valued at 3,00,00,000 rupees.

R. Hawkins also speaks of 20,000 gold pieces, of 1,000 rupees each, and 60,000 silver pieces of "Salim Sha of 100 Toles a piece," as existing in Jahangir's treasury.—Purchas i. 217.

¹ a. There is a gilt copper cast of a Gold Muhar of Sháh Jahán, dated Sháhjahánábád, 1064 A.H., in the Asiatic Society's Collection at the India Museum, measuring 5½ inches in diameter, and weighing in its representative metal 2 lbs. 1 os. 7 dr. The original gold medal itself is fully described by Richardsen, in his Persian Dictionary (edition 1829, p. 840), where it is stated to have weighed "above 70 ounces," being 4 inches in diameter, and "4 lines in thickness." In its legend it purports to represent a piece of 200 mukhas.—b. There is a silver medal at Dresden of Aurangzéb, minted at Sháhjahánábád in the tenth year of his reign, 4½ inches in diameter, which weighs 5 Saxon lbs. = 5·1645 lbs. English. "Kahr," "Aurankaib," Lípsia, 1726. See also Marden, pp. 641.

The Persian monarchs also issued large pieces in silver. Marden, No. DLVI., p. 466, gives a coin of Hussain Sháh (A.H. 1121) weighing 4,988 grains; and Princep has described a piece of the same monarch (A.H. 1118) weighing 844·3 grains.—Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1838, p. 416.
II. From this summary of the minted coins of Akbar, as distinguished from the fanciful interchanges of names and terms applied to one and the same piece or measure of value, which have needlessly puzzled modern commentators, we may pass to the higher consideration of ratios of gold and silver, as proved by the rate of exchange formulated for the two metals in the practical mechanical department of the mint, and simultaneously promulgated in official language as the accepted rate of exchange.

Abúl Fazl's copious and somewhat tedious statistics may be concentrated in their leading results as follows:

No. 1. The massive piece, the Sihansah, of the above table, in value 100 L'al Jaláis, gives a return of weight in gold of 7 tolahs 101, 8 mphas 9, ratio 7 = 1000 silver rupees: 18328:172,500 (172.5 x 100 x 10): 1:9:4118.

No. 2. The second or lower Sihasah, of 100 round muhare, produces a similar result. Weight in gold, tolahs 91, mphas 8 = 900 silver rupees: 16500:155250 (172.5 x 100 x 9): 1:9:409.

No. 6. Weight in gold, tolahs 3, mphas 0, ratio 5½ = 30 rupees of 11½ mphas each: 549:84:172.5 x 30 (5175.0): 1:9:4118.


No. 10. 'Adl Guţkah, or Round Muhar, also called Mihrábi. Weight in gold, 11 mphas = 9 rupees: 165:172.5 x 9 (1552.5): 1:9:40909.
These estimates are made upon the bases of the ordinary *tola* of 180 grains, the *mūsha* of 15 grains, and the *rati* of 1·875 grains. The question of corresponding values in the English or any other scale need not affect the parallel result.¹

¹ I gave more prominence to the above calculations, and even tested anew my earlier returns by the independent totals afforded by the larger sums originally omitted, because the obvious result of gold being to silver as one to 9·4, had been called in question by an official of the Calcutta mint (a Dr. Shekleton), who, however, while unable either to correct my data, or to produce any possible evidence against my conclusions, ventured to affirm that “9·4 to one is a relative value of gold to silver, which never could really have existed” (Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, 1864, p. 517). Nevertheless, here is a series of comparative weights and values, furnished by the highest authority of the day, and each and all producing returns absolutely identical up to the first place of decimals. My original estimates were sketched and published at Delhi, in 1861, where I had access to the best MSS., to the most comprehensive range of antiquarian relics, and at command the most intelligent oral testimony in the land. When reprinting Prinsep’s “Useful Tables,” I had occasion to quote these calculations, and was able to fortify them, had it been needed, by the precisely analogous results obtained by Colonel W. Anderson, who had tried Abūl Fazl’s figures, from MSS. pure and simple, without any disturbing difficulty about coins (Prinsep’s Useful Tables, London edition, vol. ii. p. 32). But if there were the faintest reason for doubting so moderate a rate as one to 9·4, the whole discussion might be set at rest by Abūl Fazl’s own statement as translated by Gladwin into English in 1783, when, in completing a very elaborate review of the profit and loss of refining gold, for the purpose of coinage, he concludes, and the process “leaves a remainder of about one-half a tola of gold, the value of which is four rupees” (i. p. 44).

Richard Hawkins, who was at Agrah in A.D. 1609–11, during the reign of Jahāngir, has left a notice of certain accumulated treasures of that prince which he was permitted to behold, and amongst the rest he specifies, “In primis, of Serafins Eoberi, which be ten rupias apiece.” To this passage is added, in a marginal note, that “a tole is a rupia challany [current] of silver, and ten of these toles are of the value of one of gold.” (Purchas i. 217.) This evidence might at first sight seem to militate against the conclusion arrived at from the official returns above summarized, but the value of gold was clearly on the rise, and one of the aims of Akbar’s legislation on metallic exchanges, which had necessarily been disturbed by progressive modifications in the relative values of the precious metals, was manifestly to secure an authoritative *ex mero* reckoning by tens and hundreds. The old round *mukhar* (No. 10 of the above list) represented the inconvenient sum of nine rupees, or 360 dimes. By raising the weight of the piece to the higher total
III. The next section of Akbar's mint organization, which I have now to notice, is the amply defined official recognition of the law of seigniorage. The following outline table gives the results of a very uniform and well understood royalty, or mint charge, of over 5½ per cent. upon the conversion of bullion into coin; and the Oriental craving after small profits is graphically confessed in the proviso that the State given under No. 9, the gold śātā was made equivalent to ten rupees, or in fiscal reckoning to 400 ḍāmes. Similarly, in the case of the silver coin, the old rupee passed for 29 ḍāmes; in the new currency, a value of 40 ḍāmes was secured, not by an increase of weight, but by the declared and doubtless achieved higher standard of the metal employed, aided by the advantage that contemporary mintages so readily secured in India.

The question of the relative values of gold and silver formed the subject of discussion at a subsequent meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (6th December, 1865), when Colonel Lees stated his objections to some of my inferences. As I understand, he freely admits the correctness of the figures given above to establish the rate of one to 9½; but he is disposed to distrust "calculations based upon mint regulations, during a period when the principle of a standard was but imperfectly understood even in Europe, and upon a unit of measure not accurately ascertained." I trust that the more ample details furnished in this volume will satisfy him that the Dehli mint authorities had arrived at very distinct notions of the comparative values of the precious metals, and had elaborated the details of exchanges with very considerable success, when the singular complications of previous currencies had to be taken into account. I have already seen and corrected the error of my first interpretation of Ibn Batutah's text; and as regards Gladwin's translation of the passage above quoted, "which leaves a remainder," etc., I have not the slightest wish to uphold it in the face of a more full and rigorous interpretation of the special text; but ordinarily, a linguist of good repute, who has translated so big a book as the Kin-i Akbari, arrives at a pretty fair conception of the meaning of his author! I myself had no reserve in correcting Gladwin's figures; but in his simple reproduction of Indian phrases, I was quite content to follow such an authority without a critical re-examination of his Persian version. The argument about the half tola, however, is as unimportant at the present moment as the now rectified passage of Ibn Batutah, the value of whose statements on the subject of local money has altogether been superseded by the more exact details contributed by the Masālik al Abār, pp. 238, supra. I see that Sir T. Roe, incidentally speaking of the weight of Jahangir, specifies it as 9,000 rupees, or £1,000 sterling.
should benefit for the amount of interest the merchant might possibly have had to pay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outlay by merchants in current coin, for crude metal.</th>
<th>Total Mint return after refining.</th>
<th>Merchants' return, with fractional profit.</th>
<th>State seigniorage.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100 L'al Jálali Gold Muhars a. 105 39 25 0</td>
<td>M. 100 12 37 3½</td>
<td>D. 5 12 3½ 0</td>
<td>R. 0 0 0 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>960 Rupees (crude metal test) b. 1006 27 20</td>
<td>953 21 10½</td>
<td>50 13 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>960 Rupees (old coin test) c. 1015 20 0</td>
<td>954 29 0</td>
<td>50 24 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1044 dánas (the cost of one man of copper) d. 1170 0</td>
<td>1062 19½</td>
<td>58 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mint charges—a. Rs. 7.26.20½; b. Rs. 2.33.2; c. Rs. 10.12.14½; d. Rs. 1.8.18.

Dr. H. Blochmann (pp. 37, 38) notices some minor errors in the simple addition of the several items, . . . and there are obvious discrepancies in the totals assigned for the mint charges. Gladwin's figures are also more or less uncertain (i. 45).

IV. AKBAR'S MINTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aţtok.</th>
<th>Agra.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajmír.</td>
<td>Alwar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmadábad.*†</td>
<td>Ilahábás.†</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gujarat).</td>
<td>Oude.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 In cases where the gold employed belongs to the State, an extra deduction is made for the interest the merchant would otherwise have had to pay, to the amount of rupees 6.37½ (Gladwin, 6.10.12½).
THE MINTS OF AKBAR.

AKBAR's MINTS—continued.

Ajmer, Ujain, Badain, Benares, Bengal, Bhakar, Patan, Patnah, Bhirah, Tanah, Jalandhar, Jaunpur, Hissar Piruzah, Delhi, Ranthambhor, Sarangpore, Siraj, Siroj, Sirhind.


Those mints marked * were alone permitted to coin gold. The issue of silver money was restricted to the cities marked with †, and the other towns coined nothing but copper.

In order to form a correct estimate of the effective value of money, and the purchasing power of the income of the State, it is necessary to take into consideration the prices of provisions at the period. The following Table will give some idea of the extraordinary cheapness of food, though the
prices are sufficiently high for the discriminated articles of luxury.

**Average Prices of Provisions in Akbar's Reign.**

Wheat, 12 dāms per man of 55'467,857 lbs. avoirdupois.

" Flour, according to fineness, from 22 to 15 dāms.

Barley, جو, 8 dāms per man (ground barley, 11 dāms).

Rice, شالی and برنج, varieties, according to qualities, ranging from the extremes of 110 to 20 dāms per man.

Pulse, مونگک (Phaseolus mungo) . . . . . 18 dāms per man.

Mash, ماش (Phaseolus radiatus) . . . . 16 " , "

Nakhūd, خند (Cicer aritinum) . . . . . 16½ " , "

Moth, موتو (Phaseolus aconitifolius) . . . . 12 " , "

Juwâr, جور (Holcus sorghum) . . . . . 10 " , "

White Sugar, شکر سفید . . . . . 128 " , "

Brown " شکر سرخ . . . . . 56 " , "

Ghi (clarified butter) روغن زرد . . . . . 105 " , "

Sesamum Oil, روغن تیل . . . . . 80 " , "

Salt, نمک . . . . . 16 " , "

Sheep from 6½ to 1½ rupees each. Mutton, 65 dāms per man.

Goats’ flesh, 54 dāms per man.

The official man of Akbar’s reign is defined as 40 stirs, each stir comprising the weight of 30 dāms. This gives a return for the man of 388,275 grains, or very nearly half a hundred

---

1 Gladwin, i. p. 86; Blochmann, p. 62; Calcutta Persian text, p. 60. Abdi Fazl remarks—"The prices, of course, vary, as on marches, or during the rainy season, and for other reasons; but I shall give here the average prices."
weight avoirdupois.¹ So that, at the rate of 12 dâms for the man of wheat, and the exchange of 2s. per rupee, the quarter of corn would only cost about 3\(\frac{1}{4}\)d. Firdaw Shâh's price current (p. 283), reckoned in jîtals, would give an almost identical result, i.e. 8 jîtals, or 3d. in English money, for the then man of wheat, estimated at 28 lbs.; and Alâ-ud-dîn's earlier (A.D. 1295-1315) and assumedly forced reduction upon ordinary current prices would differ only to the almost imperceptible extent of half a jîtal—"or 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) jîtals per man, of 28 lbs. (p. 160).

**Comparative Cost of Labour.**

| Bricklayers | 7 dâms to 4 dâms per day (or 4\(\frac{1}{2}\)d. to 2\(\frac{1}{4}\)d.) |
| Carpenters | 2 ''  |
| Bolders | 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) 3  |
| Ordinary labourers | 2  |

Matchlockmen, in the royal army, 6 rupees per month.

Archers 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) rupees.

¹ The figures are as follows: 323,5625 grains (the dâm)\(\times 30\times 40 = 388,275\)o. The English half-bundredweight, 56 lbs. avoirdupois, is 392,000 grains. Then 24 pence \(\div 40 = 2\frac{1}{4}\) farthings, or 12 dâms = 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) pence. As regards the jîtals, the sum runs, 24 pence \(\div 64 = 1\frac{1}{5}\) farthing, or 1\(\frac{1}{5}\)\(\times 8\) = 12 farthings, or 3 pence. Colonel Anderson's independent but somewhat vague estimate of Akbar's man was 368,880-0 grains.—Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 22. It has been so far demonstrated, at p. 161, that the man of Alâ-ud-dîn's time (A.D. 1296-1318) ranged at something over 28 lbs. avoirdupois; and I should have been greatly inclined to distrust the extraordinary weight now assigned to Akbar's man, were it not that Abûl Fazl expressly mentions (p. 100) that "formerly" the sîr consisted of 18 dâms in some parts of Hindûstân, of 22 dâms in other divisions of the country, and of 28 dâms on the accession of Akbar, who himself raised it to 30 dâms. Moreover, we have seen that the weight of the dâm itself was also largely increased from its ancient limit in Shir Shâh's reign. Under these circumstances, objection can scarcely be taken to the total now produced from the figured data and extent coins of the period; which, strange to say, closely accords with R. Hawkins's rough definition of Jahângir's man as "55 lbs. weight."—Purchas i. 218.

² One who works with a bili or bâl, "a pickaxe." A navvy.
AKBAR'S REVENUES.

I have had occasion to advert incidentally to the revenues of India during Akbar's reign, in connexion with the State resources of his predecessors. As much obscurity has prevailed with regard to the correct comprehension of values, even where figures were unassailable, I revert to the subject in its appropriate association with Akbar's monetary system, in order to exhibit more fully the absolute data available for the determination of the relative amount of the taxes imposed upon the dominions of that great monarch, at the period.

It must be premised, in forming any comparative estimate of these assessments, that each province had to furnish a State contingent of cavalry and infantry, specified in full detail with other imperial demands, apart from the mere money payments entered in the divisional accounts; so that the country had to support a very large, though probably ineffective, army, over and above its ordinary revenue liabilities. The number of men mustered in this Zamíndári force is reckoned at the very high figure of 4,400,000, in addition to the due proportion of horses and elephants each sub-division was bound to maintain. No reduction is made in the State demand for the payment of these troops, who are styled بومی Bulmi, "Landwehr," in contradistinction to the better organized Royal army. If we estimate the cost to the country for this force at the very low figure of two rupees per man (including the purchase and feed of horses and elephants), it amounts of itself to a sum of more than
ten millions of pounds, which as a purely speculative estimate might honestly be doubled.

I repeat the substance, and enlarge the context, of Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad's statement of the amount of the current income, and again venture to impress upon all those who would follow up the inquiry, the value of the evidence on this and cognate subjects contributed by an author who had served for many years as Bakhši, or military accountant, practically as co-administrator of the province of Gujarát.

Speaking of the country of Hindústán, he proceeds—"Its length from Hindú Kóh, on the borders of Badakhshán, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from west to east, is 1680 legal kos. Its breadth from Kashmir to the hills of Barújh, which is on the borders of Súrat and Gujarát, is 800 kos Iláhi. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kumáon to the borders of the Dakhan, which amounts to 1000 Iláhi kos. . . . At the present time, namely, a.h. 1002, Hindústán contains 3,200 towns (including 120 large cities) and 500,000 villages, and yields a revenue of 640,00,00,000 tankáhs." 1 The author adds, that as there is no room for the list of cities in this summary, he will give them in full alphabetical order on some future occasion, a task he seems never to have fulfilled.

Abú Fazl's returns of Akbar's revenues are summarized from his imperfect data in the subjoined table, amounting, with later returns, but with all other deficiencies, to a total of five arbs, 3 sixty-seven krors, sixty-three laks, 83 thousand and 383 dāms, a sum not very far removed, with fair allowances

1 See p. 388 ante; Elliot's Index, p. 204; Morley's Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society's MSS., p. 61; Stewart's Catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library, p. 11.

3 The Arb चरुष्य 100 millions, or 100 krors; the kror is 100 laks, and the lak 100 thousand.
for omissions in such imperfect documents,¹ from the speculative correction of *six arbs*, proposed at p. 389. There is no suspicion of Abúl Fazl’s want of faith, even if any motive could be imagined for such a tendency; but it is clear that a comprehensive work like the *Kín-i Akbarí*, a positive gazetteer of all India, must have been compiled from the statistics of various State departments, working with but little systematic concert, and its tabulated returns but imperfectly brought up to the changes of the day.²

| I. Allahábád ... ... ... ... ... 21,24,27,119 dámé. |
| II. Agra ... ... ... ... ... ... ³54,62,50,304 " |
| III. Oude ... ... ... ... ... ... 20,17,58,172 " |
| IV. Ajmír ... ... ... ... ... ... ⁴28,61,37,968 " |
| V. Ahmadábád (Gujurát) ... ... ... 43,68,02,301 " |
| " " Port dues 1,62,628 " |
| VI. Bihár ... ... ... ... ... ... 22,19,19,404 " |
| VII. Bengal ... ... ... ... ... ... 59,84,59,319 " |
| VIII. Dehlí ... ... ... ... ... ... 60,16,15,555 " |

¹ The majority of these *tākšim jam’ā* statements refer to the fifteenth year of the reign, and probably indicate a much lower revenue than the improved management of the succeeding twenty-five years secured for the State. The incorporation, however, of the returns of the new *sábahs* plainly demonstrates the system of later additions to the original text.

² Akbar claims to have abolished numerous vexatious taxes, which it is admitted “used to equal the quit-rent of Hindustán” (Gladwin, i. 359). A full enumeration of these cesses is given in the *Kín-i Akbarí*, and among other State demands thus abandoned figures the especially Muhammadán *jiztah*, or Poll-tax (see note 6, p. 272 *ante*), levied upon unbelievers. This, in effect, constituted a rough species of income-tax, being graduated according to the means of the different classes of the Hindú community. It may be said to have been invincible, in the one sense; but it was simple, easily collected, and had none of the odious inquisitorial adjuncts of the British Income-tax. We find the *jiztah*, however, in restored vigour during succeeding reigns.

³ Gladwin has 64 *krorás*.

⁴ This total is obtained from the Sirkár details. Gladwin’s text, p. 105, has only 2,28,41,507 dámé.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Revenue (dáms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kábúl</td>
<td>27,27,17,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Láhor</td>
<td>55,94,58,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multán</td>
<td>38,40,30,589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Málwah</td>
<td>24,06,95,052</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4,61,25,57,820 old súbahs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Revenue (dáms)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berár (from the taḵsím jamʿa)</td>
<td>69,50,44,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandés</td>
<td>30,25,29,488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmadnagar (not entered)</td>
<td>6,62,51,393</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1,06,38,25,563 new súbahs.

Grand total: 5,67,63,83,383 dáms, at the rate of 20 double dáms per rupee = Rs. 28,38,19,169, or £28,381,916.

1 Otherwise designated as “Súbah Kashmir” (ii. p. 152), “Kábúl, cited as the modern capital” (p. 199), subordinated equally as “Sírkár Kábúl,” but under the final taḵsím jamʿa, p. 107, elevated to the rank of “Súbah Kábúl.” Under Sírkár Kandahár (p. 196), there is a full definition of the relative values of the coins, in which the comparative estimates are framed, viz., 18 dínár = 1 tumán, each local tumán being = 800 dáms. A note is attached to the effect that the tumán of Khorásán is 30 rupees, and that of Irák 40 rupees.

2 The Multán return, in the preliminary statement, is 15,14,03,619, both in the Calcutta revised text and in Gladwin’s old translation. The above figures exhibit the combined taḵsím jamʿa or detail apportionment of the revenue of the several districts included in the Súbah, entered in the working or administrative lists.

3 This return is taken from the detailed statements, pp. 61–68. The returns are clearly imperfect, and filled up with fanciful figures in the lower totals, a fact which contrasts in a marked manner with the precision observed in the minor figures of the revenues of the more definitely settled provinces. The total here obtained, however, does not differ very materially from the summary of local tankahs quoted below from another part of the work, though it seems to indicate a later manipulation and elaboration of accounts. “This súbah (Berár) contains 13 sirkás divided into 142 pargáwnáhs. The tankah of this country is equal to eight of those of Dehli. Originally the amount of revenue was 3½ krores of tankah, or 56 krores of dáms; . . . during the government of Súltan Murád the amount rose to 64,26,03,272 dáms.”—Kín-i Akbari, Gladwin, ii. p. 74.

4 The introductory summary of the Súbah of Khandés (p. 66) estimates the
REVENUES OF VARIOUS INDIAN MONARCHS. 435

I have placed the subjoined estimates of the Indian imperial revenues, at various periods, in close juxtaposition with a view to availing myself of the opportunity of explaining the seemingly anomalous contrasts they present in their opening totals, and of tracing, in as much consecutive order as the materials admit of, the varying phases of the national progress.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sterling at 2s. per Rupee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fírúz Sháh, A.D. 1351–1388</td>
<td>6,08,50,000.</td>
<td>6,085,000 (p. 272).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bábár, a.d. 1526–1500 ......</td>
<td>2,60,00,000.</td>
<td>2,600,000 (p. 388).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar, a.d. 1593 ............</td>
<td>32,00,00,000.</td>
<td>32,000,000 (p. 388).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar, estimated later returns</td>
<td>33,14,87,772.</td>
<td>33,148,777 (p. 389).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurangzéb, a.d. 1697 ..........</td>
<td>38,71,94,000.</td>
<td>38,719,400 (p. 390).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Silver Tankahs (or Rupees).

The leading item of the relatively large income of Fírúz Sháh, with his avowedly narrowed boundaries, would naturally seem to conflict with the reduced total confessed to by Bábár, who boasted of so much greater a breadth of territory; but these difficulties are susceptible of very simple explanation. In Fírúz Sháh's time the country was positively full to overflowing of the precious metals, which had been uniformly attracted towards the capital from various causes for nearly a century previously. The innate wealth of the metropolitan provinces may be tested by the multitude of the extant specimens of the gold and silver coinages of the previous reigns, and the confessed facility with which millions might be accumulated by officials of no very high degree. The whole land was otherwise teeming with mate-

revenue at 12,64,762 Berári tankahs, at 24 dáms the tankah, that is to say, at 3,03,64,288 dáms; but the distribution list at p. 60, 2nd part, raises the sum total to 1,26,47,062 tankahs, or 30,25,29,488 dáms. There is clearly an error of figures in the first quotation, which the detailed totals of the 32 pergumnahs in themselves suffice to prove, as they mount up in simple addition to the still larger sum of 1,56,46,863 tankahs.
rial wealth, and was administered by home-taught men, who realized every fraction that the State could claim.

Far different were the circumstances which Bābar's limited tenure of his straggling conquests presented. Tīmūr had effectually ruined the land through which his plundering hordes had passed—what his followers could not carry away they destroyed; and while the distant provinces retained their wealth the old capital and all around it was impoverished to desolation; so that when the prestige of Dehli re-asserted itself under Buhlōl Lōdi, he was forced to resort to the local copper mines for a new currency (p. 363); and though public affairs and national wealth improved under his son Sikandar, the standard coin was only raised to something like 1⁄7 silver to the copper basis, which, however, secured a more portable piece, and a more creditable value, a currency which found ready acceptance with races who had already been educated in the theory of mixed metals. The substantial prosperity of Hindūstān under Ibrahim, the son of Sikandar, was absolutely unprecedented. Cheapness and plenty became fabulous even to the native mind, but this very prosperity of the people reduced, pari passu, the income of the king which was derived directly from the produce of the land, his dues being primarily payable in kind, so that when corn was cheap the money value of his revenues declined in equal proportion.1 And thus it came about that

1 It was with a view to remedy this state of things that Akbar introduced his ten years' settlement, the germ of that pernicious measure, Lord Cornwallis's Perpetual Settlement. Akbar's intentions were equitable, and the pact as between king and subjects left little to be objected to; but the uniformity it was desired to promote was dependent upon higher powers, and the Indian climate could not be made a party to the treaty. Hence, in bad seasons, the arrangement worked harshly against the poorer cultivators, and threw them more and
when Bābar examined the accumulated treasures of the house of Lōdī, at Agra, he found but little beyond the current copper coinage leavened with a small modicum of silver.

The statistical returns of Babar’s time were clearly based upon the old rent-rolls of that unacknowledged originator of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlöl. A single subdued confession in Bābar’s table¹ suffices to prove this, and simultaneously with the retention of these State ledgers the interlopers clearly accepted the official method of reckoning in Sikandari Tankahs, which, numismatically speaking, must have been almost the only coins available at the period, the prolific issue of which may be tested by the multitude of the pieces still in existence, and the completeness of the series of dates spreading over 26 continuous years of Sikandar’s reign, already cited at page 366.

The rest of these comparative returns may be dismissed with brief notice. The statement of Nizám-ud-dīn Ahmad is clear as to Abbar’s revenues in A.D. 1593. The reception of the speculative return for the later period of his reign depends upon the accuracy of my rectification of Abúl Fazl’s Persian text, and the justification of my assumption that the dāms, in which the totals are framed, were double and not single dāms. For this correction I have no specific authority beyond the coincidence of Nizám-ud-dīn’s employment of an identical measure of value in his parallel return, and the consistency with which the aggregate sum produced

more into the hands of usurers, whose lawful Oriental rate of interest was enough to crush far more thrifty cultivators than the ordinary Indian Rājāyat. The ten years’ settlement itself was based upon the average returns of the ten preceding harvests, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth year (inclusive) of Akbar’s reign.

—Gladwin, i. p. 366.

¹ No. 5, “Méwát, not included in Sikandar’s revenue roll” (p. 390).
accords with the enhanced revenue of the kingdom under Aurangzéb.

Here I take leave of this branch of my leading subject, which, if it fails to secure the attention of the general reader, cannot but assert its importance with those who interest themselves in the real welfare of India, and who are prepared to recognize the pervading influence of the past upon the possible future of the land Great Britain has accepted as a profitable heritage, without any very clear conception of associate responsibilities.
APPENDIX.

As the subject of Indian finance is just now attracting the serious attention of the English public, I have thought it advisable to reproduce in full the information summarized at pp. 433–7, regarding the revenues of Akbar and Aurangzéb; and, further, to test my own deductions by some new data, which I have obtained since the previous pages were set up by the printer.

The general list of addenda includes the following:—

I. A brief but curious passage from De Laët,¹ which furnishes a fresh and independent test of the values of the various currencies in which the revenue returns of Akbar were framed.

II. The summarized return of Sháh Jahán's revenues, for his twentieth year, from the "Bádsháh Námah" of 'Abd al Hamíd, Lakhori, a contemporary statement, which was adopted in all its integrity by another living witness, Aşhná Ináyat Khán, in his Sháh Jahán Námah, and finally incorporated in Kháfí Khán's work on the history of the house of Timúr.

III. The original text in extenso of Catron's comprehensive account of the land revenues of Aurangzéb, including his specification of other fiscal demands, raising the average burthen

¹ De Imperio Magni Mogolis, sive India Vera, Joannes de Laët. Lugduni Batavorum, ex officina Elzeviriana, 1631. The section of the work from which the extract, now reprinted, is taken constitutes the tenth or supplementary chapter on Indian history, derived from contemporary national and other testimony, and translated into Latin from the Dutch. The dates of events are carried down to A.D. 1623.
APPENDIX.

upon the country at large, to a second moisty or full equivalent of the sum obtained from the ordinary land-tax.¹

IV. The statistics furnished by the traveller Bernier, which, though less full and complete than the associate return, are of considerable value, as being clearly derived from independent sources, and as confirming or correcting, as the case may be, the parallel figures preserved by Catron.

The first statistical return hereunto appended is contributed by De Laët from immediately contemporaneous information, and refers to a third or final phase of Akbar's revenue accounts, when his successor came to take stock of his father's accumulated treasures and current rent-roll. The document itself, which has only lately been brought to my notice,² furnishes a severe critical test of the soundness of the deductions previously arrived at from other sources: curiously enough, it confirms in the most definite manner my determination of the intrinsic value of the Sikandari Tankah (pp. 369, 384, 388), and upholds, what I felt at the moment to be almost a tour de force, in the suggested substitution of six for three in the "hundred millions" of Akbar's revenue entered in the corrupt Persian text of Abúl Fazl (pp. 388n, 437); but, on the other hand, the context of the Latin passage raises a doubt as to my justification in substituting double for single dāms in the reduction of the given total into other currencies. There need be no reserve in confessing that all commentators upon the revenue returns of the Ain-i-Akbari have hitherto


² My attention was first attracted to this curious and very rare work by an excellent article in the Calcutta Review (October, 1870, January, 1871), on the "Topography of the Mogul Empire," by Mr. E. Lethbridge, which traces, with equal patience and ability, the geographical details furnished by the opening chapter entitled "Indiae sive Imperii Magni Mogolici Topographica Descriptio."
APPENDIX.

concurred in accepting the ādam as \( \frac{1}{10} \) part of a rupee; it is so defined in unmistakable terms in the table of coins (pp. 360 n, 421); but, singularly enough, there is no such parallel declaration of its value when it is entered under the generic name in the section of the work devoted to the revenue details. We have seen how frequently, in the Indian system, a nominal coin of a fixed denomination possessed no tangible representative, but was left to be made up in practice of two half pieces (pp. 361–2). So that if the archaic Karsha was so far a money of account as to be represented by two pieces of copper, and the Buhloli in like manner remained an uncoined penny payable by two half-pence, we may readily admit their successor the ādam to a similar theoretical and practical condition.

If we look to the origin of Akbar’s revenue tables, there is much to support the view that the old Sikandari or double ādam continued to hold its place in the State ledgers. Akbar, following Bébar’s example, clearly took over Sikandar’s original field measurements, even to the irrepressible asit of his yard measure (p. 373). We have no knowledge of the precise currency in which Shír Sháh’s accounts were kept, but to judge by the ultimate retention of so much of Sikandar’s system, there was probably no needless interference with established money values. In regard to De Laët’s definitions, in as far as they conflict with probabilities, I should infer that the process by which he obtained his alternative totals was the application of the coin values entered in other sections of his work, to the grand total of 6,98,00,00,000 ādams furnished to

1 Myself among the number. Erakine was the first to propose, with much hesitation, the possibility of the alternative I now contend for.

2 Especially from a notice on Akbar’s treasures, p. 148, which, however, does not exhibit any profound knowledge of the subject. I may add, in connexion with
him by his informants. This is the process, as we have already seen, adopted by our own commentators, and in no way renders it obligatory upon us to accept any thing but the leading figures pure and simple; to test, therefore, the consistency of the results he arrives at, we must compare prior and subsequent statistics.

The true amount of Bābar’s revenue is now completely demonstrated and established by the new definition of the "Tanga" as \( \frac{1}{9} \) of a rupee. The gradual increment upon Akbar’s early return of the thirty-ninth year (viz., £32,000,000) to £33,148,771 in later periods, and to £34,900,000 in the fifty-first year, is consistent in the several gradational sums, and leads naturally up to Aurangzēb’s improved revenues of £38,719,400.\(^1\) The question we have now to decide is, can the second and third of these totals be reduced with any seeming reason to one half, or the sums represented by a computation of the original totals at \( \frac{1}{7} \) of a rupee?

If Nizām-ud-dīn’s total of £32,000,000, expressed in now positively ascertained values, refers to Akbar’s land revenue alone (in 1593 A.D.), as it would seem to do, and Aurangzēb’s unquestioned modern currency (or rupee) income of £38,719,400 represents the parallel increase in the charge upon the land incident to the enhanced wealth of the country and irregularly extended boundaries, the reduction of Akbar’s 6,98,00,00,000 ḍāms, the sum returned for A.D. 1605, into £17,450,000, seems to be altogether inadmissible. It is true that Akbar professes to have abandoned taxes in amount “equal to the quit-rent of Hindūstān” (p. 432), but that rent-charge throughout remained unaffected; these cesses were

the notes at pp. 422, 433, etc., that De Laët’s grand total of the contents of Akbar’s treasure chamber, reduced into rupees, is defined at 19,53,46,666\(^\frac{1}{2}\), or £19,534,686.

\(^1\) I accept Catron’s total, though his detailed sums do not quite accord with
confessedly outside the fixed state demand on the land. And Aurangzéb in his turn realized from similar sources, according to Catron, a sum which in like manner doubled the normal (land) revenue of the empire. A still more approximate test of comparative values is furnished by the computed revenues of an intermediate period, under Sháh Jahan, in 1648 A.D., when the accounts were still kept in the conventional ḏáms. These are stated by 'Abd al Hamíd to have amounted in all to the sum of 8,80,00,00,000 ḏáms.

I need not repeat the arguments already advanced in favour of the inference that these were double ḏáms, but the question may be

the aggregate furnished in his text. I have tabulated these returns for facility of reference.

1. Dekli  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  1,25,50,000 rupees.
2. Agra  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  2,22,03,560 "
3. Lahor  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  2,33,05,000 "
4. Ajmir  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  2,19,00,002 "
5. Gujarát  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  2,33,96,000 "
6. Málwah  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  99,06,250 "
7. Bihár  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  1,21,50,000 "
8. Multán  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  50,25,000 "
9. Kábul  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  32,07,250 "
10. Tata  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  60,02,000 "
11. Bákár  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  24,00,000 "
12. Urecha  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  57,07,600 "
13. Káshmir  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  36,05,000 "
14. Allahábád  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  77,38,000 "
15. Dákhan  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  1,62,04,750 "
16. Bérár  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  1,68,07,600 "
17. Kandés  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  1,11,05,000 "
18. Bagilana  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  68,85,000 "
19. Mandé  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  72,00,000 "
20. Bengál  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  4,00,00,000 "
21. Ujaín  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  2,00,00,000 "
22. Rajmahal  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  1,00,50,000 "
23. Bijeád  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  5,00,00,000 "
24. Golconda  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  ...  5,00,00,000 "

38,62,46,802 "

APPENDIX.
put broadly on its own merits, and apart from any foregone conclusion—does the sum of £22,000,000 (8,80,00,00,000 ÷ 40 ÷ 10) or the higher amount of £44,000,000 (8,10,00,00,000 ÷ 20 ÷ 10) more nearly accord with the clearly defined sum of £38,719,400 realized in A.D. 1697? Was there anything in the history of the intervening half century to sanction the idea of an approximate advance of one-third in the revenue during the period, as implied in an increase of nearly seventeen millions, or is it more within the limits of common sense to suppose that the subsequent collections should have fallen off to the extent of 5½ millions? Undoubtedly the latter represents a less abrupt transition, and is in some degree accounted for by the loss of Balkh, Kandahár, and Badakshán, which figure for respectable sums in Sháh Jahán’s list, and the temporary possession of which may have largely influenced the general trade of India; but otherwise the provincial totals are too little in unison to afford any very safe basis of extended comparison.

Finally, to set the question of approximate values completely at rest, I am able to produce the unofficial but very material testimony of Captain Richard Hawkins, in support of my theory, regarding the system of reckoning by double dámas, to the effect that in A.D. 1609–1611 Jahángír’s land revenue amounted to “50,00,00,000 rupees” (£50,000,000).¹ Our countryman dealt in round numbers, and refers to no authoritative data, so that his leading figures may

¹ “The king’s yearly income of his crown land is 50 crores of rupees, every crore is 100 lack, and every lack is 100 thousand rupees.” Side-note—The rupia is two shillings sterling; some say 2s. 3d., some 2s. 6d.—Purchas, i. 216.

Sir Thomas Roe, writing from Ajmír, in A.D. 1615, adverts incidentally to Jahángír’s revenues in the following terms:—“In revenue he doubtless exceeds either Turk or Persian or any Eastern Prince, the sums I dare not name.”—Letter to Archbishop of Canterbury, in Churchill’s Voyages, i. p. 659.
be open to canvass; but the fact of rupee estimates being found intruding thus early upon the domain of the normal ddm, enables us to check anew the relative values of the ddm currency by the contemporaneous test of rupes equivalents. Under this aspect, my case may be said to be fully made out; no explanation, within the range of probabilities, would suffice to reduce the land revenues of 1605 A.D. to the single ddm estimate of £17,450,000, in the face of a total of anything like an ordinary annual income of £50,000,000 in 1609–1611 A.D.

In conclusion, I recapitulate the contrasted returns of the nine periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Silver Tankahs (or Rupees)</th>
<th>£ sterling at 2s. per rupee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Firuz Shah</td>
<td>6,085,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babar</td>
<td>2,600,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>32,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>33,148,777</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akbar</td>
<td>34,900,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahangir</td>
<td>50,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahangir</td>
<td>35,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shah Jahan</td>
<td>44,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurangzeb</td>
<td>38,719,400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aurangzeb’s total revenue from various sources, 77,438,880 silver tankahs (or rupees), at 2s. per rupee = £77,438,880 sterling.

I. Parebant tum ipsi hae provinciae Kandahaer, Kabul, Kassamier, Ghassenie, & Bonasaed, Guuaratta, Sinde, sive Tatta, Gandhes, Brampor, Barar, Bengala, Oriza, Ode, Malowu, Agra, Dolly, cum suis limitibus: à quibus annuus census colligitur, uti constat è rationali Regis Achabar; vi Areb & xvii Caror, Dam, id est, si ad tangas exigas iii Areb and xlix Caror tangarum; sive secundum monetam regni, xx tangas in singulas rupias computando; aut i Caror tangarum in v lack rupiar. xvii Caror. & xlv Lack rupiarum: atque universus hic annuus census in Magnates, Duceaque & stipendia militum effunditur. De Thessauris à Rego Achabare relictis alibi diximus.
II. General revenue return for the twentieth year of the reign of Sháh Jahán (A.D. 1648), from the “Bádsháh Námah” of 'Abdí al Hamíd, Láhori. The text adds, that at the death of Jahángrú, in A.D. 1628, the Land Revenue of the State only amounted to 700,00,00,000 ǳámis, or £35,000,000. Various satisfactory causes are enumerated to explain the increase under Sháh Jahán.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Revenue (Lacs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dehli</td>
<td>1,00,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>90,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Láhor</td>
<td>90,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajmúr</td>
<td>60,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daulátábád</td>
<td>55,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berár</td>
<td>55,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmadábád</td>
<td>58,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengál</td>
<td>50,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allahábád</td>
<td>40,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihár</td>
<td>40,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Málwáh</td>
<td>40,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khandés</td>
<td>40,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oude</td>
<td>30,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telíngánah</td>
<td>30,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multán</td>
<td>28,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oríssá</td>
<td>20,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kábúl</td>
<td>16,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmír</td>
<td>15,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taṭah</td>
<td>8,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balkh</td>
<td>8,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kandahár</td>
<td>6,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badakshán</td>
<td>4,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baglánah</td>
<td>2,00,00,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total Revenue  | 8,80,00,00,000 |

Or at ₹1 per rupee, 44,00,00,000 rupees, £44,000,000.

¹ This is avowedly a summary average, and not an absolute or formal return; but it is fully trustworthy, as the alternative rate at the commencement of the reign shows that the author (writing in the twenty-first year) had access to official documents for both periods.—Calcutta Persian text, ii. 710.
APPENDIX.

Cablù, divisé en trente-cinq Parganas, ne rend que trente-deux lacs, sept mille deux cents cinquante roupies (32,07,250 rupees). Le Roiâume de Tata paye soixante lacs, deux mille roupies (60,02,000 rupees); et celui de Bacar, seulement vingt-quatre lacs (24,00,000 rupees). Dans de Roiâume d'Urocha, quoiqu'on compte onze Sarcas & un assez grand nombre de Parganas, on ne paye que cinquante-sept lacs, sept mille cinq cents roupies (57,07,500 rupees). Les quarante-six Parganas du Roiâume Cashemire, ne rendent que trente-cinq lacs, cinq mille roupies (35,05,000 rupees). Le Roiâume d'Illavas avec ses dépendances rend soixante & dix-sept lacs, trente-huit mille roupies (77,38,000 rupees). Le Roiâume de Decan, qu'on divise en huit Sarcas & en soixante & dix-neuf Parganas, paie un carol, soixante & deux lacs, quatre mille sept cents cinquante roupies (1,62,04,750 rupees). Au Roiâume de Barar, on compte dix Sarcas & cent quatre-vingt-onze petits Parganas. L'Empereur en tire un carol, cinquante-huit lacs, sept mille cinq cents roupies (1,58,07,500 rupees). Le grande province de Candis, que nous mettons ici sur le pied des Roiâumes, rend au Mogol un carol, onze lacs & cing mille roupies (1,11,05,000 rupees). Le Roiâume de Baglana a quarante-trois Parganas. L'Empereur en tire soixante- & huit lacs, quatre-vingt-cing mille roupies (68,85,000 rupees). On ne paye au Roiâume de Nande que soixante- & douze lacs (72,00,000 rupees). Dans celui de Bengale on donne à l'Empereur quatre caroles (4,00,00,000 rupees). Le Roiâume d'Ugen rend deux caroles (2,00,00,000 rupees). Celui de Bagemahal un carol, cinquante mille roupies (1,00,50,000 rupees). L'Empereur exige du Roiâume de Visapour & d'une partie de la Province de Carnatte cinq caroles (5,00,00,000 rupees). Enfin le Roiâume de Golconde & une autre partie de Carnatte rend aussi cinq caroles (5,00,00,000 rupees). Le tout supputé fait trois cents quatre-vingt-sept millions de roupies & cent quatre-vingt-quatorze mille (38,71,94,000 rupees, or £38,719,400). Ainsi à prendre les roupies des Indes pour trente sols ou environ de notre monnoye de France, le Domaine de l'Empereur Mogol lui produit tous les ans, cinq cents quatre-vingt millions, sept cents quatre-vingt onze mille livres. Outre ces revenus fixes du Domaine, qu'on tire seulement des fruits de la terre, le casuel de l'Empire est une autre source de richesses pour l'Empereur. 1°. On exige tous les ans un
tribut par tête de tous les Indiens idolâtres. Comme la mort, les voyages, & les fuites de ces anciens habitants de l'Indoustan, en rendent le nombre incertain, on le diminué beaucoup à l'Empereur. Les gouverneurs profitent de leur déguisement. 2°. Toutes les marchandises, que les Négocians Idolâtres font transporter, payent aux Doïannes cinq pour cent de leur valeur. Orangzzeb a exempté les Mahométans de ces sortes d'impôts. 3°. Le Blanchissage de cette multitude infinie de toiles qu'on travaille aux Indes, est encore la matière d'un tribut. 4°. La mine de diamans paye à l'Empereur une grosse somme. Il exige pour lui les plus beaux & les plus parfaits; c'est-à-dire tous ceux qui sont au-dessus de trois huit. 5°. Les ports de mer, & particulièrement ceux de Sindi, de Barocha, de Suratte, & de Cambaye, sont taxez à de grosses sommes. Suratte seul rend ordinairement trente lags pour les droits d'entrées, & onze lags pour le profit des monnoyes qu'on y fait battre. 6°. Toute la côte de Coromandel, et les Ports situent sur les bords du Gange, produisent de gros revenus au Souverain. 7°. Ce qui les augmente infiniment c'est l'héritage qu'il perçoit universellement de tous ses Sujets Mahométans qui sont à sa solde; tous les meubles, tout l'argent, & tous les effets de celui qui meurt, appartiennent de droit à l'Empereur. Par là les femmes des Gouverneurs de Provinces & des Généraux d'armées, sont souvent réduites à une pension modique, & leurs enfants, s'ils sont sans mérite, sont réduits à la mendicité. 8°. Les tributs des Rajas sont assez considérables, pour tenir place parmi les principaux revenus du Mogol. Tout ce casuel de l'Empire, égale, à peu près, ou surpasse même les immenses richesses que l'Empereur perçoit des seuls fonds de terre de son Domaine. On est étonné sans doute d'une si prodigieuse opulence; mais il faut considérer que tant de richesses n'entre dans les trésors du Mogol, que pour en sortir tous les ans, du moins en partie, & pour couler une autre fois sur ses terres. La moitié de l'Empire subsiste par les libéralités du Prince, ou du moins elle est à ses gages. Outre ce grande nombre d'Officiers & de Soldats qui ne vivent que de la paye, tous les Paisans de la campagne, qui ne labourent que pour le Souverain, sont nourris à ses frais, & presque tous les Artisans des villes, qu'on fait travailler pour le Mogol, sont paies du Trésor.
Impérial. On conjecture assez quelle est la dépendance des Sujets, & par conséquent quelle est leur déférence pour leur Maître.

IV. "Memoire oublié à inserer dans mon premier Ouvrage pour perfectionner la Carte de l'Indoustan, et savoir les Revenus du Grand Mogol."

1. Dehli ... ... ... ... 1,95,25,000
2. Agra ... ... ... ... 2,52,25,000
3. Lâhor ... ... ... ... 2,46,95,000
4. Hasmir1 ... ... ... ... 2,19,70,000
5. Gujarât (Ahmadabâd) ... ... ... 1,33,95,000
6. Kandahar3 ... ... ... ... 19,92,500
7. Mâlwah ... ... ... ... 91,62,500
8. Patna or Bihâr ... ... ... ... 95,80,000
9. Allahâbâd ... ... ... ... 94,70,000
10. Oude ... ... ... ... 68,30,000
11. Multân ... ... ... ... 1,18,40,500
12. "Jagannat" ... ... ... 72,70,000
13. Kashmîr ... ... ... ... 3,50,000
14. Kâbul ... ... ... ... 32,72,500
15. Tata ... ... ... ... 23,20,000
16. Aurangabâd ... ... ... ... 1,72,27,500
17. "Varada" ... ... ... ... 1,58,75,000
18. Khandés ... ... ... ... 1,85,50,000
19. Tilingana4 ... ... ... ... 68,85,000
20. Bagnala4 ... ... ... ... 5,00,000

Rs. 22,59,14,500 or £22,591,450.


1 Qui appartient à un Raja, donne au roi de tribut, etc.
3 Chiefly under Persia; Pergunnahs remaining to India pay as above.
4 Talengand, qui confine au Royaume de Golkonda du côté de Massipata,1 quarante-trois Pragnas."
4 Bagnala qui confine aux terres des Portugais et aux montagnes de Serag,11 Raja qui a saécage Sourate, a deux Serkars, huit Pragnas."
GENERAL INDEX.

* * * Where the letter n occurs after the pages, it signifies that the reference is to a note in the page specified.

A

BD-AL-HAI, one of the editors of the Calcutta edition of the "Tabakat-i-Nasiri," 76.

Abd ul Hamid Lahori's "Dádsháh Námáh," 446.

'Abd-ul-Kadr Badkoni, 329.

Abdak bin Zafar Khán 301; (twenty-second king), résumé of the reign of, 303; coins of, Nos. 266-269, pp. 304, 306; posthumous coin of, 306.

Abúl Faraj, 284 n., passim.

Abúl Fath Al Muetazid, an Egyptian Khalif, who bestowed robes of honour on Piruz Sháh, and his son Fath Khán, 297.

Abúl Fazíl's "Ain-i-Akbari," 78 n., passim; his returns of Akbar's revenues, 388, 432; his details regarding Akbar's Sihanahs, 424.

Abul-Feda, the Arabic text of, relating to Saif-ud-din Hasan Kariagh, 93 n.

"Akhári," explanation of the term, 69.

'Adil Khán, a son of Shir Sháh, 401 n.; history of, 419.

Ahmad Khán, governor of Mahróli and Mewat, 338 n.

Ahmad Sháh I., a Bahmani king, 341.

Ahmad Sháh II., a Bahmani king, 341.

Ahmad Sháh, a king of Gujarát, 350; coin of (woodcut), No. 307, p. 352; coin of, p. 353.

Ahmad Sháh, Kutb-ud-din, a king of Gujarát, 351; coin of, p. 353.

"Aibeg," note on the spelling of the name of, 32 n.

Ajmír, Col. Lee's translation of the epigraph on the mosque at, 25.

Akbar, his confession of the supremacy of female rule, 304 n.; his copper coin equivalent to two ádms, 369; his difficulty in the introduction of his Akbarí gás, 373; his eventual adoption of the Iláhi gás, 373; Akbar's coins, Nos. 329, 330 (woodcut), pp. 382, 383; the amount of his revenues not uncertain, 388; Nizam-ud-din Ahmad's return of Akbar's revenues in the year 1693 A.D., 388; Abúl Fazíl's return for the year 1694 A.D., 388; the weight of Akbar's rupees and Jaláli, 405; the number of copper ádms equivalent to a rupee in his time, 407; the number of rupees equal to a ádms in his time, 409; Akbar's coinage, 418; his gold coins enumerated, 418-420; his silver and copper coins, 421; his practice of keeping ádms in bags ready for the purpose of making gifts, 421; reasons why Akbar issued his Sihanah coins, 422, 423; Akbar's remodelled and reconstructed coinage, 418-423; relative values of the precious metals in his time, 424, 425; his complete scheme of Seigniorage, 426, 427; the geographical distribution of his provincial mints, 427, 428; his mint charges, 427; average prices of provisions in Akbar's reign, 429; compared with prices in the reigns of other Indian monarchs, 430; the weight of his official man, 429; comparative cost of labour in his time, 430; Akbar's revenue advertised to for the determination of the real amount of the taxes imposed upon his Indian dominions, 431; his abolition of certain taxes, 433; list of the provinces in his dominions, with the amount of the revenue yielded by each, 433, 434; his
revenues tabulated with those of other Indian monarchs for the purpose of comparison, 435; information as to his revenues reproduced in full, 489–446; De Laet's test of the values of the currencies in which Akbar's revenue returns were framed, 439, 445; Akbar's revenues in the year 1605 A.D., and his estimated later revenues, 446.

Akbari gas, compared with the gas of Sikandar Lodí, 373.


'Alá-ud-dín 'Ali Sháh, sixth king of Bengal, 264; coin of, No. 221, p. 265.

'Alá-ud-dín, a Gehlot king of Mewar, 356.

'Alá-ud-dín, an uncle of Ibráhím Lodí, 375.

'Alá-ud-dín, the nephew and son-in-law of Jalá-ud-dín Firúz Sháh, 144.

'Alá-ud-dín II., a Bahmani king, 341; coins of, No. 304 (woodcut), p. 343; coins of, 345.

'Alá-ud-dín III., a Bahmani king, 341.

'Alá-ud-dín Husain Jahánsoz, an uncle of Mu'ázzz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sâm, 10.

'Alá-ud-dín Mas'add (eighth king), summary of the reign of, 120; coins of, Nos. 97–105, pp. 122–124.

'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad bin Takhsah, an alien contemporary of Shams-ud-din Alásháh, on Indian soil, 85; coins of, Nos. 61, 62 (woodcut), 63–68 (woodcut), 69, 70, pp. 86–90.

'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad, Khwárizmi, 16 n.

'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh (fourteenth king), history of, 165, etc.; his Arches at the Kubt Minâr (woodcut), 168; his assumption of the title "Second Alexander," 168; his 'adlât, 169; his enforced rates of prices, 160; coins of, Nos. 180–188, pp. 185–172; Inscription (O.) of, at the Kubt Minâr, 178; Mir Khurshâd's account of edifices erected by Alá-ud-dín, 173.


Alien Contemporaries of Shams-ud-din Alásháh on Indian Soil, 86.

'All Shír Khâni's "Tuhfat-ul-Kirâm," details from regarding the tributaries of Kubshâh, 99 n.

Allygurh, Inscription (K.) on the Minaret at, 129.

"Amarâs Košha," 362 n.

Amir, remarks on the use of the word on early Dehlâwâs, 51 n., 136 m.

Amir Khurshâd's poem "Kirân-ns-Sâdâin," 140 n.

Ampâga Pâla Deva, a Tuar king of Dehli, 58; coin of, No. 32, p. 59 (see also p. 65).

Anonymous Egyptian weights. See Tables of Weights and Measures.

Anonymous weights. See Tables of Weights and Measures.

Anderson's (Colonel W.) return of the exchange rate of silver and copper in Shír Sháh's time, 410 n.

Anonymous Coins, 383; average weight of, 384; Nos. 331–339, pp. 385, 386.

Anwâlah, a district retained waste for hunting purposes by Firz Sháh, 270 n.

'Arâm Sháh (third king), notice of, 40; coins of, Nos. 26, 27, p. 40.

Arâb, definition of the, 432 m.

Archers' pay, 430.

Argûn, spoken of by Marco Polo as king of India, 175; coins of, Nos. 139, 140, pp. 175, 176.

Askari Mirza, governor of Sambhal, 379.

Aşoka, removal of the Lejâs of by Firz Sháh, 292; present position of one of them, 293 m.

Asâts:—Coins of Firz Sháh, 283.

Dehli coins, 368.

Dehli and Bengal Coins, 115.

Muhammadan Coins, 324.

Astley’s "Voyages," 49 m.

Atharva Parijâhta, an authority on ancient Indian weights, 221 n.

Aurangzâb, silver medal of, 390, 423 m; his revenues tabulated with those of other Indian monarchs for comparison, 435; full information relating to his revenues, 439, 442, 444; his revenue in A.D. 1697, tabulated with those of other Indian monarchs, 446; Castron’s account of his land revenues, 447–460.

'Asim Humâyûn, governor of Kâlinjar, 375.

Babar’s "Memoirs," 26 n., passim; tabular statement of the events in his reign, 378; his account of the distribution of power in India,
378 n.; the extent of his dominions, 379 n.; coins of, Nos. 323, 324, p. 380; introduction of Bokhára money into India by, 384; his Indian revenue, 387; Erskine’s remarks on Bábá’s Indian revenue, 387 n., 390; his revenues compared with those of other monarchs, 436, 445.

Badoní’s derivation of the word “Altamán;” 44; Badoní’s work, 107 n., passim.

Bagbíd, the Khalíf of, recognizes Sháma-ud-dín Altamán as a Sovereign, 43.

Bahádur Náhir, a governor of Old Dehli, 313 n.

Bahádur Sháh, fourth king of Bengal, history of, 197; coins of, Nos. 169, 170, p. 201.

Bahádur Sháh, a king of Gujrát, 350; coins of, 355.

Bahádur Sháh, a pretender to the throne of Bengal, 416.

Bahá-ud-dín Balbán, Ulugh Kháh, the cafr of Náṣir-ud-dín Mahmúd, 124.

Bahmani Kings of the Dekhan, list of, the 340; extent of their territories at the death of Hasan Gango, 341; division of their dominions, 342; their coins, skeleton list of, pp. 345, 346.

Bahram, the guardian of Akbar, 418.

Bahram Chobín, the general of Hormuz, son of Naushírwán the Great of Persia, 34 n.

Bahram Kháh, a governor of the district of Sonkargon, 262.

Baihákí’s “Túrkh-i ms. Subhákta,” 51 n.

Baker’s (Lieutenant) “Line of levels between the Jumna and Satlaje Rivers,” in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 294 n.

Barbak bin Buhlíl Lódí, a son of Buhlíl Lódí, governor of Jannípur, 320; king of Jannípur, 355; coin of (woodcut), No. 322, p. 377.

Barley, the prices of, 160, 260, 283, 429.

Baseer, Mr., an engraver of coins, 211 n.

Baylay’s (Mr. W. H.) MS. Notes, 163 n.

Beares, inscription (S.) of Pirád Sháh at, 283; description of buildings at, by Masera. Horne and Sherring, 288.

Bengal, list of the rulers and kings of; 8; the provincial coinage of, 109; supposed invasion of by Changiz Kháh, contradicted, 121 n.; contemporary coinage of, 146; pedigree of the kings of, 148; the mints of, 160–164; coinage of, 198, 261.

Bernier’s “Voyages,” 390 n., passim; his list of the provinces in Aurángzéb’s dominions, with the amount of the revenue yielded by each, 450.

Bhánúpur, a mint city of Shír Sháh, 401.

Bíbi Jind Vádi, mentioned in Mohan Lál’s account of Uchh, 94 n.

Bílahrí’s wages, 430.

Bird’s “History of Gujarát,” 350 n., passim.

Blochmann’s article on the “Antiquities of Pandúa,” 161 n.; his translation of the “Ain-i-Akbár,” 360, passim.

Bokhára Money Tables, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 49 n.

Bricklayers’ wages, 430.

Briggs’s “Perisháth,” 26 n., passim; derivation of the name “Altamán,” 43.

Buchanan’s “Works,” 397 n.


Buhlóli, a coin issued by Buhlóli Lódí, 359; Nábul Haák’s remarks on, 360.

Buhlóli Lódí, governor of Láhor and Sírhind, 336, 337; (thirty-second king), 357; coins of, Nos. 311–316, pp. 358, 359; assays of coins of, 359; note on the coins of, 369.

Burdwán, a mahfil in the province of Shársfábíd, the site of, 399.


Butcháns’s “Idol Temples,” 45 n.

Butler (GAI.), the price of, 186, 263, 429.

CAMPBELL (Mr. C. J.), in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 261 n.

Campbell’s (Mr. C. S.) plan of Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh’s intrenchment in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 175 n.; “Notes on the History and Topography of the Ancient Cities of Dehlí,” 284 n., passim.

Campbell (Mr. G.), in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 332.

Canals constructed by Pírúz Sháh, 294.

Carpentiers’ wages, 430.

Catron’s “Histoire de l’Empire Mogol,” 390 n., passim; his account of the land-revenues of Aurángzéb, 439; his list of the provinces in Aurángzéb’s dominions, and the revenue yielded by each, 443 n.; 447–460.
Chaboulet (M.), in the Revue Numismatique, 422 n.
Chahar Deva, a Chândel king, General Cunningham's account of the coins of, 67 n.; résumé of the history of, 67; coins of (as paramount sovereign), No. 39, p. 70; (as tributary to Shams-ud-din Altâmah), No. 40, p. 70.
Chahar Deva, coin of, No. 45, p. 75.
Chândel dynasty, list of the kings of the, 66.
Changiz Khân, his supposed invasion of Bengal in 642 A.H. contradicted, 121 n.; coins of Nos. 76-78, pp. 91, 92.
Chirâgh Dehli, inscription (R.) of Firdâs Shâh at, 286.
Chitang, a sacred river of the Brahmans, 293 n.
Chitor, Tod's description of the pillar of victory at, 354; (woodcut of), 355.
Chohân, Colebrooke on the orthography of, 56 n.
Chunam, fine lime plaster, 310.
Chûnâr, Hindi inscription in the fort of, 196 n.
Churchill's "Voyages," 162 n., passim.
Coins.—For full references to coins, see under the various rulers specified.
Collections of Coins.—See note at the end of the Preface, p. x.
Colvin's (Col.), "Notice of the Chitang river," 296 n.
Comments on the use of the word Khâtifâh on coins, 88 n.
Cooper's "Handbook to Dehli," 333 n.
Cope's (Mr.) description of the Kalân Masjid at Dehli, 273 n.
Coppâllis's (Lord) injurious measure, the "Perpetual Settlement," 436 n.
Cowell's (Prof. E. B.) determination of the date when Mu'izz-ud-din Kai-kubád set out to meet his father, 140 n.; his analysis of the "Kiran- us-Sâ'dain," 140 n.
Cowrie shells, remarks on, by Ibn Batutah, the Kitâb-ı-Akbâri, Sir H. Elliot, Prinsep, Major Bennell and Hamilton, 110 n., 111 n.
Cracroft (Mr.), in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 374 n.
Creighton's (H.) "Ruins of Gour," 152 n.
Croix's (M. Petia de la) "Timur Bee," 86 n., passim.
Cunningham's (Major-General) examination of the coin bearing the joint names of Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sâm and Pritâvi Râja, 17 n.; his "Archeological Report to the Government of India," 19 n., passim; his reading of the date on inscription C., 22 n.; his "Gwalior Inscriptions," 63 n.; his list of the kings of the Chândel dynasty, 65 n.; his article "Coins of the nine Nâgas, etc." 67 n.; his transcript of the legible portion of an inscription of Shams-ud-din Altamâh, 80; his identification of Nandana, 126 n.; his "Ancient Geography of India," 373 n.; his estimate of the radii of Shîr Shâh, 409; his article "On the Indian Prince Sophytes," 410 n.

D
A Asia de João de Barros, 152 n.
Damia and Domes, Table showing the values of, 364 n.
Dargâh of Yûsuf Katât, at Dehli, Inscription of Sîkanâr Lodi on, 370.
Daria Khân, viceroy of Bihâr, 375.
Daria Khân Lodi, governor of Sambhal, 338 n.
Dâdâ Khân Lodi, governor of Bînâ, 338 n.
Dâda Shâh, a Bahmani king, 341.
Dad Shâh, a king of Gujarât, 360.
Daulat Khân Lodi, 315; (twenty-seventh ruler), 325; coins of, 326.
Daulat Lodi, governor of provinces in the Punjâb, 376.
Defrémery (M. C.), one of the editors of the French edition of Ibn Butabah's Works, 162 n.
Deguignes's "Histoire des Huns," 93 n., passim.
"Dehli Archeological Journal," 158 n., passim.
Dehli, boundaries of the empire of, 2; the Kutb Minâr at (woodcut), 21; high state of civilization in, 204 n.; tomb of Muhammad bin Farid at (woodcut), 334; assay of Dehli and Bengal coins, 115; list of Dehli coins assayed at the Calcutta Mint, 368.
Dehliwâlas (coins),imitated by Altamâh, Kubchâh of Sind, etc., 14.
De Laët's "De Imperia Magni Mogolit," 439 n.; the value of his


Du Halde's work on China, 241 n., passim.

Dynasties:—


Ekling, a temple near Oodipûr, 355; the patron divinity of the Gohôlôs, 356 n.

Elliot's (Sir Walter) Histories of India, 46 n., passim; his MS. copy of Albirdán's "Kânûn," 47 n; "Index to the Muhammadan Historians of India," 50 n., passim; his "Memoirs of the Races of the North-west Presidency," 56 n; his "Glossary of Indian Terms," 110, passim.

Elliot's (Sir Walter) note upon "Stara," 169; his note on Trimâkhâ, 223 n. Elphinstone's "Cabool," 26 n., passim; his "History of India, 73 n., passim. Epigraph on Mosque at Ajmir, Colonel Lee's translation of, 25.

Eskine's "History of India," 49 n., passim; his note on the derivation of the word Trimâkhâ, 49 n; his "Babar and Humâyûn," 54 n., passim; his summary of Mongol and Türkî tribes, 84 n.

Enkrotides, discovery of a Bactrian coin of, description of, 421 n.

Ewer's (Walter) "Inscriptions," 283 n. Extent of the Muslim empire in India at the death of Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sâm, 12.

Facsimiles of Coins:—Muhammad bin Sâm, 17, 20; Taj-ud-din Ildûz, 29, 30; Shams ud-din Altamah, 46; Mumâm ud-ghaznî, 46 n.; Mas'âd ud-ghaznî, 58 n.; Pipala Râja Dev'a, 69 n.; Malaya Vârmma Dev'a, 74; Shams-ud-din Altamah, 78; Nasir-ud-din Mumâm Shâh, 81; 'Alâ-ud-din Muhammad bin Tughlak, 87, 89; Chângiz Khán, 91; Sa'd-ud-din Hasan Kârlagh, 95; Uzbog Pâl, 99; Nâsir-ud-din Mumâm, 129; Ghâfî-ud-din Balân, 134; Kutt-ud-din Mubârak Shâh, 179; Muhammad bin Tughlak, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, (in memory of his father, 212), 215, 249, 255; Firdûs Shâh, 276; Firdûs Shâh and his son Zâfûr, 300; Muhammad bin Firdûs, 308; Ibrahim bin Jaunpûr, 321; Mumâm L. of the Dakhân, 342; 'Alâ-ud-din II. of the Dakhân, 343; Hûsâm-ud-din Hâshang of Mâlwa, 347; 'Alâ-ud-din Mumâm of Mâlwa, 347; Ahmad Shâh of Gujarât, 352; Mumâm bin Lâlî of Gujarât, 362; Ibrahim Lôdî, 377; Bânîbân of Jaunpûr, 377; Akbar, 383; Shîr Shâh, 394, 395, 396, 398, 401; Jalâl Shâh of Bengâl, 417. Fakhr-ud-din Jûnî, son of Ghâzî Beg Tughlak, 185.

Fakhr-ud-din Mubârak Shâh, fifth king of Bengâl, 263; coin of, No. 220, p. 263.

Farbât ul Mulk, viceroys of Gujarât, 350.
GENERAL INDEX.

"Faris o Souza," 360 n.
Path Khan, son of Pirz Shah, 297; coins bearing their names conjointly, 240–244, pp. 298, 299.
Fell’s (Captain E.) copy of an inscription at Hansi, 60 n.
Ferguson’s “Handbook of Architecture,” 9, passim. (See Illustrations.)
Ferrier’s “Caravan Journeys,” 187 n.
Pirzabad, a Bengal mint city, 161; site of, 292; removal of the court from Dehli to the new city of that name by Pirz Shah, 392.
Pirz Khan, a son of Islam Shah, 414.
Pirz Shah’s “Fatihat-i-Firz Shah,” 27 n.; (twentieth king), history of, 269, etc.; beneficial measures adopted by, 271 n.; public works executed by, 273, 289; coins of, Nos. 213–214 (woodcut), pp. 274–275; 283–287, pp. 275, 277; posthumous coins of, Nos. 233, 236, p. 277; Shams-i-Siraj’s account of the improvements introduced in the circulating coinage of, 278; result of assay of coins of, 282; prices of grain during the reign of, 283; Inscriptions of (Q.), on the Kutb Minar, 283; (R.), in Chiragh Dehli, 286; (S.) at Benares, 286; coins bearing the names of Pirz Shah and his son Path Khan, 296, Nos. 240–244, pp. 298, 299; coins bearing the names of Pirz Shah and his son Zafar, Nos. 245–249, pp. 300, 301; his revenues compared with those of other Indian monarchs, 434, 445.
Pirz Shah, a Bahmani king, 341; coins of, p. 345.
Fort of Selim Gurch, at Dehli, erected during the reign of Islam Shah, 414.
Fraser’s (J. B.) “Travels in Persia,” 49 n.
Frehm’s “Recenseo Numorum Muhammadanorum,” 85 n. passim.
F soup, a slave, 332.
Fuller’s (Major) translation of Zia-ud-din Barni’s “Tarikh-i-Pirz Shah,” 189 n., passim.

G
Gaubil (P.), quoted in Marden’s “Numismata Orientalia,” 230 n.
Gaz. the, or yard measure of Sikandar Lod, 370; General Cunningham’s remarks on, 372 n.; Akbar’s gaz, 373.
Ghalib Khan, governor of Samanah, 315 n.

Ghazi Beg Tughlak, 185.
Ghazan Khan, the nephew of Kai Khud, 241.
Ghazni, position of, 26 n.
Ghi (butter), price of, 160, 283, 429.
Ghia-ud-din, a Bahmani king, 341.
Ghia-ud-din Balban (tenth king), history of, 131; coins of, Nos. 111, (woodcut), 116, pp. 134, 135; inscription of (L.), 136.
Ghia-ud-din, elder brother of Mu’izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam, 10; coins bearing their joint names, Nos. 1–3, pp. 12, 13.
Ghia-ud-din Khijji, a king of Malwa and Mandu, 346; coins of, 349.
Ghia-ud-din Muhammad, a descendant of the Khalif of Baghdad Al Mustan- sir bilah, 257 n.
Ghia-ud-din Tughlak Shih (eighteenth king), history of, 186; coins of, Nos. 167–168, pp. 189–191; inscription of (P.), 192; the Fort of Tughlakabadd erected by, 192.
Ghiahpur, a mint city of Bengal, the site of, 163.
Gladwin’s translation of Abul Fazl’s “Ain-I-Akbari,” 110 n., passim.
Gow’s flesh, the price of, 429.
Gopalpur, of Rohtak, the domrs of, 383 n.
Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, 109.
Govinda Chandra, a Raitor of Kana, 18; coin of, No. 16, p. 19.
Grain, coarsely ground, for horses, price of, 283.
Gram, price of, 283.
Grant Duff’s (Capt.) “History of the Marathas,” 184 n., passim.
Gujurat, list of the Muhammadan kings of, 350; the boundaries of, 351; revenue of, 351 n.
Gunga Rampur, near Dinajpur, inscription (N.) of Rukn-ud-din Kai Kaus found among the ruins of, 149.
Gurmukhtsar, inscription (L.) on the Jum Mad of, 136.
Guthrie’s (Colonel), results obtained from an essay of Dehli and Bengal coins in the Kooch Bahar board, 115.

H
Haji Rabab Bokari, an Egyptian Ambassador, 256 n.
Haji Sa‘id Sarsari, an Egyptian Ambassador, 256 n.
GENERAL INDEX.

Hamid Khan, castr of 'A lam Shah, 329.
Hamilton’s “Hindostan,” 111 n.; passim.
Hamir, a Gehlot king of Mewar, 366.
Hansi, inscription from, 60 n.; discovery of coins at, (result of assay of 12 of them), 127.
Hardy’s (Mr. Spence) “Manual of Buddhism,” 362 n.
Haripal. See Utar.
Hasan Gango, a Bahmani king, 340.
Hasan Nizami’s “Taj-ul-Masir,” 17 n.; passim; his evidence as to the date 597 A.H. on an inscription (C.) at the Kuth Minar, 23 m.
Haughton’s (Col. J. C.) details of the locality of the Kooch Bahar hoard, 148 n., 149.
Hawkins’s (Richard) notice of the treasures of Jahangir, 426 n., 444.
Himd, a castr of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah, 416.
Hindal Mirza, 393.
Hindal Mirza, governor of Alwar (Mewat), 379.
Hindostan, list of the Pathan Sultans of, 7; division and rulers of at the death of Aram Shah, 49; the state of in the reign of Shams-ud-din Al-tamah, 64 n.; distribution of, after the invasion of Timur, 315 n.
Hollings’s (Capt.) translation of Sherif-ud-din ‘Ali Yezdi’s “Zafar Nama,” 171 n.
Hong von, the founder of the Ming dynasty in China, 241 n.
Huan Thang’s spelling of the word “Multan,” 76 n.
Humayun, a Bahmani king, 341; coins of, 346.
Humayun in India, summary of the events of his reign, 379; division of governments on his accession, 379; coins of, Nos. 325-328, pp. 381, 382.
Husain Shah, king of Jaunpur, 320; coins of, 322, 379 n.
Husain-ud-din Iltashang Ghori, a king of Malwa and Maud, 346; coin of (woodcut), No. 305, p. 347; coins of, p. 348.

Ibn Asf’s “Kamil-al-Tawarikh,” 60 n.
Ibn Athir, 26 n.
Ibn Batuta’s reading of the date on inscription C. on the Kuth Minar at Delhi, 23 n.; the French translation of his work, 23 n.; passim; Dr. Lee’s translation of his work, 110, passim.

Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, the Sultan of Jaunpur, 315, 320; coins of, No. 286 (woodcut), p. 321; coins of, 321.
Ibrahim Suri (thirty-ninth king) history of, 415; coin of, No. 398, p. 416.
Ikhtifar-ud-din Ghazi Shah, seventh king of Bengal, 385; coin of, No. 222, p. 266.
Ildun, meaning of, 25 n.; Elphinstone’s spelling of, 25 n.
'Ildi gas, the, 373; adoption of in 1826-6, by the British government of India, 374.

ILLUSTRATIONS (Mr. Ferguson’s):—
Minaret of Mas’udd III., 9; Kuth Minar at Delhi, 21; Pathan Tomb at Sepree, near Gwalior, 41; Minaret at Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, 109; inscription on the minaret at Allygurth, 129; “Alluddin’s Arch,” at the Kuth Minar, 166; Jami Mosque at Jaunpur, 319; Tomb of Muhammad bin Farid, at Dehi, 324; Pillar of Victory, at Chitor, 355.

‘Imad-ud-din’s wealth, 296 n.
‘Imad ul Malik’s Baoli at Dehi, inscriptions (U. V.) on, 413, 414.
“Inscriptions,” 362 n.
India, wealth of, in Firdows Shah’s time, 436; poverty of, in Buhar’s time, 436.
Indian coins of Mu’tiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sâm, Nos. 3a-14, pp. 14-16.
Indian revenues of Bahr, 387, 390, 436; of Akbar, 388, 435; of Jahangir, 445; of Shah Jahan, 446; of Aurangzeb, 390, 436, 450.
Indian weights, 222 n.; Indian and other foreign weights, 223 n.

INSRIPTIONS:—
Mas’udd III., on the Minaret at Ghazni (woodcut), 9.

(A.) Muhammad bin Sâm, on the fourth circle of the Kuth Minar at Dehi (woodcut), 21; (B.) In the second band or belt of inscriptions, 32.

(O.) Kuth-ud-din Aibeg, under the arch of the eastern entrance to the Kuth Minar, 25; (D.) Over the northern entrance to the Kuth Minar, 24; (E.) On
GENERAL INDEX.

the centre gateway of the Kutt Minâr, 24.
(F.) Shams-ud-din Altamah, over the doorway of the second story of the Kutt Minâr, 79; (G.) On the upper circler of the second story of the Kutt Minâr, 80; (H.) On the third story over the doorway of the Kutt Minâr, 80; (I.) On one of the centre arches at the Kutt Minâr, 80; (J.) On the lower belt of one of the minarets of the mosque at Ajmir, 80.
(K.) Nâsir-ud-din Mahmûd, over the doorway of the minaret at Allypurh (engraving), 129.
(L.) Ghâfîs-ud-din Babban, on the walls of the Jâm'i Muejd at Gurmûkhsar, 138.
(M.) Utâr, son of Haripâl, on the Beâlî, at Palam, 137.
(N.) Ruqûn-ud-dîn Kaî Kâsâ, found among the ruins of Gunga Râmpûr, 149.
(O.) Alâ-ud-dîn Muhammad Shâh, on the arches at the Kutt Minâr, 173.
(P.) Ghâfîs-ud-dîn Tughlak Shâh, on the Jâm'i Muejd at Multân (not extant), 192.
(Q.) Firûz Shâh, on the fifth story of the Kutt Minâr, 283; (R.) In Chiragh Dehlî, 286; (S.) On a stone roof beam of the edifice on the western bank of the Bakurîyâ Kûnâ, at Benares, 286.
(T.) Sîkandar Lodi—1, on the Dargâh of Yâsâf Kâtîl, at Dehlî; 2, on the bastion of Shahâb-ud-dîn Tâj Khân, at Dehlî; 3, on the lower entrance of the Kutt Minâr; 4, at Dehlî; 5, on the arch of the Makbarah of Firûz Shâh, at Dehlî, 370.
(U.) Islâm Shâh, on 'Imâd ul Malik's Well at Dehlî, 413; (V.) On 'Imâd ul Malik's Bâlî at Dehlî, 414.
Isa Khân Türk, governor of Kol-Jaleswar, 338 n.
Islam Khân's Makbarâh, inscription on, 314.
Isâlâm Khân, 303, a cezir of Muhammad bin Firuz Shâh, 307.
Isâlâm Shâh (thirty-seventh king) history of, 410; coins of, Nos. 359-364a, pp. 411-413; inscriptions in the time of, 413, 414; public build-
ings erected in the time of, 414.
'Izâz-ud-dîn Babân, a son-in-law of Shams-ud-dîn Altamah, 120.

JAI CHAND, the last of the Rahtors of Kanâdî, 18
Jâhângîr's revenues, 444; his revenues for the years 1611, 1628, A.D. tabulated with those of other Indian monarchs, 445.
Jâlal Lodi, king of Jaunpûr, son of Sîkandar Lodi, 375.
Jâlal-ud-dîn Ataû, a Khârizmi king, 86.
Jâlal-ud-dîn Firûz Shâh, once a cezir of Mu'izz-ud-dîn Kaikubâd, 141; (twelfth king), history of, 142; coins of, Nos. 120-124, p. 144, 145.
Jâlal-ud-dîn Lokbâr, king of Bihâr, 391.
Jâlal-ud-dîn Manbarnî, a contemporary of Shams-ud-dîn Altamah, 85; coins of, Nos. 71-75, pp. 90, 91.
Jâlal Shâh of Bengal, coin of (woodcut), No. 371, p. 417.
Jaunpûr, Local coins of, 319; Jâmî Mosque at (woodcut), 319; list of the kings of, 320; specimen coin of the Jaunpûr mint (woodcut), 321; coins of pp. 321, 322.
Johnson's (F.) interpretation of the word "Khudmat," 93 n.
Jones's (Sir William) "Works," 165 n.
Josè fa Barbaro in "Ramnòcio," 49 n.
Journal Asiatique, 20 n, passim.
Journal des Savants, 211 n, passim.
Journal of the Archaeological Society of Dehli, 143 n.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 9, passim.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 16 n, passim.
Juwâr, the price of, 429.
Jwynboll's "Lexicon Geographicum," 47 n.

KABUL, the Brahman and Indian kings of, 57, 58; coins of, 59 n.
Kadr Khân, a governor of the province of Lakhnautî, 302.
Kai Khâtû, king of Persia, the issue of paper currency by, 249.
Kainoumours, the son of Mu'izz-ud-dîn Kaikubâd, 140, 142.
Kajû, a mint master, 281 n.
Kalânûr, a Pathân mint city, 396.
Kalmûn, a Bahmani king, 341.
GENERAL INDEX.

Kamal Dévi, the mother of Dewal Dévī, 176 n.
Kamrán Mirzā, governor of Kábul and Kandahár, 379; coins of, 379 n.
Kanaj coins, No. 16, issued by Govinda Chandra Deva, p. 19; No. 17, issued by Prithvi Deva, p. 19; Nos. 18, 19, issued by Mu‘izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sám, p. 20.
Kanbalu, the mint city of Kublai Khán, 239 n.
"Kāpī," meaning of, 218 n, 219 n.
Karaunlāl Turks, the, 186 n.
Karmán, frontier fortress of, on the route to India, 28; the site of, 26 n; Ibn Athir’s notion of, 28 n.
Karha, the derivation of the term, 381 n.
Kashmir weights, 222 n.
Kháli Khán’s “Muntakhab at Lūtbāb,” 389 n, 422 n, passim.
Khaiti, a Gélót king of Mèvar, 356.
Khalif Mustansir billah, coin of, 51, 52.
Khālid, title used on the coins of the Muhammadan kings, 56.
Khán-i Jahán, two persons of that name, father and son, inscriptions of Fírūz Sháh, 272, 273.
Khárizmian kings, list of the dynasty of, 88.
Khídamat, meaning of the word, 93 n; Johnson’s interpretation of, 93 n.
Khizr Khán, a son of ‘Alá-ud-din Muhammad Sháh, 176; story of his love, 176 n.
Khizr Khán, governor of Multán, 315; (twenty-eighth ruler), 326; Ferishtah’s and Abúl Fazi’s mistake regarding the coinage of, 328.
Khulāsat-al-Tawārikh, 187 n.
Khulassat-ul-Akhbār, the author’s derivation of the name “Altameh,” 43.
Khudr Malik, the last of the Ghaznavids, 11.
Khusru Pársí, son of Naushiriwán the Great of Persia, 35 n.
Khwajah-i-Jahán, a minister left in charge of Dehlí by Muhammad bin Tughlák, 269; execution of, 270 n.
Khwajah-i-Jahán, a vezır of Muhammad bin Fírūz Sháh, 307; rebellion of, 312; governor of Kanaúj, etc., 316 n; king of Jaunpúr, 320.
Khwajah Kulugh, a Mughal invader, 175.
Kilígahrí, the site of, 143 n.
Kirmán, the position and orthography of, 26 n.
Kooch Bákhr hoard of coins, 113, 148; Colonel J. C. Haughton’s description of the locality where the coins were found, 148 n.
Kubčahah, king of Sind, 14, 42; summary of the events of the reign of, 99; derivation of the name of, 99 n; the tributaries of, 99, 100 n; coins of, Nos. 86, 87, pp. 100, 101.
Kublai Khán, the Mughal conqueror of China, 239; Marco Polo’s account of the paper currency issued by, 239 n; Ibn Batūtah’s notice of the success of, 240 n.
Kurram, the site of, 26 n.
Kutb Khán Afgán, governor of Rápri, 338 n.
Kutb-ud-din Aibek, a slave of Mu‘izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sám, 11; inscriptions B. C. D. and E., executed under his auspices, 24; (second king), history of, 32.
Kutb-ud-din Muhammad bin Anush-tagin, a Khárizmian king, 86.
Kutb Minār at Dehlí, inscriptions on. See Inscriptions.
Kutb Sháh, a king of Gújrat, 850.

LAD MALEK, a wife of Shīr Sháh, 400.
Labourers’ wages, 430.
Lakha Ráma, a Gélót king of Mèvar, 356.
Lakhnauti, the orthography of, 107 n.
Lakhanmāna, another name of Upaga, the son of Kilívala, 61 n.
Lane’s “Arabic Dictionary," 208 n.
"Laws of Manu," 4, passim.
Lee’s (Dr.) translation of Ibn Bátutah’s work, 110 n, passim.
Lee’s (Colonel) translation of an inscription on the mosque at Ājmír, 26; his translation of inscription (N.), 149; his objections to the determination of the relative values of gold and silver in Akbar’s time, 426 n.
Legend on coin No. 59, remarks on the, 79.
Lethbridge (Mr. E.) “Topography of the Mogul Empire," 440 n.
Lewis’s (Major H.) description of the
Malika-i-Jahân, a wife of Jalâl-ud-dîn Firuz Shâh, 164.
Malik Bandar Khilji, governor of Lakhnauti, 262 n.
Malik Chhajd, a nephew of Ghîâs-ud-Din Balban, 143.
Malik Nâsîf Kâfir (fifteenth king), history of, 176; coin of, No. 141, p. 177.
Mâlaw, boundaries of the kingdom of, 346; list of the kings of, 346; coins of, 348, 349.
Mankôt or Mânghâr, the site of the fortress of, erected during Islam Shâh's reign, 414.
Manucci, the Venetian traveller, 390 n. "Marasid-al-I'ttila," the, on the spelling of "Multân," 76 n.
Marco Polo, 234 n., passim.
Mas'âdî's spelling of the name "Multân," 76 n.
Mas'âdî, the French edition of his works, 35 n.
Mas'âdî III., Minaret of (woodcut), 9.
Mas'âdî of Ghazni, coin of (woodcut), 68 n.
Mash, the price of, 160, 429.
Maskelyne's (Mr. N. S.) estimate of the rate in Bâbar's time, 410 n.
Masson's (Charles) "Journey's in Bâluchistân," 26 n., passim.
Matchlockmen's pay, 430.
Maulavi Sadr-ud-din, a learned "Sadr ul Sadr," of Delhi, 159 n.
Maulawis Khadim Husain, one of the editors of the Calcutta edition of the "Tabakât-i-Nâsirî," 76.
McKenzie's (Colonel) "Map," 332 n.
Measure, modes of ascertaining the correctness of, 164.
Medals, posthumous (remarks on), 28.
Mêwar, list of the Gheelô kings of, 356; their patron divinity Eklinga, 386 n.
Minaret of Mas'âdî III. (woodcut), 9.
GENERAL INDEX.

Minhāj-us-Sirāj’s “Tabakât-i-Nasiri,” 6, passim.

MINT CITIES OF AKRAH, complete list of, 427, 428.

MINT CITIES OF ANONYMOUS COINS:—
Agrah, 385.
Alwar, 386.
Dehli, 386.
Jaunpur, 386.
Lahor, 386.
Mañjū, 386.

MINT CITIES OF BENGAL:—
Firdosabad, 161.
Ghīțāpūr, 153.
Lahnnaut, 149.
Munṣamābād, 153.
Sattigān, 151.
Shah Rau, 152.
Sonārgān, 152.

MINT CITIES OF THE PATHÁNS:—
Agrah, 396.
Bhānrad, 401.
Bīrā, 403.
Chunār, 399.
Dār al-Qām, 208.
Dār al-Khilafāt, 181.
Danistābād, 249.
Dehli, 16.
Deogir, 171.
Ghaζ, 152.
Ghūr, 15.
Gwálīor, 16.
Hīmār, 403.
Kālinjar, 40.
Kalpū, 394.
Kurnā, 92.
Kutbābād, 180.
Lahnnau, 107.
Lahor, 15.
Mūltān, 75.
Nagor, 78.
Nānār, 403.
Peelāwār, 16.
Rantambhūr, 401.
Sattigān, 412.
Shakīk-Bakar, 412.
Sharifabad, 398.
Shirgarh, 397.
Sind, 15.
Sonārgān, 216.

Mirkhond’s derivation of the name “Altamash,” 43.

Mīr Khusrow’s “Tārīkh ‘Alā,” 169, passim; his account of the buildings erected by ‘Alā-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh, 173; his “Story of Khīzr

Khān and Dewal Rant,” 177 n.; his “Kharān-ul-Futūḥ,” 233 n.
“Mitakshara,” the, 382 n.
Mohan Lal’s description of the town of Uchh, 94 n.
Mokulji, a GEhlōt king of Mewar, 356.
Monogrammatic emblems on coins in favour with the Turks, 87 n.
Montha, Muhammadan the, 6.
Morley’s “Digest,” 168 n.
Morley’s “Catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society’s MSS.,” 432 n.
Moth, the price of, 160, 429.
Munṣamābād, a mint city of Bengal, the site of, 163; Dr. Blochmann’s remarks on, 168 n.
Mubārkpūr, the site of, 332 n.
Mubārak Shāh (twenty-ninth king), history of, 330; coins of, Nos. 287–
290, p. 333.
Mubārak Shāh, king of Jaunpur, 320.
Mughal (Chaghāstāi) conquest of India, the, 378.
Mughal invaders, the, 174; coins of,
Nos. 139, 140, pp. 175, 176.
Muhammad ‘Adil Shāh (thirty-eighth king), history of, 414; coins of, Nos.
Muhammad, a king of Malwa and
Mañjū, 346.
Muhammad, a son of Ghīs-ud-dīn Balban, death of, 132.
Muhammadan coins, assays of, 324.
Muhammad Bakhtīr Khījī, of Bengal, 37.
Muhammad bin Firdūs Shāh (twenty-third king), account of, 306; coins of as joint king with his father, Nos. 261, 262, p. 307; his own coins, Nos. 263 (woodcut)—269, pp. 308–
309; posthumous coins of, Nos. 270, 271, pp. 309–310.
Muhammad bin Tughlak (nineteenth king), character of, 202; Ibn Battu-
tah’s account of the removal of the citizens of Dehli to Deogir by, 202 n.; lists of provinces in the dominions of,
203 n.; history of the reign of, 203, etc.; the excellence of the coinsage of, 206; coins of, Nos. 171 (woodcut), 172 (woodcut), 173 (woodcut), 174, 175 (woodcut), 176 (woodcut), 176, 177 (woodcut), 178 (woodcut), 179–188 (woodcut), pp. 207–215; small silver coins of, Nos. 189–194, p.

Muhammad Ghori, an appellation of Mu'izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sâm, 10.

Muhammad Khán Gária, governor of Bengal, 416.

Muhammad Khán, son of Firuz Shâh, 273.

Muhammad Khán, viceroy of Bihâr, 375.

Muhammad Shâh bin Mahmúd, king of Jaunpûr, 320; coins of, 322.

Muhammad Shâh I., a Bahmani king, 340.

Muhammad Shâh II., a Bahmani king, 341; coins of, 346.

Muhammad Shâh, a king of Gujurât, 350; coins of, 353.

Muhammad Shâh II., a king of Gujurât, 351.

Muir (Dr. J.), 295 n.

Mu’izz-ud-din Bahram Shâh (seventh king), 117; summary of the events of his reign, 118; coins of, Nos. 92–96, pp. 118–120.

Mu’izz-ud-din Kaiкуbâd (eleventh king), history of, 136; coins of, Nos. 116–119, pp. 141, 142.

Mu’izz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sâm (first Pathan king), history of the reign of, 10; coins bearing his own and his brother’s names, Nos. 1–3, pp. 12, 13; his own coins, Nos. 3a–14, pp. 14–16; coin bearing the joint names of Muhammad bin Sâm and Prithvî Râja (woodcut), No. 15, pp. 17, 18; Kanauj coins of, Nos. 18 (woodcut), and 19, p. 20; inscriptions (A) of, on the Kutb Minâr at Delhi, 21; (B), 22.

Mujâhid Shâh, a Bahmani king, 341.

Mukarrab Khán, a governor of Delhi, 312.

Mušâd Ikbâl Khán, commander of the fort of Siri, 313 n.; governor of Delhi and the Doabh, 315 n.

Multán, orthography of, 76; inscription (P.) of Ghîáš-ud-dîn Tughlak Shâh on the Jam’i Muejîd at, 192.

Murray’s “Travels in Asia,” 152 n.

Mutson, the price of, 439.

Muzaffar Shâh I., a king of Gujurât, 350.

Muzaffar Shâh II., a king of Gujurât, 350; coins of, p. 353.

Muzaffar Shâh III., a king of Gujurât, 361; coins of, p. 353.

Nágór, a mint city of the Pathâns, the site of, 78 n.

Nakhbâd, the price of, 160, 429.

Narâul, a mint city of Shîr Shâh, 403; noted for its copper mines, 403 n.; the site and size of, 416 n.

NâsÎr-ud-din, Bughrâ Khán, a son of Ghîáš-ud-dîn Bâlân, invested with the government of Bengal, 132; account of a curious meeting with his nephew, Mu’izz-ud-din Kâkubâd (eleventh king), on the banks of the Sarjû, 140.

NâsÎr-ud-din Khilji, a king of Mâlhâw and Mândû, 346; coins of, p. 349.

NâsÎr-ud-din Khuâsrâ (seventeenth king), history of, 183; coins of, Nos. 153, 156, pp. 185, 186.

NâsÎr-ud-din Mahmúd Shâh, heir-apparent of Shâms-ud-dîn Altamsh, 40; coin of (woodcut), No. 60, p. 81; summary of his history as governor of Lâhor, 82.

NâsÎr-ud-din Mahmúd (ninth king), history of, 124; summary of the events of the reign of, 125; coins of, Nos. 105–110 (woodcut), pp. 126–129; inscription (K) of, 129; the penmanship of, 130.

NâsÎr-ud-din Muhammad bin Hassan Kârlâgh, son of Saïf-ud-dîn Al-Hassan Kârlâgh, king of Sind, 98; coins of, Nos. 83, 84, p. 98 history of, 98.

Nashirwân the Great, of Persia, 34 n.

Nâwâb A’mûn-ud-dîn, of Lohârû, the possessor of a MS. of Miî Khusrâ’s “Târtikh ‘Alî,” 169 n.

Nicolò Conti’s “Travels,” 152 n.

Nîzâm Shâh, a Bahmani king, 341.

Nîzâm-ud-dîn, a castr of Mu’izz-ud-dîn Kâkubâd, 139.

Nîzâm-ud-dîn Ahmad’s “Tabâkát-i-Akbâr,” 121 n, pàssim; his return of Akbar’s revenue in 1593 A.D. 388; his notes as to the extent of Hindustân, 432.
Northern India, the coinage of. 54.
Noværi, quoted by D'Oehsson, 254 n.
Nāh bin Mansūr, a coin of, struck at
Bokhāra, 251.
Nusrat Khān, a son of Path Khān, 312; (twenty-sixth king), notice of, 318; coins of, Nos. 282-286, p. 318.
Nusrat Shāh of Bengal, 379.
Nurut-ud-din Tābāsa, a general of
Shams-ud-din Altamash, 67, 68 n.

ODA, a Gehlot king of Mewar, 366.
Ouseley's "Oriental Geography," 187 n., passim.
Ovid, 231 n.
Oxon, the price of, 260.

PACHIMBA DEVA, an Indian
king, coin of, No. 2, p. 59 n.
Pārīsā, meaning of the term, 184 n.
Parkes (Mr. H.), in the Journal of the
Royal Asiatic Society, 239 n.
Pathān Empire, list of the Sultāns of the, 7; its distribution at the time of Timdr's invasion, 315 n.
Pathān tomb at Sepree, near Gwālīor
(woodcut), 41.
Péas, the price of, 260.
Persian history, an incident in, 34 n.
Perwān, a mint city, site of, 86 n.
Piplā Rāja Deva, an Indian king, coin of, No. 3, p. 59 n.
Poole's (B.S.) "Weights and Measures" in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," 223, 362.
Pottinger's (Sir H.) "Travels in
Beloochistan and Sind," 187 n.
Price's "Muhammadan History," 26 n., passim; his "Inscriptions," 66 n.
Prinsep's (J.), "Essays, etc.," 18 n., passim.
Prinsep (H. T.), in the Journal of the
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 26 n.
Prithvi Rāja of Ajmir, a Chōhān
leader, 11; coin bearing his name and that of Mūliz-ud-din Muhammad
bin Sām (woodcut), p. 17.
Prithvi Rāja, referred to in an
inscription at Hansi, copied by Capt.
Fell, 60 n.; coin of, No. 38, p. 64.
(See also pp. 17, 18.)
Prithvi (Varma) Deva, a Chāndel
king of Kānauj, 18; coin of, No.
17, p. 19.
Prices of provisions, enforced by Ala-
ud-din Muhammad Shāh, 160; ordi-
inary in Muhammad bin Tughlak's
time, 260; in Firuz Shāh's time, 283; in Akbar's time, 429.
Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of
Bengal, 151 n., passim.
PROVERBS:
"A second Hátim Táí," 36.
"Dehli is distant," 205.
"Dominion and greatness are of
God," coin No. 193, p. 216.
"Giver of laks," 36.
"It is a far cry to Lochow," 205 n.
"King of the land, martyr of the
sea," 360 n.
"Lords of Elephants," 331.
"Mansil of Damik," 11.
"Owners of Elephants," 331.
"Possessor of two lights," 397 n.
"The asylum of the world," 399.
"The last city," 323.
"The lion of war," 356 n.
Pulse, the price of, 420.
Punjab, the Brahminical kings of 54.

QUATERNARY scale in general use
in India, 4.
Quatemère (M.) in "Notices et Ex-
trains," 218.
Quicpo's (Don V.) "Essai sur les
systèmes Métriques et Monétaires
des anciens peuples."

RAIMAL, a Gehlot king of Mewar,
366.
Raja Partáp Sing, governor of Kampila
and Patáli, 338 n.
Rajendra Lala Mitra, in the Journal of the
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 63 n.
Ramadatta's coins, 362.
Ramsurn dá's version of inscription
(I.) at Pálam, 137.
Rána Khumbo, a Gehlot king of
Mewar, the monumental "Jaya
Stambha" of, 354; his defeat of the
armies of Gujarát and Málwah, 356;
coin of, No. 309, p. 356.
Rána Mālik Bhatti, whose daughter was
the mother of Firuz Shāh, 272 n.
Rantambhór, a mint city of Shīr Shāh,
401; assigned to Adil Khán, 401 n.;
the site of, 401 n.
Rashid-ud-din's derivation of the name
"Altamah," 43; his "Jam'i-ál-
Tawārikh," 54 n.
Reading of a competent authority at
Dehli of inscription (C.) on the Kub
Minár, 23 n.
Bedhouse's (Mr.) derivation of the name "Altamash," 44 m.

Reinaud's "Fragments Arabes et Persans relatifs à l'Inde," 47 m.

Relative values of gold and silver, 231, 232, 234, 424.

Remarks on the weight of various Indian coins, p. 217.

Rennell's (Major) "Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan," 110 m, passim.

Rice, the price of, 160, 260, 429.

Richardson's "Persian Dictionary," 433 m.

Rizah (sixth ruler), history of, 104; coins of, Nos. 90, 91, pp. 107, 108.

"Rizah," comments on the meaning of the term, 108.

Roe's (Sir Thos.) account of Jahangir's revenues, 444 m.

Royal Asiatic Society's MS. No. 77, xcviil, 423 m.

Rukn Chand, 301; sastr of Abu'l Bakr bin Zafar Khan, 303.

Rukn-ud-din Firuz Shâh (fifth king), history of, 102; coins of, Nos. 88, 89, p. 103.

Rukn-ud-din Ibrâhîm (thirteenth king), history of, 154; coins of, Nos. 126-129, p. 165.

Rukn-ud-din Kai Kânsa, of Bengal, 148; coin of, No. 126, p. 149; inscription (N.) of, 149.

Rulers of Bengal, list of the, 8.

S'AADAT KHAN, a noble of Mahmûd bin Muhammad Shâh's court, 312.

Sábab, an Emperor of the Turks in the Sassanian period, 94 m.

Sacy (M. Silvestre de) in the Journal des Savants, 211 m, passim.

Samhara, Shir Shâh's Mausoleum at, 394 m.

Saif-ud-din Al-Hasan Karlagh, a general of Jalâl-ud-din Mankbarn, history of, 92; coins of, No. 79 (woodcut), p. 95, 80-82, p. 96.

Saleh's Kúran. 178 m, passim.

Sallakshana Pâla Deva, an Indian king of the Kábul dynasty, 58; coin of, No. 33, pp. 62; remarks on the name of, 62 m.

Salt, the price of, 160, 429.

Sanga, a Pahlâvi king of Mewar, 356; coin of, No. 310, p. 357.

Sanguinetti (M. R. R.), one of the editors of the French edition of Ibn Batûtah's work, 162 m.

Sârang Khan, brother of Mullah Ikbal Khan, 326.

Sarvar ul Mulk, a sastr of Mubarak Shâh, 333, 335.

Şatratykta, or "one hundred rasti," 3.

Sassanian period, the, in Persian history (an incident in), 34 m.

Sayyidkhan, a Bengal mint city, site of, 151 m.

Sauley (M. de), in the Journal Asiatique, 242 m.

Scott's "Deccan," 346 m.

Sepree, Pathân tomb at (woodcut), 41.

Sesamum oil, the price of, 160, 429.

Shah-ud-din Bughrâb Shâh, third king of Bengal, history of, 194; coin of, No. 168, p. 197.

Shâh Jahân, a gold mohur of, 423 m.

Shâh Jahân's revenues, 439; his revenues for 1648 A.D. tabulated with those of other Indian monarchs, 445; list of the provinces in his dominions, with the revenue yielded by each, 446.

Shâh-ud-din Tâj Khân, at Dehli, inscription of Sikandar Lodi on the breast of, 370.

Shâh-ud-din 'Umar, a son of Alâ-ud-din Muhammad Shâh, 177.

Shahr Naw, a mint city of Bengal, 162.

Shâh Rukh, the Mughal Sultan of Persia (his money copied by Bâbar), 381.

Shâh Saif ul Hâqqârî, a Muhammadan saint, 94 m.

Shâh Siäd Jalâl, a Muhammadan saint, 94 m.

Shahâth Mubârâk bin Mahâmûd Anâbatî's "Mâsâlik al Abâr," 203, passim.

Shams-ı-Sirâj 'Affâ's "Manâkib-i-Sultân Toughlak," 187 m; his "Târîkh-i-Firuz Shâhî," 187 m., passim.

Shams Khan, governor of Biâna, 315 m.

Shams-ud-din, a Bahmani king, 341.

Shams-ud-din Altamâsh's mint standard, 3; (fourth king), history of, 42; the orthography of his name, 43, 44; outline of the rise of, 44; summary of the events of his reign, 45; coins of, No. 28 (woodcut), p. 46, Nos. 28a-31, pp. 52, 53, Nos. 41, 42, pp. 70, 71, 44, pp. 74, 46-59 (woodcut), pp. 75-78; portrait of, 78; inscriptions (P. G. H. I. and J.) of, 78, 80; his alien contemporaries on Indian soil, 84.

Shams-ud-din Firuz, second king of Bengal, history of, 198; coins of,
Nos. 166, 167, p. 194; inscriptions of, 195 n.
Shams-ud-din Ilīs Shāh, the eighth king of Bengal, 261; history of, 267; mint cities of, 269.
Sharif-i-bād, a Pathān mint city, 392; a Sīrāk of Bengal, 399; the assessment of, 399.
Sheep, the price of, 260, 429.
Sherif Jālāl-ud-din Khāsa Shāh, commandant in Malabar, 253 n.
Sherif-ud-dīn’s “Timur Bec,” 187 n.
Sīrghar, a Pathān mint city, 397; site of, 397 n.
Shīr Shāh (thirty-sixth king), his character, 392; Erskine and Elliot’s opinions of, 392 n.; outline of the career of, 392; coins of, Nos. 340, 341 (woodcut), 342, 343 (woodcut), 344 (woodcut), 345–348, 349a (woodcut), 349–352, 353 (woodcut), 354–362, pp. 394–408; Mausoleum of Shīr Shāh at Sāhāram, 394 n.; note on his coins, 408; the rate of exchange of gold and silver in the time of, 405; inquiry as to the weight of his maansa, 406; exchange rate of copper and silver in his time, 410.
Shekleton’s (Dr.), objections to the author’s determination of the relative values of gold and silver in Akbar’s time, 425 n.
“Sicca Rupees” of the East India Company, 330.
Sīhāsāh coins of Akbar, list of, 422 n., 423 n.; Ābil Fazl’s enumeration of the values of, 424.
Sikandari tankah, remarks on the, 386; the number of equal to the gas of Sikandar Lodi, 370; compared with Babar’s Bokhārā money, 384; association of with Akbar’s double dima, 387; the method of reckoning in Sikandari tankahs adopted by Babar, 437.
Sikandar Shāh (twenty-fourth king), 311; coins of, Nos. 372–375, p. 311.
Sikandar Lodi (thirty-third king), resume of the reign of, 385; coins of, Nos. 315, 317, p. 386; note on the coinage of, 366; inscription (T.) of, at Dehli, 370; the yard measure, or gas, of, 370.
Sikandar Shāh, a king of Gujarāt, 350.
Sikandar Shāh (fortieth king), history of, 416; coins of, Nos. 369, 370, p. 417.
Sīrj-ud-dīn Abūl Fath Omar’s list of the provinces in the dominion of Muhammad bin Tughlak, 203 n.; 217 n., passim.
Slaves, female, the price of, 179.
Smith’s “Dictionary of the Bible,” 223 n., 362 n.
Someswara deva, a Chōhān raja of Ajmir, 58; coin of, No. 37, p. 63.
Sūnīr, anecdote of, 344 n.
Sonārγaon, a mint city of Bengal, 152.
Soret’s (M.) “Lettre sur la Numismatique,” 384 n.
Srī Hammirāk, remarks on these words occurring on Pathān Coins, with the opinions of General Cunningham, Sir W. Elliot and J. Prinsep on the same subject, 60 n.
Srī Kālha deva, an Indo-Kābul king, coin of, 59 n.
Srī Kīti . . . . Deva, a king of the Indo-Kābul dynasty, coin of, 59 n.
State coinage and its interchangeable rates under Muhammad bin Tughlak, 219, etc.
Stewart’s “Bengal,” 148 n., passim.
Stewart’s “Catalogue of Tipper Sultan’s Library,” 432 n.
St. Martin’s (M. Vivien de) “Étude de Paris,” and “Revue Germanique,” 168 n.
Sulasīmak Mirza, governor of Badakhshān, 379.
Sūltān Shāhīr, of Bīāna, 365.
Sugar, the price of, 160, 260, 283, 429.
Sugar-candy, the price of, 260.
Syūd Ahmad Khān’s “Astar-us-Sunnadeed,” 20, passim; his reading of inscription (C.), 23 n.; his transcript of inscription (L.), 136.
Syūd Mahmūd Shāh, 393.

TAPAKET-I-NASIRI, the Calcutta edition, edited by Maulawī Khādim Husain and ‘Abd-al-Haï, 11 n., passim; Col. Lees’s translation, 32 n., passim.
TAKLIS:—
Akbar’s coinage, 418–421.
Akbar’s mint cities, 427, 428.
Akbar’s revenue, 433, 434.
Akbar’s Seigniorage, 427.
Akbar’s Sīhāsāh coins, 422 n., 423 n.
Alien contemporaries of Shams-ud-din Altamah on Indian soil, 86.
TABLES—continued.
Indian weights (in the time of Bābar), 222 n.
Indian and other foreign weights, 223 n.
Kashmīr weights, 222 n.
Southern Indian weights, 224 n.
State coinage and its interchangeable rates under Muhammad bin Tughlak, 219.
Tale of shells, 384 n.
Tested and average weights of the gold fenām, 170 n.
The present English equivalent of the different Indian mana, 163 n.
The reiktād reduced into paramāṇus, 186 n.
Values of damāris and dināris, 384 n.
Tabris Tchao, an edict, 240.
Tabris, the people of, 243.
Tahalīdār of Murādābād, test of the Gas by the, 374.
Tagara, the old name of Daulatābād, 171 n.
Taj Khān Barangkhānī, a governor of the Fort of Chunār, 400.
Tāj-ud-din Uduk, lieutenant of Mu'izzud-din Muhammad bin Sām, coinage of, 25; coins of, Nos. 26 (woodcut), 23 (woodcut), 24, pp. 29–31.
Tāj ul Mulk, over of Khir Khān, 327.
Tākt, Wilson's remarks on, 49 n.
Tānkh, the derivation of the term, 49 n; Erskine's note on, 49 n; Sir W. Elliot's note on, 224 n.
Tārikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī, 69 n, passim.
Tausy's (M. Garcin de) translation of the "Āstr-us-Summadud," in the Journal Asiatique, 29 n, passim.
Thornberg's Arabic text of Ibn Adr's "Kāmil-al-Tawārīkh," 86 n.
Thornton's "Gazetteer," 397 n.
Tiefenthaler, 397 n.
Timur's "Mafṣūsāt-i-Timūrī," 313 n, passim; his account of the state of India, 313 n.
Tirdī Beg, the Mughal governor of Dehli, 415.
Tod's "Annals of Rajasthan, etc.,” 17 n, passim.
Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, 68 n, passim.
Tremoyle's (Captain) notice of the city of Daulatābād, in the Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 210 n.
Tudr, remarks on the name, 56 n.
Tughlakābād, site of the fort of, 192.
Tughral, governor of Bengal, 132.
GENERAL INDEX.

U OHH, description of the town, by Munshi Mohan Lal, 94 n.
Ulugh Mirzâ, 393.
Uphag, the son of Kilavala, 61 n.
Utar, the son of Haripâl, 136; his inscription at Pâlam, 137.

VIGNE, G. J., Esq., sketch of the Minaret of Mas’ud III. by, 9.
Vikramaditya era, system of dating coins in, 123.

WALI-ULLAH, a Bahmani king, 341.
Wassif’s derivation of the name “Altamah,” 48.
Weber (Prof.), on the rati and madâka, 166 n.; his “Über den Veda Kalender, Namen Jyotisham,” 168 n.
Weights and Measures. See TABLES OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.
Wheat, the prices of, 144 n., 160, 280, 283, 429.

YAJNAVALKYA, 165 n., passim.
Yukut’s “Mushtarik,” 26 n., passim.
Yard measure of Sikander Lodi, 370;
Cunningham’s remarks on, 372 n.;
Abul Fazl’s confession as to the priority of the, 373.
Yule (Col.), his “Cathay, and the way thither,” 161 n., passim; his specimen of the early Ming dynasty’s paper currency, 241; his copy of an official Senad, or grant, of the Emperor Akbar, 295 n.

ZAFAR, a son of Firuz Shâh, 299;
coins bearing their names con-
jointly, Nos. 245 (woodcut)—249, pp.
300, 301.
Zafar Khan, governor of Gujarât, 315 n.
Zita-ud-din Barni’s “Tarikh-I-Firds Shâhî,” 126 n., passim; his merits as a writer, 133; his incorrect dates, 141 n., 142 n.; the same rectified, 149;
his account of the meeting of Mu’izz-
ud-din Kaikubâd and Bughra Khan, 139, 140 n.; his list of the provinces in the dominions of Muhammad bin Tughlak, 203 n.
Zita-ud-din Khan, of Lobâru, 278 n., 286 n.
LINGUISTIC PUBLICATIONS
OF
TRÜBNER & CO.,
8 AND 60, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.


Alabaster.—The Wheel of the Law: Buddhism ILLUSTRATED FROM SIAMESE SOURCES by the Modern Buddhist, a Life of Buddha, and an Account of the Phra Bat. By Henry Alabaster, Esq., Interpreter of Her Majesty's Consul-GENERAL in Siam; Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Demy Svo. pp. viii. and 324. sewed. 1871. 14s.

Alouk.—A Practical Grammar of the Japanese Language. By Sir Rutherford Alouk, Resident British Minister at Jeddoo. 4to. pp. 61, sewed. 18s.


Algur.—The Poetry of the Orient. By William Rounseville Alger, Svo. cloth, pp. xii. and 337. 9s.


This celebrated Edition of the Arabian Nights is now, for the first time, offered at a price which makes it accessible to Scholars of limited means.

Andrews.—A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language, to which is appended an English-Hawaiian Vocabulary, and a Chronological Table of Remarkable Events. By Lorin Andrews. Svo. pp. 580, cloth. £1 11s. 6d.


Asher.—On the Study of Modern Languages in General, and of the English Language in particular. An Essay. By David Asher, Ph.D. 12mo. pp. viii. and 80, cloth. 2s.

Asiatic Society.—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Commencement to 1863. First Series, complete in 20 Vols. Svo., with many Plates. Price £10; or, in Single Numbers, as follows:—Nos. 1 to 14, 6s. each; No. 15, 2 Parts, 4s. each; No. 16, 2 Parts, 4s. each; No. 17, 2 Parts, 4s. each; No. 18, 6s. These 18 Numbers form Vols. I. to IX.—Vol. X., Part 1, op.; Part 2, 5s.; Part 3, 5s.—Vol. XI., Part 1, 5s.; Part 2 not published.—Vol. XII., 2 Parts, 6s. each.—Vol. XIII., 2 Parts, 6s. each.—Vol. XIV., Part 1, 5s.; Part 2 not published.—Vol. XV., Part 1, 6s.; Part 2, with Maps, 10s.—Vol. XVI., 2 Parts, 6s. each.—Vol. XVII., 2 Parts, 6s. each.—Vol. XVIII., 2 Parts, 6s. each.—Vol. XIX., Parts 1 to 4, 16s.—Vol. XX., 3 Parts, 4s. each.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.


Vol. III. In Two Parts. pp. 516. With Photographs. 22s.


Vol. IV. In Two Parts. pp. 521. 16s.

8 and 60, Paternoster Row, London.


Asiatic Society.—TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Complete in 3 vols. 4to., 80 Plates of Facsimiles, etc., cloth. London, 1827 to 1835. Published at £9 5s. reduced to £3 3s. 6d.

The above contains contributions by Professor Wilson, G. C. Haughton, Davis, Morrison-Colebrooke, Humboldt, Dorn, Grotefend, and other eminent Oriental scholars.

Auctores Sanscriti. Edited for the Sanskrit Text Society, under the supervision of Theodor Goldstücker. Vol. I., containing the Jaininiya-Nyáya-Málí-Vistara. Parts I. to V., pp. 1 to 400, large 4to. sewed. 10s. each part.


Bachmaier.—PASIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY AND GRAMMAR. By Anton Bachmaier, President of the Central Pasigraphical Society at Munich. 18mo. cloth, pp. viii.; 26; 160. 1870. 5s. 6d.

Bachmaier.—PASIOGRAPHISCHES WÖRTERBUCH ZUM GEBRAUCHE FÜR DIE DEUTSCHEN SPRACHEN. Verfasst von Anton Bachmaier, Vorsitzendem des Central-Vereins für Pasigraphie in München. 18mo. cloth, pp. viii.; 32; 128; 120. 1870. 2s. 6d.

Bachmaier.—DICTIONNAIRE PASIOGRAPHIQUE, PRÉCÉDÉ DE LA GRAMMAIRE. Rédigé par Antoine Bachmaier, Président de la Société Centrale de Pasigraphie à Munich. 18mo. cloth, pp. vi. 26; 168; 150. 1870. 2s. 6d.

Ballad Society’s Publications.—Subscriptions—Small paper, one guinea, and large paper, three guineas, per annum.

1868.


2. BALLADS FROM MANUSCRIPTS. Vol. I. Part 2. [In the Press.


4. THE RUSHERTHE BALLADS. Part 1. With short Notes by W. Chappell, Esq., F.S.A., author of “Popular Music of the Olden Time,” etc., etc., and with copies of the Original Woodcuts, drawn by Mr. Rudolph Blind and Mr. W. H. Hooper, and engraved by Mr. J. H. Rimbaud and Mr. Hooper. 8vo.
Ballad Society's Publications—continued.
1870.

5. THE ROXBURGH BALLADS. Vol. I. Part II. With short Notes by W. Chappell, Esq., F.S.A., and with copies of the Original Woodcuts, drawn by Mr. Rudolph Blind and Mr. W. H. Hooper, and engraved by Mr. J. H. Rimbault and Mr. Hooper.

Ballantyne.—ELEMENTS OF HINDI AND BRAHUI GRAMMAR. By the late James R. Ballantyne, LL.D. Second edition, revised and corrected. Crown 8vo., pp. 44, cloth. 5s.


Beal.—TRAVELS OF FAN HIAN AND SUNG-YUW, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India (400 a.d. and 518 a.d.) Translated from the Chinese, by S. Beal (B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge), a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Fleet, a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Author of a Translation of the Pratimêkâha and the Aníthâka Sûtra from the Chinese. Crown 8vo. pp. xxxiii. and 210, cloth, ornamental, with a coloured map, 10s. 6d.

Beal.—A CATENA OF BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES FROM THE CHINESE. By S. Beal, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge; a Chaplain in Her Majesty's Fleet, etc. 8vo. cloth, pp. xiv. and 436. 1871. 16s.


Beames.—NOTES ON THE BOJUPUR DIALECT OF HINDI, spoken in Western Bihâr. By John Beames, Esq., B.C.S., Magistrate of Champaran. 8vo. pp. 26, sewed. 1866. 1s. 6d.

Bell.—ENGLISH VISIBLE SPEECH FOR THE MILLION, for communicating the Exact Pronunciation of the Language to Native or Foreign Learners, and for Teaching Children and illiterate Adults to Read in few Days. By Alexander Melville Bell, F.E.I.S., F.R.S.S.A., Lecturer on Elocution in University College, London. 4to. sewed, pp. 16. 1s.

Bell.—VISIBLE SPEECH; the Science of Universal Alphabets, or Self-Interpreting Physiological Letters, for the Writing of all Languages in one Alphabet. Illustrated by Tables, Diagrams, and Examples. By Alexander Melville Bell, F.E.I.S., F.R.S.A., Professor of Vocal Physiology, etc. 4to., pp. 156, cloth. 16s.

Bellow.—A DICTIONARY OF THE PUKHTO, or PUKHTO LANGUAGE, on a New and Improved System. With a reversed Pirt, or English and Pukhto. By H. W. Bellow, Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Army. Super Royal 8vo., pp. xii. and 356, cloth. 42s.

Bellow.—A GRAMMAR OF THE PUKHTO OR PUKHTO LANGUAGE, on a New and Improved System. Combining Brevity with Utility, and Illustrated by Exercises and Dialogues. By H. W. Bellow, Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Army. Super-royal 8vo., pp. xii. and 156, cloth. 21s.


Bellows.—OUTLINE DICTIONARY, FOR THE USE OF MISSIONARIES, EXPLORERS, AND STUDENTS OF LANGUAGE. By Max Müller, M.A., Taylorian Professor in the University of Oxford. With an Introduction on the proper use of the ordinary English Alphabet in transcribing Foreign Languages. The Vocabulary compiled by John Bellows. Crown 8vo. Limp morocco, pp. xxxi. and 368. 7s. 6d.
Beney.—A Practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, for the use of Early Students. By Theodor Beney, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Göttingen. Second, revised and enlarged, edition. Royal 8vo. pp. viii. and 296. cloth. 10s. 6d.

Beurmann.—Vocabulary of the Tigre Language. Written down by Moritz von Beurmann. Published with a Grammatical Sketch. By Dr. A. Marx, of the University of Jena. pp. viii. and 78, cloth. 3s. 6d.

Bholanath Chunder.—The Travels of a Hindoo to Various Parts of Bengal and Upper India. By Bholanath Chunder, Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. With an Introduction by J. Talboys Wheeler, Esq., Author of "The History of India." Dedicated, by permission, to His Excellency Sir John Laird Mac Lawrence, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, etc. In 2 volumes, crown 8vo., cloth, pp. xxxv. and 440, eighth and 410. 21s.

Bignandet.—The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese, with Annotations. The ways to Nalban, and Notice on the Pongyies, or Burmese Monks. By the Right Reverend P. Bignandet, Bishop of Ramatha, Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu. 8vo. sewed, pp. xi., 538, and v. 18s.


Blek.—Reynard in South Africa; or, Hottentot Fables. Translated from the Original Manuscript in Sir George Grey's Library. By Dr. W. H. I. Bleek, Librarian to the Grey Library, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope. In one volume, small 8vo., pp. xxxi. and 94, cloth. 3s. 6d.

Bombay Sanskrit Series. Edited under the superintendence of G. Bühlcr, Ph. D., Professor of Oriental Languages, Elphinstone College, and F. Kielhorn, Ph. D., Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, Deccan College.

Already published.

1. Panchatantra IV. and V. Edited, with Notes, by G. Bühler, Ph. D. Pp. 84, 16. 4s. 6d.

2. Nagajināta's Parabhaskendusēkhara. Edited and explained by F. Kielhorn, Ph. D. Part I., the Sanskrit Text and various readings. pp. 116. 3s. 6d.

3. Panchatantra II. and III. Edited, with Notes, by G. Bühler, Ph. D. Pp. 86, 16, 2. 5s. 6d.

4. Panchatantra I. Edited, with Notes, by F. Kielhorn, Ph. D. Pp. 114, 55. 5s. 6d.


Bottrell.—Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall. By William Bottrell (an old Celt). Demy 12mo. pp. vi. 292, cloth. 1870. 6s.


6

Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.

Brinton.—The Myths of the New World. A Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Races of America. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D. Crown 8vo. cloth, pp. viii. and 308. 10s. 6d.

Brown.—The Dervishes; or, Oriental Spirituality. By JOHN P. BROWN, Secretary and Dragesman of the Legation of the United States of America at Constantinople. With twenty-four Illustrations. 8vo. cloth, pp. viii. and 415. 14s.

Brown.—Carnatic Chronology. The Hindu and Mahomedan Methods of Reckoning Time explained; with Essays on the Systems; Symbols used for Numerals, a new Tittular Method of Memory, Historical Records, and other subjects. By CHARLES PHILIP BROWN, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society; late of the Madras Civil Service; Telugu Translator to Government; Senior Member of the College Board, etc.; Author of the Telugu Dictionaries and Grammar, etc. 4to. sewed, pp. xii. and 90. 10s. 6d.

Brown.—Sanskrit Proseody and Numerical Symbols Explained. By CHARLES PHILIP BROWN, Author of the Telugu Dictionary, Grammar, etc., Professor of Telugu in the University of London. Demy 8vo. pp. 64, cloth. 5s. 6d.

Buddhaghosa.—Buddhaghosa's Parables: translated from Burmese by Captain H. T. ROGERS, R.E. With an Introduction containing Buddha's Dharmapadam, or, Path of Virtue; translated from Pali by F. MAX MÜLLER. 8vo. pp. 578, cloth. 12s. 6d.

Burgess.—Surya-Siddhanta (Translation of the): A Text-book of Hindu Astronomy, with Notes and an Appendix, containing additional Notes and Tables, Calculations of Eclipses, a Stellar Map, and Indexes. By REV. EBERHARD BURGESS, formerly Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions in India; assisted by the Committee of Publication of the American Oriental Society. 8vo. pp. iv. and 354, boards. 15s.


Byington.—Grammar of the Choctaw Language. By the REV. CYRUS BYINGTON. Edited from the Original MSS. in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, by D. G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D., Member of the American Philosophical Society, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Corresponding Member of the American Ethnological Society, etc. 8vo. sewed, pp. 56. 12s.

Calcutta Review.—The Calcutta Review. Published Quarterly. Price 8s. 6d.

Callaway.—Izinganekwane, Nensumusumane, Nenindara, Zabantu (Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus). In their own words, with a Translation into English, and Notes. By the REV. HENRY CALLAWAY, M.D. Volume I. 8vo. pp. xiv. and 378, cloth. Natal, 1866 and 1867. 16s.

Callaway.—The Religious System of the Amazulu. Part I.—Unkulunkulu; or, the Tradition of Creation as existing among the Amazulu and other Tribes of South Africa, in their own words, with a translation into English, and Notes. By the Rev. Canon CALLAWAY, M.D. 8vo. pp. 128, sewed. 1868. 4s.

Part II.—Amatongo; or, Ancestor Worship, as existing among the Amazulu, in their own words, with a translation into English, and Notes. By the Rev. CANON CALLAWAY, M.D. 1869. 8vo. pp. 127, sewed. 1869. 4s.

Part III.—Izinyanga Zokubula; or, Divination, as existing among the Amazulu, in their own words. With a Translation into English, and Notes. By the Rev. CANON CALLAWAY, M.D. 8vo. pp. 160, sewed. 1870. 4s.

Part IV.—On Medical Magic and Witchcraft. [In preparation.

Calligaris.—Le Compagnon de Tours, ou Dictionnaire Polyglotte. Par le Colonel Louis CALLIGARIS, Grand Officier, etc. (French—Latin—Italian—Spanish—Portuguese—German—English—Modern Greek—Arabic—Turkish). 2 vol. 4to., pp. 1157 and 746. Turin. £4 4s.
Canones Lexicographici; or, Rules to be observed in Editing the New English Dictionary of the Philological Society, prepared by a Committee of the Society. 8vo., pp. 12, sewed. 6d.

Carpenter.—The Last Days in England of the Raja Rammohun Roy. By Mary Carpenter, of Bristol. With Five Illustrations. 8vo. pp. 272, cloth. 7s. 6d.

Carr.—A Collection of Telugu Proverbs, Translated, Illustrated, and Explained; together with some Sanscrit Proverbs printed in the Devnâgarî and Telugu Characters. By Captain M. W. Carr, Madras Staff Corps. One Vol, and Supplement, royal 8vo. pp. 488 and 148. 31s. 6d


Chalmers.—The Origin of the Chinese; an Attempt to Trace the connection of the Chinese with Western Nations in their Religion, Superstitions, Arts, Language, and Traditions. By John Chalmers, A.M. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, pp. 78. 2s. 6d.

Chalmers.—The Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality of “The Old Philosophers” Lau Tze. Translated from the Chinese, with an Introduction by John Chalmers, M.A. Fcap. 8vo. cloth, xx. and 62. 4s. 6d.


Charnock.—Ludus Patronymicus; or, the Etymology of Curious Surnames. By Richard Stephen Charnock, Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S. Crown 8vo., pp. 182, cloth. 7s. 6d.

Charnock.—Verba Nominalia; or Words derived from Proper Names. By Richard Stephen Charnock, Ph. Dr. F.S.A., etc. 8vo. pp. 326, cloth. 14s.


Chaucer Society's Publications. Subscription, two guineas per annum. 1868. First Series.

Canterbury Tales. Part I.

I. The Prologue and Knight's Tale, in 6 parallel Texts (from the 6 MSS. named below), together with Tables, showing the Groups of the Tales, and their varying order in 38 MSS. of the Tales, and in the old printed editions, and also Specimens from several MSS. of the "Moveable Prologues" of the Canterbury Tales.—The Shipman's Prologue, and Franklin's Prologue,—when moved from their right places, and of the substitutes for them.

II. The Prologue and Knight's Tale from the Ellesmere MS.

III. " " " " " " " " Hengwrt 154.

IV. " " " " " " " Cambridge Og. 4. 27.

V. " " " " " " " Corpus Oxford.

VI. " " " " " " " Petworth

VII. " " " " " " " Landowen 551.

Nos. II. to VII. are separate Texts of the 6-Text edition of the Canterbury Tales, Part I.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.

Chaucer Society's Publications—continued.

1868. Second Series.

On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer, containing an investigation of the Correspondence of Writing with Speech in England, from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present day, preceded by a systematic notation of all spoken sounds, by means of the ordinary printing types. Including a re-arrangement of Prof. F. J. Child's Memoire on the Language of Chaucer and Gower, and Reprints of the Rare Tracts by Salesbury on English, 1547, and Welsh, 1567, and by Barclay on French, 1621. By Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., etc., etc. Part I. On the Pronunciation of the XIVth, XVth, XVIIIth, and XIXth centuries.


1869. First Series.

VIII. The Miller's, Reeve's, Cook's, and Gamelyn's Tales: Ellesmere MS. 9vo. 1s. 6d.
IX. " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 

1869. Second Series.

English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspere and Chaucer. By Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S. Part II.

1870. First Series.

XIV. The Miller's, Reeve's, and Cook's Tales, with an Appendix of the Spurious Tale of Gamelyn, in Six parallel Texts.

Childers.—Khuddaka Patha. A Pâli Text, with a Translation and Notes. By R. C. Childers, late of the Ceylon Civil Service. 8vo. pp. 32, stitched. 1s. 6d.

Childers.—A Pâli-English Dictionary, with Sanskrit Equivalents, and with numerous Quotations, Extracts, and References. Compiled by R. C. Childers, late of the Ceylon Civil Service. [In preparation.]


Clarke.—Ten Great Religions; An Essay in Comparative Theology. By James Freeman Clarke. 8vo. cloth, pp. x. and 528. 1871. 14s.


Coleman.—Fourth Zulu-Kafir Reading Book. By the same. 8vo. pp. 160, cloth. Natal, 1859. 7s.

Coleman.—Three Native Accounts of the Visits of the Bishop of Natal in September and October, 1859, to Umphandze, King of the Zulus; with Explanatory Notes and a Literal Translation, and a Glossary of all the Zulu Words employed in the same: designed for the use of Students of the Zulu Language. By the Right Rev. John W. Coleman, Bishop of Natal. 16mo. pp. 160, stiff cover. Natal, Maritzburg, 1860. 4s. 6d.

Coleridge.—A Glossarial Index to the Printed English Literature of the Thirteenth Century. By Herbert Coleridge, Esq. 8vo. pp. 104, cloth. 2s. 6d.

Colecacoe de Vocabulos e Frases usados na Provincia de S. Pedro, do Rio Grande do Sul, no Brasil. 12mo. pp. 32, sewed. 1s.

Contopoulo.—A Lexicon of Modern Greek-English and English Modern Greek. By N. Contopoulo.
Part I. Modern Greek-English. 8vo. cloth, pp. 460. 12s.
Part II. English-Modern Greek. 8vo. cloth, pp. 582. 15s.

Cunningham.—The Ancient Geography of India. I. The Buddhist Period, including the Campaigns of Alexander, and the Travels of Hwen-Thsang. By Alexander Cunningham, Major-General, Royal Engineers (Bengal Retired). With thirteen Maps. 8vo. pp. xx. 590, cloth. 1870. 28s.

Cunningham.—An Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture, as exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir. By Captain (now Major-General) Alexander Cunningham. 8vo. pp. 86, cloth. With seventeen large folding Plates. 18s.

Cunningham.—The Bhilsa Topes; or, Buddhist Monuments of Central India: comprising a brief Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Buddhism; with an Account of the Opening and Examination of the various Groups of Topes around Bhilsa. By Rev.-Major Alexander Cunningham, Bengal Engineer. Illustrated with thirty-three Plates. 8vo. pp. xxxvi. 370, cloth. 1854. 21s.


Delepierre.—Essai Historique et Bibliographique sur les Rébus. Par Octave Delepierre. 8vo. pp. 24, sewed. With 15 pages of Woodcuts. 1870. 2s. 6d.


Doolittle.—An English and Chinese Dictionary. By the Rev. Justus Doolittle, China. [In the Press.
Early English Text Society's Publications. Subscription, one guinea per annum.


3. Ann Compendious and Breu Tractate Concerning Ye Office and Dewtie of Kynges, etc. By William Laudor. (1556 A.D.) Edited by F. Hall, Esq., D.C.L. 4s.


5. Of the Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britane Tongue; a treatise, noe shorter than necessarie, for the Schooles, by Alexander Hume. Edited for the first time from the unique MS. in the British Museum (about 1617 A.D.), by Henry B. Wheatley, Esq. 4s.


7. The Story of Genesis and Exodus, an Early English Song, of about 1250 A.D. Edited for the first time from the unique MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by R. Morris, Esq. 8s.


10. Merlin, or the Early History of King Arthur. Edited for the first time from the unique MS. in the Cambridge University Library (about 1450 A.D.), by Henry B. Wheatley, Esq. Part I. 2s. 6d.


12. The Wright's Chaste Wife, a Merry Tale, by Adam of Cobsam (about 1462 A.D.), from the unique Lambeth MS. 306. Edited for the first time by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. 1s.


14. Kyng Hore, with fragments of Floriz and Blancheur, and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Edited from the MSS. in the Library of the University of Cambridge and the British Museum, by the Rev. J. Rawson Lumby. 3s. 6d.

15. Political, Religious, and Love Poems, from the Lambeth MS. No. 306, and other sources. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. 7s. 6d.


17. Parallel Extracts from 29 Manuscripts of Piers Plowman, with Comments, and a Proposal for the Society's Three-text edition of this Poem. By the Rev. W. Sket, M.A. 1s.

18. Hali Meidenheaf, about 1200 A.D. Edited for the first time from the MS. (with a translation) by the Rev. Oswald Cockayne, M.A. 1s.
Early English Text Society's Publications—continued.

19. The Monarches, and other Poems of Sir David Lyndsey. Part II., the Complaynt of the King's Papisa, and other minor Poems. Edited from the First Edition by F. Hall, Esq., D.C.L. 3s. 6d.


23. Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwy, or Remorse of Conscience, in the Kentish dialect, 1340 A.D. Edited from the unique MS. in the British Museum, by Richard Morris, Esq. 10s. 6d.


25. The Stagions of Rome, and the Pilgrim’s Sea-Voyage and Seasickness, with Clene Maydenbod. Edited from the Vernon and Poringhton MSS., etc., by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., M.A. 1s.


30. Piers, the Ploughman’s Crede (about 1394). Edited from the MSS. by the Rev. W. W. Skelat, M.A. 2s.


33. The Book of the Knight de la Tour Landry, 1372. A Father’s Book for his Daughters, Edited from the Harleian MS. 1764, by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., and Mr. William Rosseter. 6s.

Early English Text Society’s Publications—continued.

35. Sir David Lyndsey’s Works. Part 3. The Historie of ane Nobil and Weilsaund Syuer, William Meldrum, undryyle Laird of Cleische and Bynnis, complict be Sir David Lyndsey of the Mont alius Lyon King of Armce. With the Testament of the said William Meldrum, Syuer, complict alwa be Sir David Lyndsey, etc. Edited by F. Hall, D.C.L. 2s.


40. English Gilds. The Original Ordinances of more than One Hundred Early English Gilds: Together with the olde usages of the cite of Wincheste; The Ordinances of Worcestre; The Office of the Mayor of Bristol; and the Customary of the Manor of Tottonhall-Regia. From Original MSS. of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Edited with Notes by the late Toullin Smith, Esq., F.R.S. of Northern Antiquaries (Copenhagen). With an Introduction and Glossary, etc., by his daughter, Lucy Toullin Smith. And a Preliminary Essay, in Five Parts, On the History and Development of Gilds, by Lujo Brentano, Doctor Juris Utriusque et Philosophiae. 21s.


42. Bernardus de Cura bei Familiaris, with some Early Scotch Prophecies, etc. From a MS., KK 1. 5, in the Cambridge University Library. Edited by J. Rawson Lumby, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge. 2s.


Early English Text Society's Publications—continued.


**Extra Series.** Subscriptions—Small paper, one guinea; large paper, two guineas, per annum.

1. **The Romance of William of Palerne (otherwise known as the Romance of William and the Werewolf).** Translated from the French at the command of Sir Humphrey de Bohun, about A.D. 1350, to which is added a fragment of the Alliterative Romance of Alesander, translated from the Latin by the same author, about A.D. 1340; the former re-edited from the unique MS. in the Library of King's College, Cambridge, the latter now first edited from the unique MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. By the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A. 8vo. sewed, pp. xlv and 328. 25. 6d.

2. **On Early English Pronunciation.** With especial reference to Shakespeare and Chaucer; containing an investigation of the Correspondence of Writing with Speech in England, from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present day, preceded by a systematic Notation of all Spoken Sounds by means of the ordinary Printing Types; including a re-arrangement of Prof. F. J. Child's Memoirs on the Language of Chaucer and Gower, and reprints of the rare Tracts by Salesbury on English, 1547, and Welsh, 1567, and by Barley on French, 1521. By *Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S.* Part I. On the Pronunciation of the Xivth, XVith, Xviiith, and XViiiith Centuries. 8vo. sewed, pp. viii. and 416. 10s.

3. **Caxton's Book of Curtesye, printing at Westminster about 1477-8, A.D., and now reprinted, with two MS. copies of the same treatise, from the Oriel MS. 79, and the Balliol MS. 354.** Edited by *Frederick J. Furnivall, M.A.* 8vo. sewed, pp. xii. and 58. 5s.


6. **The Romance of the Chevillerie Assignée.** Re-edited from the unique manuscript in the British Museum, with a Preface, Notes, and Glossarial Index, by *Henry H. Gibbs, Esq., M.A.* 8vo. sewed, pp. xvi. and 88. 3s.

7. **On Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakespeare and Chaucer.** By *Alexander J. Ellis, F.R.S., etc., etc.* Part II. On the Pronunciation of the Xxvith and previous centuries, of Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, Old Norse and Gothic, with Chronological Tables of the Value of Letters and Expression of Sounds in English Writing. 10s.

Early English Text Society's Publications—continued.


13. A Supplication for the Beggars. Written about the year 1529, by Simon Fish. Now re-edited by Frederick J. Furnivall. With a Supplication to our moste Soueraigne Lorde Kyng Henry the Euyght (1544 A.D.), A Supplication of the Poore Commons (1546 A.D.), The Decaye of England by the great multitude of Shepe (1550-3 A.D.). Edited by J. Meadows Cowper. 6s.

Edda Saemundar Hinna Froda—The Edda of Saemund the Learned. From the Old Norse or Icelandic. Part I. with a Mythological Index. 12mo. pp. 152, cloth, 8s. 6d. Part II. with Index of Persons and Places. By Benjamin Thorpe. 12mo. pp. viii. and 172, cloth. 1866. 4s.; or in 1 vol. complete, 7s. 6d.

Edkins.—China's Place in Philology. An attempt to show that the Languages of Europe and Asia have a common origin. By the Rev. Joseph Edkins. [In the press.

Edkins.—A Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect. By J. Edkins. 8vo. half-calf, pp. vi. and 151. Shanghai, 1869. 21s.


Eger and Grime; an Early English Romance. Edited from Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, about 1650 A.D. By John W. Hales, M.A., Fellow and late Assistant Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Frederick J. Furnivall, M.A., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. 1 vol. 4to. (only 100 copies printed), bound in the Roxburghe style. pp. 64. Price 10s. 6d.

Eitel.—Three Lectures on Buddhism. By the Rev. E. J. Eitel. (In the Press.)


Elliot.—Memoirs on the History, Folk-Lore, and Distribution of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India; being an amplified Edition of the original Supplementary Glossary of Indian Terms. By the late Sir Henry M. Elliot, K.C.B., of the Hon. East India Company’s Bengal Civil Service. Edited, revised, and re-arranged, by John Barrow, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service; Member of the German Oriental Society, of the Asiatic Societies of Paris and Bengal, and of the Philological Society of London. In 2 vols. demy 8vo., pp. xx., 370, and 396, cloth. With two Lithographic Plates, one full-page coloured Map, and three large coloured folding Maps. 36s.


English and Welsh Languages.—The Influence of the English and Welsh Languages upon each other, exhibited in the Vocabulary of the two Tongues. Intended to suggest the importance to Philologers, Antiquaries, Ethnographers, and others, of giving due attention to the Celtic Branch of the Indo-Germanic Family of Languages. Square, pp. 30, sewed. 1869. 1s.

Etherington.—The Student’s Grammar of the Hindi Language. By the Rev. W. Etherington, Missionary, Benares. Crown 8vo. pp. xii. 320. xlviii. cloth. 1870. 10s. 6d.

Ethnological Society of London (The Journal of the). Edited by Professor Huxley, F.R.S., President of the Society; George Busk, Esq., F.R.S.; Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.; Colonel A. Lane Fox, Hon. Sec.; Thomas Wright, Esq., Hon. Sec.; Hyde Clarke, Esq.; Sub-Editor; and Assistant Secretary, J. H. Lamping, Esq. Published Quarterly.

Vol. I., No. 1. April, 1869. 8vo. pp. 88, sewed. 3s.


Contents.—Ordinary Meeting, March 5, 1889 (held at the Museum of Practical Geology), Professor Huxley, F.R.S., President, in the Chair. Opening Address of the President.—On the Characteristics of the population of Central and South India (Illustrated). By Sir Walter Elliot.—On the Races of India as traced in existing Tribes and Castes (With a Map). By G. Campbell, Esq.—Remarks by Mr. James Ferguson.—Remarks by Mr. Walter Denny.—Ordinary Meeting, January 23rd, 1889. Professor Huxley, F.R.S., President, in the Chair. On the Lepchas. By Dr. A. Campbell, late Superintendent of Darjeeling. On Pre-historic Archaeology of India (Illustrated). By Colonel Meadows Taylor, C.S.I., M.R.A.S., M.R.I.A., etc.—Appendix I. Extract from description of the Pandood Cockles in Malabar. By J. Baden-Powell, Esq. (Read before the Literary Society of Bombay, December 18th, 1850. Published in Volume III. of the Society’s Transactions).—Appendix II. Extract from a letter from Captain, now Colonel, A. Doria, dated Camp Katangrich, April 12th, 1832.—On some of the Mountain Tribes of the North Western frontier of India. By Major Fosbery, V.C.—On Permanence of
type in the Human Race. By Sir William Denison.—Notes and Reviews.—Ethnological Notes and Queries.—Notices of Ethnology.

Vol. I., No. 3. October, 1869. pp. 137, sewed. 3s.


Vol. II., No. 1. April, 1870. 5vo. sewed, pp. 96. 3s.


Vol. II., No. 2. July, 1870. 5vo. sewed, pp. 95. 3s.


Vol. II., No. 3. October, 1870. 5vo. sewed, pp. 176. 3s.


Facsimiles of Two Papyri found in a Tomb at Thebes. With a Translation by SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Academies of Berlin, Herculaneum, etc., and an Account of their Discovery. By A. HENRY RHIND, Esq., F.S.A., etc. In large folio, pp. 59 of text, and 16 plates coloured, bound in cloth. 2ls.

FURNIVALL.—EDUCATION IN EARLY ENGLAND. Some Notes used as Forewords to a Collection of Treatises on "Manners and Meals in the Olden Time," for the Early English Text Society. By FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, M.A., Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Member of Council of the Philological and Early English Text Societies. 8vo. sewed, pp. 74. 1s.


God. The Name of God in 405 Languages. 'Aggōwv Θεός. 32mo. pp. 64, sewed. 2d.


Grammography. A Manual of Reference to the Alphabets of Ancient and Modern Languages. Based on the German Compilation of F. Ballhorn. Royal 8vo. pp. 80. cloth. 7s. 6d.

The "Grammography" is offered to the public as a compendious Introduction to the reading of the most important ancient and modern languages. Simple in its design, it will be consulted with advantage by the philological student, the amateur linguist, the bookseller, the corrector of the press, and the diligent compositor.

**ALPHABETICAL INDEX.**

Afghan (or Pashto). Czechiean (or Bohemian). Hebrew (current hand). Polish.

Amharic. Danish. Hebrew (Judaico-Ger- Pueblo (or Afghan).


Bulg. Greek Liturgies. Modern Greek (Romale) Syriac.


Canarese (or Carinata). Gujarat (or Guzerattie). Numidian. Telugu.


Copico. Hieroglyphics. Palmyrenian. Turkish.


Vol. I. Part 1.—South Africa. 8vo. pp. 156. 7s. 6d.

Vol. 1. Part 2.—Africa (North of the Tropics of Capricorn). 8vo. pp. 70. 3s.


Vol. II. Part 1.—Australia. 8vo. pp. iv. and 44. 1s. 6d.

Vol. II. Part 2.—Papuan Languages of the Loyalty Islands and New Hebrides, comprising those of the Islands of Nengone, Lifu, Anetum, Tans, and others. 8vo. p. 12. 6d.

Vol. II. Part 3.—Fiji Islands and Rotuma (with Supplement to Part II., Papuan Languages, and Part I., Australia). 8vo. pp. 56. 1s.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.

Vol. II. Part 4.—New Zealand, the Chatham Islands, and Auckland Islands. Svo. pp. 78. 3s. 6d.
Vol. II. Part 4 (continuation).—Polynesia and Borneo. Svo. pp. 77–154. 3s. 6d.
Vol. III. Part 1.—Manuscripts and Insomnabes. Svo. pp. viii. and 54. 3s.

Grey.—MAORI MEMENTOS: being a Series of Addresses presented by the Native People to His Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B., F.R.S. With Introductory Remarks and Explanatory Notes; to which is added a small Collection of Lamentations, etc. By CH. OLIVER B. DAVIS. Svo. pp. iv. and 228, cloth. 12s.

Green.—SHAKESPEARE AND THE EMBLEM-WRITERS: an Exposition of their Similarities of Thought and Expression. Preceded by a View of the Emblem-Book Literature down to A.D. 1616. By HENRY GREEN, M.A. In one volume, pp. xvi. 572, profusely illustrated with Woodcuts and Photolithographs. Plates, elegantly bound in cloth gilt, large medium Svo. £1 11s. 6d.; large imperial Svo. £2 12s. 6d. 1870.


Contrast.—Priests.—Priest.—Pundits.—Pundits.—Kings.—Rulers.—Rulers.—Doomed.—The Birth of Rama.—The Heir apparent.—Manthana's Guile.—Dasaratha’s Wrath.—The Step-mother—Mother and Son.—The Triumph of Love—Preserved!—The Hermits’ Son—The Trial of Truth—The Forest—The Escape of Sita—Rama's Despair—The Messenger Cloud—Kumbhakarna—The Suppliant Dove—True Glory—Feed the Poor—The Wise Scholar.


Vol. II., containing Book II., with additional Notes and Index of Names. Svo. cloth. pp. 504. 12s.

Grout.—THE ISIZULU: a Grammar of the Zulu Language; accompanied with an Historical Introduction, also with an Appendix. By Rev. LEWIS GRAT. Svo. pp. i. and 482, cloth. 21s.


Haug.—A LECTURE ON AN ORIGINAL SPEECH OF Zoroaster (Yasna 45), with remarks on his age. By MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D. Svo. pp. 28, sewed. Bombay, 1865. 2s.

Haug.—OUTLINE OF A GRAMMAR OF THE ZEND LANGUAGE. By MARTIN HAUG, Dr. Phil. Svo. pp. 82, sewed. 14s.


Haug.—AN OLD ZAND-PAHAVI GLOSSARY. Edited in the Original Characters, with a Transliteration in Roman Letters, an English Translation, and an Alphabetical Index. By DAWTUR HOSABEGI JAMASPI, High-priest of the Parsees in Malwa, India. Revised with Notes and Introduction by MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D., late Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in the Poona College, Member of the Royal Bavarian Academy. Published by order of the Government of Bombay. Svo. sewed, pp. i. and 152. 15s.

Haug.—AN OLD PAHLAVI-PASAND GLOSSARY. Edited; with an Alphabetical Index, by DAWTUR HOSABEGI JAMASPI ASA, High-Priest of the Parsees in Malwa, India. Revised and Enlarged, with an Introductory Essay on the Pahlavi Language, by MARTIN HAUG, Ph.D. Published by order of the Government of Bombay. Svo. pp. xvi. 182, 288, sewed. 1870. 28s.
Haug.—Essay on the Pahlavi Language. By Martin Haug, Ph.D., Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Munich, Member of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, etc. (From the Pahlavi-Persian Glossary, edited by Destur Hoshangji and M. Haug.) 8vo. pp. 152, sewed. 1870. 3s. 6d.

Haug.—The Religion of the Zoroastrians, as contained in their Sacred Writings. With a History of the Zend and Pehlevi Literature, and a Grammar of the Zend and Pehlevi Languages. By Martin Haug, Ph.D., late Superintendent of Sanscrit Studies in the Poona College. 2 vols. 8vo. [In preparation.]

Heaviside.—American Antiquities; or, the New World the Old, and the Old World the New. By John T. C. Heaviside. 8vo. pp. 46, sewed. 1s. 6d.

Hepburn.—A Japanese and English Dictionary. With an English and Japanese Index. By J. C. Hepburn, A.M., M.D. Imperial 8vo. cloth, pp. xii., 560 and 132. 5s. 6d.


The Chinese characters contained in this work are from the collections of Chinese groups, engraved on stone, and cast into moveable types, by Mr. Marcello Legrand, engraver of the Imperial Printing Office at Paris. They are used by most of the missions in China.


History of the Sect of Maharajahs; or, Vallabhacharyas in Western India. With a Steel Plate. 8vo. pp. 364, cloth. 12s.


Hoffmann.—A Japanese Grammar. By J. J. Hoffmann, Ph. Doc., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, etc., etc. Published by command of His Majesty’s Minister for Colonial Affairs. Imp. 8vo. pp. xiii. 352, sewed. 12s. 6d.

Historia y fundacion de la Ciudad de Tlaxcala, y sus cuatro cuyas. Saca por Francisco de Lousia de leones Castellana a esta Mexicana. Ano de 1718. Con una Traducion Castellana, publicado por S. Leon Reinsch. In one volumefolio, with 25 Photographic Plates. [In preparation.

Howse.—A Grammar of the Cree Language. With which is combined an analysis of the Chipeway Dialect. By Joseph Howse, Esq., F.R.G.S. 8vo. pp. xx. and 324, cloth. 7s. 6d.


Ikhwán-e Sáfí.—Ikhwan-e Sáfí; or, Brothers of Purity. Describing the contention between Men and Beasts as to the superiority of the Human Race. Translated from the Hindustâni by Professor J. Dowson, Staff College, Sandhurst. Crown 8vo. pp. viii. and 166, cloth. 7s.

Inman.—Ancient Faiths Embodied in Ancient Times; or, an attempt to trace the Religious Belief, Sacred Rites, and Holy Emblems of certain Nations, by an interpretation of the names given to children by Priestly authority, or assumed by prophets, kings and hierarchs. By Thomas Inman, M.D., Liverpool. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1 and 1028, cloth, illustrated with numerous plates and woodcuts. £3.

Inman.—Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism Exposed and Explained. By Thomas Inman, M.D. (Loudon), Physician to the Royal Infirmary, Liverpool. 8vo. pp. xvi. 68, stiff covers, with numerous Illustrations. 1870. 5s.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.

Jaeschke.—A SHORT PRACTICAL GRAMMAR OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE, with special Reference to the Spoken Dialects. By H. A. JAESCHKE, Moravian Missionary. 8vo sewed, pp. ii. and 66. 2s. 6d.

Jaeschke.—ROMANIZED TIBETAN AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY, each word being re-produced in the Tibetan as well as in the Roman character. By H. A. JAESCHKE, Moravian Missionary. 8vo. pp. ii. and 158. sewed. 6s.

Julien.—SYNTAXE NOUVELLE DE LA LANGUE CHINOISE.
Vol. I.—Fondée sur la position des mots, suivie de deux traités sur les particules et les principaux termes de grammaire, d'une table des idiomatismes, de fables, de légendes et d'apologies traduites mot à mot. 8vo. sewed. 1869. 20s.


Kafir Essays, and other Pieces; with an English Translation. Edited by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Grahamstown. 32mo. pp. 34, sewed. 2s. 6d.

Kalidasa.—RAGHUVARSA. By KALIDASA. No. 1. (Cantos 1-3.) With Notes and Grammatical Explanations, by Rev. K. M. BANDERMA, Second Professor of Bishop's College, Calcutta; Member of the Board of Examiners, Fort-William; Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. 8vo. sewed, pp. 70. 1s. 6d.

Kern.—THE BEHAT-SANHITA; or, Complete System of Natural Astrology of Varáha-Mihira. Translated from Sanskrit into English by Dr. H. KERN, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Leyden. 8vo. pp. 50, stitched. Part I. 2s. [Will be completed in Nine Parts.


Kielhorn.—A GRAMMAR OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE. By F. KIELHORN, Ph.D., Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in Deccan College. Registered under Act xxv. of 1867. Demy 8vo. pp. xvi. 260. cloth. 1870. 10s. 6d.

Kistner.—BUDDHA AND HIS DOCTRINES. A Biographical Essay. By OTTO KISTNER. Imperial 8vo., pp. iv. and 82, sewed. 2s. 6d.

Koran (The). Arabic text, lithographed in Oudh, A.H. 1284 (1867). 16mo. pp. 942, bound in red goatskin, Oriental style, silver tooling. 7s. 6d.

The printing, as well as the outer appearance of the book, is extremely tasteful, and the characters, although small, read very easily. As a cheap edition for reference this is preferable to any other, and its price puts it within the reach of every Oriental scholar. It is now first imported from India.


Lee.—A TRANSLATION OF THE BÁLÁYÁTÁRO: a Native Grammar of the Pali Language. With the Romanized Text, the Nagari Text, and Copious Explanatory Notes. By LIONEL F. LEE. In one vol. 8vo. (In preparation).
Legge.—The Chinese Classics. With a Translation, Critical and
Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes. By James Legge,
Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean. 8vo.
pp. 526, cloth. £2 2s. Vol. II., containing the Works of Mencius. 8vo.
pp. 634, cloth. £2 2s. Vol. III. Part I. containing the First Part of the
Shoo-King, or the Books of T. Ang, the Books of Yu, the Books of Hea, the
£2 2s. Vol. III. Part II. containing the Fifth Part of the Shoo-King, or the

Legge.—The Life and Teachings of Confucius, with Explanatory
Notes. By James Legge, D.D. Reproduced for General Readers from the
Author's work, "The Chinese Classics," with the original Text. Second
edition. Crown 8vo. cloth, pp. vi. and 338. 10s. 6d.

pp. xii. 66, cloth. 1869. 2s. 6d.

Leitner.—The Races and Languages of Dardistan. By G. W.
Leitner, M.A., Ph.D., Honorary Fellow of King's College London, etc.;
late on Special Duty in Kashmir. 4 vols. 4to.

Leland.—Hans Breitmann's Party. With other Ballads. By

Leland.—Hans Breitmann's Christmas. With other Ballads. By

Leland.—Hans Breitmann as a Politician. By Charles G. Leland.
Second edition. Square, pp. 72, sewed. 1s.

Leland.—Hans Breitmann in Church. With other Ballads. By
Charles G. Leland. With an Introduction and Glossary. Square, pp. 80,
sewed. 1870. 1s.

Leland.—Breitmann Ballads. Four Series complete. Contents:
Hans Breitmann's Party. Hans Breitmann's Christmas. Hans Breitmann as
a Politician. Hans Breitmann in Church. With other Ballads. By Charles
G. Leland. With Introductions and Glossaries. Square, pp. 300, cloth.
1870. 4s. 6d.

Leland.—Hans Breitmann as an Uhlán. Six New Ballads, with a
Glossary. Square, sewed, pp. 72. 1s.

Leland.—The Breitmann Ballads. Complete in 1 vol., including
Nineteen Special illustrating his Travels in Europe (never before printed), with
8vo. handsomely bound in cloth, pp. xxviii. and 292. 6s.

Lesley.—Man's Origin and Destiny, Sketched from the Platform of
the Sciohios, in a Course of Lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute,
in Boston, in the winter of 1865—6. By J. P. Lesley, Member of the National
Academy of the United States, Secretary of the American Philosophical Society.
Numerous Woodcuts. Crown 8vo. pp. 392, cloth. 10s. 6d.

Liberien hog Avielen; or, the Catholic Epistles and Gospels for the
Day up to Ascension. Translated for the first time into the Brehonow of
Brittany. Also in three other parallel columns a New Version of the same
into Breizhunec (commonly called Breton and Armorican); a Version into
Welsh, mostly new, and closely resembling the Breton; and a Version Gaelic
or Manx or Ceirnaweg; with Illustrative Articles by Christoll Terrhim and
Charles Warin Saxton, D.D. Ch. Ch., Oxford. The Penitential Psalms
are also added. Oblong 4to. pp. 156, sewed. 5s.

Lobescheid.—English and Chinese Dictionary, with the Punti and
Mandarin Pronunciation. By the Rev. W. Lobescheid, Knight of Francis
Parts. £3 8s.

[Ludwig (Hermann K.)—The LITERATURE OF AMERICAN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES. With Additions and Corrections by Professor Wm. W. Turner. Edited by Nicolas Trübner. 8vo. dy and general Title, 2 leaves; Dr. Ludwig's Preface, pp. v.—viii.; Editor's Preface, pp. iv.—xii.; Biographical Memoir of Dr. Ludwig, pp. xiii.—xiv.; and Introductory Biographical Notices, pp. xiv.—xxiv., followed by List of Contents. Then follow Dr. Ludwig's Bibliotheca Giottica, alphabetically arranged, with Additions by the Editor, pp. 1—209; Professor Turner's Additions, with those of the Editor to the same, also alphabetically arranged, pp. 210—246; Index, pp. 247—255; and List of Errata, pp. 257, 258. Handsomely bound in cloth. 10s. 6d.


Manava-Kalpa-Sutra; being a portion of this ancient Work on Vaidik Rites, together with the Commentary of Kumariya-Swamin. A Facsimile of the MS. No. 17, in the Library of Her Majesty's Home Government for India. With a Preface by Theodor Goldstücker. Oblong folio, pp. 268 of letterpress and 121 leaves of facsimiles. Cloth. £4 4s.

Manipulus Vocabulorum; A Rhyming Dictionary of the English Language. By Peter Levius (1570) Edited, with an Alphabetical Index, by Henry B. Whately. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 370. cloth. 1s.

Manning.—AN INQUIRY INTO THE CHARACTER AND ORIGIN OF THE POSSESSIVE AUGMENT in English and in Cognate Dialects. By the late James Manning, Q.A.S., Recorder of Oxford. 8vo. pp. iv. and 90. 2s.

Markham.—QUICHUA GRAMMAR AND DICTIONARY. Contributions towards a Grammar and Dictionary of Quichua, the Language of the Yamas of Peru; collected by Clements R. Markham, F.S.A., Cott. Mem. of the University of Chile. Author of "Cusco and Lima," and "Travels in Peru and India." In one vol. crown 8vo., pp. 223. cloth. £1 1s.

Marsden.—NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA ILLUSTRATA. The Plates of the Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern, of the Collection of the late William Marsden, F.R.S., etc., etc., engraved from drawings made under his direction. 4to. pp. iv. (explanatory advertisement), cloth, gilt top. £1 11s. 4d.


Mason.—THE Pali TEXT OF KASICHAYANA'S GRAMMAR, WITH ENGLISH ANNOTATIONS. By Francis Mason, D.D. I. The Text Aphorisma, i to 673. 11. The English Annotations, including the various Readings of six independent Burmese Manuscripts, the Sengalese Text on Verbs, and the Cambodian Text on Syntax. To which is added a Concordance of the Aphorisms. In Two Parts. 8vo. sewed, pp. 208, 75, and 28. Rangoon, 1871. £1 12s.
Mathuráprásáda Míra.—A Trilingual Dictionary, being a comprehensive Lexicon in English, Urdu, and Hindi, exhibiting the Syllabication, Pronunciation, and Etymology of English Words, with their Explanation in English, and in Urdu and Hindi in the Roman Character. By Mathuráprásáda Míra, Second Master, Queen's College, Benares. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 1350. cloth. Benares, 1865. £2 2s.

Mayers.—Illustrations of the Lamaist System in Tibet, drawn from Chinese Sources. By William Frederick Mayers, Esq., of Her Britannic Majesty's Consular Service, China. 8vo. pp. 34, sewed. 1869. 1s. 6d.


Megha-Duta (The). (Cloud-Messenger.) By Kālidāsa. Translated from the Sanskrit into English verse, with Notes and Illustrations. By the late H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, etc., etc. The Vocabulary by Francis Johnson, sometime Professor of Oriental Languages at the College of the Honourable the East India Company, Haileybury. New Edition. 4to. cloth, pp. xi. and 180. 10s. 6d.

Memoirs read before the Anthropological Society of London, 1863. 8vo. pp. 542, cloth. 21s.


Moffatt.—The Standard Alphabet Problem; or the Preliminary Subject of a General Phonic System, considered on the basis of some important facts in the Sechwan Language of South Africa, and in reference to the views of Professors Lepsius, Max Müller, and others. A contribution to Phonetic Philology. By Robert Moffatt, junr., Surveyor, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. 8vo. pp. xxviii. and 174, cloth. 7s. 6d.


Morrill.—The Slaves: their Ethnology, early History, and popular Traditions, with some account of Slavonic Literature. Being the substance of a course of Lectures delivered at Oxford. By W. R. Morrill, M.A. [In preparation.]


Muhammad.—The Life of Muhammad. Based on Muhammad Ibn Ishak by Abd El Malik Ibn Hisham. Edited by Dr. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. One volume containing the Arabic Text. 8vo. pp. 1026, sewed. Price 21s. Another volume, containing Introduction, Notes, and Index in German. 8vo. pp. lixiii. and 266, sewed. 7s. 6d. Each part sold separately.

The text based on the Manuscripts of the Berlin, Leipzig, Gotha and Leyden Libraries, has been carefully revised by the learned editor, and printed with the utmost exactness.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.

Muir.—Original Sanskrit Texts, on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions. Collected, Translated, and Illustrated by John Muir, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D.


Vol. II. A New Edition is in preparation.

Vol. III. The Vedas: Opinions of their Authors, and of later Indian Writers, on their Origin, Inspiration, and Authority. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo. pp. xxxii. 312, cloth. 1868. 16s.

Vol. IV. Comparison of the Vedic with the later representation of the principal Indian Deities. 8vo. pp. xii. 440, cloth. 1863. 15s.

Vol. V. Contributions to a Knowledge of the Cosmogony, Mythology, Religious Ideas, Life and Manners of the Indians in the Vedic Age. 8vo. pp. xvi. 492, cloth, 1870. 21s.

Müller (Max).—The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmins, as preserved to us in the oldest collection of religious poetry, the Rig-Veda-Sanshita, translated and explained. By F. Max Müller, M.A., Fellow of All Souls’ College; Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford; Foreign Member of the Institute of France, etc., etc. In 8 vols. Volume I. 8vo. pp. cliii. and 264. 12s. 6d.

Müller (Max).—A New Edition of the Hymns of the Rig-Veda in the Sanshitá Text, without the Commentary of the Śāyana. Based upon the Editio princeps of Max Müller. Large 8vo. of about 800 pages. [In preparation.

The above New Edition of the Sanshitá Text of the Rig- Veda, without the Commentary of Śāyana, will contain foot-notes of the names of the Authors, Deities, and Metres. It will be comprised in about fifty large 8vo. sheets, and will be carefully corrected and revised by Prof. F. Max Müller. The price to subscribers before publication will be 24s. per copy. After publication the price will be 35s. per copy.

Müller (Max).—Lecture on Buddhist Nihilism. By F. Max Müller, M.A., Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford; Member of the French Institute, etc. Delivered before the General Meeting of the Association of German Philologists, at Kiel, 28th September, 1869. (Translated from the German.) Sewed. 1869. 1s.

Napheygi.—The Album of Language, illustrated by the Lord’s Prayer in one hundred languages, with historical descriptions of the principal languages, interlinear translation and pronunciation of each prayer, a dissertation on the languages of all the known world, and tables exhibiting all known languages, dead and living. By G. Napheygi, M.D., A.M., Member of the “Sociedad Geográfica y Estadísticas” of Mexico, and “Mejoraz Materiales” of Téozco, of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, etc. In one splendid folio volume of 322 pages, illuminated frontispiece and title-page, elegantly bound in cloth, gilt top. 22 10s.

Contents.—Preface (pp. 2).—Introduction.—Observations on the Origin of Language (pp. 15).—Authors of Collections of the Lord’s Prayer (pp. 6).—Families of Language (pp. 18).—Alphabets (pp. 25). The Lord’s Prayer in the following languages (each accompanied by a transcription into Roman characters, a translation into English, and a Monograph of the language), printed in the original characters:


Nayler.—*Commonsense Observations on the Existence of Rules* (not yet reduced to System in any work extant) regarding *The English Language*; on the pernicious effects of yielding blind obedience to so-called authorities, whether Dictionary-Compilers, Grammar-Makers, or Spellino-Book Manufacturers, instead of examining and judging for ourselves on all questions that are open to investigation; followed by a Treatise, entitled *Pronunciation Made Easy*; accompanied with Lists, containing several thousands of words, for the speedy eradication of blemishes; also an *Essay on the Pronunciation of Proper Names*. The work submitted with all its imperfections, as fearlessly, as respectfully, to the Judgment of every Male and Female Teacher of the Language, in Schools, Colleges, and Universities, and to all Ladies and Gentlemen individually. By B. S. Nayler, accredited Elocutionist to the most celebrated Literary Societies in London. 8vo. pp. iv. 148, boards. 1869. 5s.


Newman.—*Orthoepic: or, a simple mode of Accenting English, for the advantage of Foreigners and of all Learners*. By Francis W. Newman, Emeritus Professor of University College, London. 8vo. pp. 28, sewed. 1869. 1s.

Notley.—*A Comparative Grammar of the French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese Languages*. By Edwin A. Notley. Crown oblong 8vo. cloth, pp. xv. and 396. 7s. 6d.

Oriental Text Society.—(*The Publications of the Oriental Text Society.*)

1. *Theophania; or, Divine Manifestations of our Lord and Saviour*. By Eugenius, Bishop of Cesarea. Syriac. Edited by Prof. S. Lee. 8vo. 1842. 15s.


5. *History of the Almohades*. Edited in Arabic by Dr. R. P. A. Dozy. 8vo. 1847. 10s. 6d.


Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.

Osburn.—The Monumental History of Egypt, as recorded on the Ruins of her Temples, Palaces, and Tombs. By William Osburn. Illustrated with Maps, Plates, etc. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xlii. and 461; vii. and 643, cloth. £2 2s.

Vol. I.—From the Colonisation of the Valley to the Visit of the Patriarch Abram.

Vol. II.—From the Visit of Abram to the Exodus.


Pand-Nâmah.—The Pand-Nâmâh; or, Books of Counsels. By Adburâd Mârânând. Translated from Pehlevi into Gujarathi, by Harbed Shererjeed Dadabhoj. And from Gujarathi into English by the Rev. Shapurji Edalji. Fcp. 8vo. sewed. 1870. 6d.

Pandit.—A Pandit's Remarks on Professor Max Müller's Translation of the 'Rig-Veda.' Sanskrit and English. Fcp. 8vo. sewed. 1870. 6d.

Paspati.—Études sur les Tchimgianès (Gypscs) ou Bohémiens de l'Empire Ottoman. Par Alexandre G. Paspati, M.D. Large 8vo. sewed, pp. xii. and 662. Constantinople, 1871. 28s.

Patell.—Cowasjee Patell's Chronology, containing corresponding Dates of the different Eras used by Christians, Jews, Greeks, Hindüs, Mohammedans, Parsees, Chinese, Japanese, etc. By Cowasjee Sorabjee Patell. 4to. pp. viii. and 184, cloth. 50s.

Pauthier.—Le Livre de Marco Polo, Citoyen de Venise, Conseiller Privé et Commissaire Impérial de Khoubilai-Khaân. Rédigé en français sous sa dictée en 1298 par Rusticen de Pise; Publié pour la première fois d'après trois manuscrits inédits de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Paris, présentant la rédaction primitive du Livre, revue par Marco Polo lui-même et donnée par lui, en 1307, à Théibault de Cépy, accompagnée des Variantes, de l'Explication des mots hors d'usage, et de commentaires géographiques et historiques, tirés des écrivains orientaux, principalement Chinois, avec une Carte générale de l'Asie par M. G. Pauthier. Two vols. roy. 8vo. pp. cvii. 832. With Map and View of Marco Polo's House at Venice. £1 8s.


Penny.—Dictionnaire Français-Latin-Chinois de la Langue Mandarine Parlée. Par Paul Penny, M.A., de la Congrégation des Missions Étrangères. 4to. pp. viii. 469, sewed. £2 2s.

Penny.—Grammaire Pratique de la Langue Mandarine Parlée. Par Paul Penny, M.A., de la Congrégation des Missions Étrangères. [In the Press.}

{Penny.—Proverbes Chinois, Recueillis et Mis en Ordre. Par Paul Penny, M.A., de la Congrégation des Missions Étrangères. 12mo. pp. iv. 186. 3s.}
8 and 60, Paternoster Row, London.

PErrin.—ENGLISH-ZULU DICTIONARY. New Edition, revised by J. A. BRickHILL, Interpreter to the Supreme Court of Natal. 12mo. pp. 226, cloth, Pieternsterburgh, 1865. 5s.

Philological Society.—PROPOSALS for the Publication of a NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY. 8vo. pp. 32, sewed. 8d.

Pierce the Ploughman's Crede (about 1394 Anno Domini). Transcribed and Edited from the MS. of Trinity College, Cambridge, R. 3, 15. Collected with the MS. Bibl. Reg. 18. B. xvii. in the British Museum, and with the old Printed Text of 1553, to which is appended "God sped the Plough" (about 1586 Anno Domini), from the Lansdowne MS. 762. By the REV. WALTER W. SEWAT, M.A., late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. pp. xx. and 75, cloth. 1887. 2s. 6d.

Prakrits-Prakritas; or, The Prakrit Grammar of Vararuchi, with the Commentary (Masorama) of Sramana. The first complete edition of the Original Text with Various Readings from a Collection of Six Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society and the East India House; with copious Notes, an English Translation, and Index of Prakrit words, to which is prefixed an easy Introduction to Prakrit Grammar. By EDWARD BYRAM COWELL, of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge. Second issue, with new Preface, and corrections. 8vo. pp. xxii. and 204, 14s.

Prisulis.—QUESTIONES MOSAICA; or, the first part of the Book of Genesis compared with the remains of ancient religions. By OSWALD DE BRAYVORNE PRISULI. 8vo. pp. viii. and 548, cloth. 12s.

Raja-Niti.—A COLLECTION OF HINDU APOLOGETICS, in the Braj Bhâshâ Language. Revised edition. With a Preface, Notes, and Supplementary Glossary. By FITZEDWARD HALL, Esq. 8vo. cloth, pp. 204. 21s.

Ram Râx.—E scoff on the ARCHITECTURE of the HINDUS. By RAM Râx, Native Judge and Magistrate of Bangalore, Corresponding Member of the R.A.S. of Great Britain and Ireland. With 48 plates. 4to. pp. xiv. and 63, sewed. London, 1834. Original selling price, £1 11s. 6d., reduced (for a short time) to 12s.

Rask.—A GRAMMAR of the ANGLO-SAXON TONGUE. From the Danish of ERASMUS RASK, Professor of Literary History in, and Librarian to, the University of Copenhagen, &c. By BENJAMIN THORPE, Member of the Munich Royal Academy of Sciences, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature, Leyden. Second edition, corrected and improved. 18mo. pp. 200, cloth. 5s. 6d.

Rawlinson.—A COMMENTARY ON the CUMULATED INSCRIPTIONS of BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA, including Readings of the Inscription on the Nimrud Obelisk, and Brief Notice of the Ancient Kings of Nineveh and Babylon, Read before the Royal Asiatic Society, by Major H. C. RAWLINSON. 8vo., pp. 84, sewed. London, 1850. 2s. 6d.


Rehan.—AN ESSAY on the AGE and ANTIQUITY of the BOOK of NABATHEAN AGRICULTURE. To which is added an Inaugural Lecture on the Position of the Semitic Nations in the History of Civilization. By M. ERNEST REHAN, Membre de l’Institut. Crown 8vo., pp. xvi. and 148, cloth. 3s. 6d.

Revue Celtique.—The REVUE CELTIQUE, a Quarterly Magazine for Celtic Philology, Literature, and History. Edited with the assistance of the Chief Celtic Scholars of the British Islands and of the Continent, and Conducted by H. GAIDON. 8vo. Subscription, £1 per annum.

Ridley.—KAMILAROJI, DIPHI, AND TURNUBUL. LANGUAGES Spoken by Australian Aborigines. By Rev. Wm. RIDLEY, M.A., of the University of Sydney; Minister of the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales. Printed by authority. Small 4to. cloth, pp. vi. and 90. 30s.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.

Rig-Veda.—A New Edition of the Hymns of the Rig-Veda in the Sanskrit Text, without the Commentary of the Śāyaṇa. Based upon the Edition princeps of Max Müller. Large 8vo. of about 800 pages. See also under Max Müller. [In preparation.]

Rig-Veda-Sanhita (The). The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmins, as preserved to us in the oldest collection of Religious Poetry, the Rig-Veda-Sanhita, translated and explained. By F. Max Müller, M.A., Fellow of All Soul's College; Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford; Foreign Member of the Institute of France, etc. In 8 vols. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. clix. and 264. 12s. 6d.

Rig-Veda-Sanhita (The): The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmins. Translated and explained by F. Max Müller, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of All Soul's College, Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford, Foreign Member of the Institute of France, etc., etc. Vol. I. Hymns to the Maruts, or the Storm-Gods. 8vo. pp. clii. and 264. cloth. 1889. 12s. 6d.

Rig-Veda Sanhita.—A Collection of Ancient Hindu Hymns. Constituting the First Ashtaka, or Book of the Rig-veda; the oldest authority for the religious and social institutions of the Hindus. Translated from the Original Sanskrit by the late H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., etc. etc. Second Edition, with a Postscript by Dr. FitzEdward Hall. Vol. I. 8vo. cloth, pp. lii. and 348, price 21s.

Rig-Veda Sanhita.—A Collection of Ancient Hindu Hymns, constituting the Fifth to Eighth Ashtakas, or books of the Rig-veda, the oldest Authority for the Religious and Social Institutions of the Hindus. Translated from the Original Sanskrit by the late Horace Hayman Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., etc. Edited by E. B. Cowell, M.A., Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Vol. IV. 8vo., pp. 214, cloth. 14s. A few copies of Vols. II. and III. still left. [Vols. V. and VI. in the Press.]

Sāma-Vidhāna-Brahmana (The). With the Commentary of Śāyaṇa, Edited, with Notes, Translation, and Index, by A. C. Burnell, M.B.A.S., Madras Civil Service. In 1 vol. 8vo. [In preparation.]

Schele de Vere.—Studies in English; or, Glimpses of the Inner Life of our Language. By M. Schele de Vere, LL.D., Professor of Modern Languages in the University of Virginia. 8vo. cloth, pp. vii. and 365. 1s. 6d.

Schemell.—El Mustaker; or, First Born. (In Arabic, printed at Beyrouth). Containing Five Comedies, called Comedies of Fiction, on Hopes and Judgments, in Twenty-six Poems of 1092 Verses, showing the Seven Stages of Life, from man's conception unto his death and burial. By Emin Ibrahim Schemell. In one volume, 4to. pp. 164, sewed. 1870. 6s.


Schlottmann.—The Monument of a Victory of Mesha, King of the Moschites. A Contribution to Hebrew Archæology by Dr. Konstantin Schlottmann, Professor of Theology at the University of Halle. Translated from the German. [In the Press.]

Shápurjí Edaljí.—A Grammar of the Gujarati Language. By Shápurjí Edaljí. Cloth, pp. 127. 10s. 6d.


Smith.—A Vocabulary of Proper Names in Chinese and English. of Places, Persons, Tribes, and Sects, in China, Japan, Corea, Assam, Siam, Burmah, The Straits, and adjacent Countries. By F. PORTER SMITH, M.B., China. 4to. half-bound, pp. vi., 72, and x. 1870. 10s. 6d.

Smith.—Contributions towards the Materia Medica and Natural History of China. For the use of Medical Missionaries and Native Medical Students. By F. PORTER SMITH, M.B. London, Medical Missionary to Central China. Imp. 4to. cloth, pp. viii. and 240. 1870. £1 1s.

Sophocles.—A Glossary of Later and Byzantine Greek. By E. A. SOPHOCLES. 4to., pp. iv. and 624, cloth. £2 2s.

Sophocles.—Roman or Modern Greek Grammar. By E. A. SOPHOCLES. 8vo. pp. xxviii. and 196. 7s. 6d.

Sophocles.—Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100). By E. A. SOPHOCLES. Imp. 8vo. pp. xvi. 118, cloth. 1870. £2 2s.


Stratmann.—A Dictionary of the English Language. Compiled from the writings of the xiiiith, xivth, and xvth centuries. By Francis HENRY STRATMANN. Second Edition. 8vo. cloth, pp. x. and 694. [In preparation.

Stratmann.—An Old English Poem of the Owl and the Nightingale. Edited by Francis HENRY STRATMANN. 8vo. cloth, pp. 60. 3s.

Syed Ahmed.—A Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed, and Subjects subsidiary thereto. By SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADUR, C.S.I., Author of the "Mohammedan Commentary on the Holy Bible," Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Life Honorary Secretary to the Alliyourghe Scientific Society. 8vo. pp. 532, with 4 Genealogical Tables, 2 Maps, and a Coloured Plate, handsomely bound in cloth. 30s.

Contents.—Preface and Introduction.—Essay on the Historical Geography of Arabia.—Essay on the Manners and Customs of the Pre-Islamic Arabs, wherein it is inquired to which of them Islam bears the closest resemblance, and whether by such affinity Islam is proved to be of Divine Origin or "A Cunningly Devised Fable."—Essay on the question Whether Islam has been Beneficial or Injurious to Human Society in general, and to the Mosaic and Christian Dispensations.—Essay on the Mohammedan Theological Literature.—Essay on the Mohammedan Traditions.—Essay on the Holy Koran.—Essay on the History of the Holy Meeca, including an account of the distinguished part it has taken in connexion therewith by the Ancestors of Mohammed.—Essay on the Pedigree of Mohammed.—Essay on the Prophecies respecting Mohammed, as contained in both the Old and the New Testament.—Essay on Shâhkîsâdar and Meraj, that is, the splitting (open) of the Chest of Mohammed; and his Night Journey.—Essay on the Birth and Childhood of Mohammed.


The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman, together with Vita de Dowel, Dobet et Dobest, secondum wit et resoun. By WILLIAM LANGLAND (about 1362-1380 anno domini). Edited from numerous Manuscripts, with Prefaces, Notes, and a Glossary. By the Rev. WALTER W. SHETTL M.A. pp. xiii. and 158, cloth, 1867. Vernon Text; Text A. 7s. 6d.
THOMAS.—E A R L Y  S A S S A N I A N  I N S C R I P T I O N S ,  S E A L S  A N D  C O I N S ,  illustrating
the Early History of the Sassanian Dynasty, containing Proclamations of Arde-
shir Babak, Sapor I., and his Successors. With a Critical Examination and
Explanation of the Celebrated Inscription in the Hājātābād Cave, demonstrating
that Sapor, the Conqueror of Valerian, was a Professing Christian. By Edward
Thomas, Esq. Svo. cloth, pp. 148, Illustrated. 7s. 6d.

THOMAS.—T H E  C H R O N I C L E S  O F  T H E  P A T H A N  K I N G S  O F  D E H L I ,  I l l u s t r a t e d
by Coins, Inscriptions, and other Antiquarian Remains. By Edward
Thomas, F.R.A.S., late of the East India Company’s Bengal Civil Service. With
numerous Copperplates and Woodcuts. Denby Svo. cloth, pp. xxiv. and 467.
1871. 28s.

THOMAS.—E S A Y S  O N  I N D I A N  A N T I Q U I T I E S :  f o l l o w i n g  u p  t h e  D i s c o v e r i e s
of James Prinsep, with specimens of his Engravings, and selections from his
Useful Tables, and embodying the most recent investigations into the History,
Palaeography, and Numismatics of Ancient India. By Edward Thomas, late of
the East India Company’s Bengal Civil Service. In 2 vols. Svo., profusely
illustrated. [In preparation.]

Thomas. Port of Spain (Trinidad), 1869. One vol. Svo. boards, pp. viii. and
135. 12s.

THOMISSEN.—É T U D E S  S U R  L’H I S T O I R E  D U  D R O I T  C R I M I N E L  D E S  P E U P L E S
Anciens (Inde Brahmanique, E’gypte, Judée), par J. J. Thomissen, Professeur
à l’Université Catholique de Louvain, Membre de l’Académie Royale de Bel-

THORPE.—D I P L O M A T A R I U M  A N G L I C U M  ÈXVI S A X O N I C U M . A  C o l l e c t i o n
of English Charters, from the reign of King Ethelberht of Kent, A.D., to
that of William the Conqueror. Containing: I. Miscellaneous Charters. II.
Wills. III. Guilds. IV. Manuscriptions and Acquisitions. With a Transla-
tion of the Anglo-Saxon. By the late Benjamin Thorpe. Member of the Royal
Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlands Literature
at Leyden. Svo. pp. xlii. and 682, cloth. 1865. £1 ls.

L A N G U A G E .  B y  H e m m y  T i n d a l l ,  W e s t a y n  M i s s i o n a r y .  S v o . ,  p p . 1 2 4 ,
sewed. 6s.

By H. N. Van der Tuuk. Svo., pp. 28, sewed. 1s.

Van der Tuuk.—S H O R T  A C C O U N T  O F  T H E  M A L A Y  M A N U S C R I P T S  B E L O N G I N G
TO THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY. By H. N. Van der Tuuk. Svo., pp. 52. 2s. 6d.

Vishnu-Purana (The); a System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition.
Translated from the original Sanskrit, and Illustrated by Notes derived chiefly
from other Puranas. By the late H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., Boden Pro-
fessor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, etc., etc. Edited by F. T. B. Hall.
pp. 348; Vol. IV. pp. 346 cloth; Vol. V. pp. 392, cloth. Price 10s. 6d. each.

Wade.—Yü-Yen Tsū-Erh Chs. A progressive course designed to
assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese, as spoken in the Capital and the
Metropolitan Department. In eight parts, with Key, Syllabary, and Writing
Exercises. By Thomas Francis Wade, C.B., Secretary to Her Britannic
Majesty’s Legation, Peking. 3 vols. 4to. Progressive Course, pp. xx. 296
and 16; Syllabary, pp. 126 and 36; Writing Exercises, pp. 48; Key, pp. 174
and 140, sewed. £4.

Wade.—Wên-Chien Tsū-Erh Chs. A series of papers selected as
specimens of documentary Chinese, designed to assist Students of the language,
as written by the officials of China. In sixteen parts, with Key. Vol. I. By
Thomas Francis Wade, C.B., Secretary to Her Britannic Majesty’s Legation
at Peking. 4to., half-cloth, pp. xii. and 465; and iv., 72, and 52. £1 16s.

Watson.—Index to the Native and Scientific Names of Indian and Other Eastern Economic Plants and Products, originally prepared under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council. By John Forbes Watson, M.A., M.D., F.L.S., F.R.A.S., etc., Reporter on the Products of India. Imperial 8vo., cloth, pp. 650. £1 11s. 6d.


Webster.—An Introductory Essay to the Science of Comparative Theology; with a Tabular Synopsis of Scientific Religion. By Edward Webster, of Ealing, Middlesex. Read in an addressed form as a Lecture to a public audience at Ealing, on the 3rd of January, 1870, and to an evening congregation at South Place Chapel, Finsbury Square, London, on the 27th of February, 1870. 8vo. pp. 38, sewed. 1870. 1s.


"Dictionaries are a class of books not usually esteemed light reading; but no intelligent man were to be pitted who should find himself shut up on a rainy day in a lonely house in the dreariest part of Salisbury Plain, with no other means of recreation than that which Mr. Wedgwood's Dictionary of Etymology could afford him. He would read it through from cover to cover at a sitting, and only regret that he had not the second volume to begin upon forthwith. It is a very able book, of great research, full of delightful surprises, a repertory of the fairy tales of linguistic science."—Spectator.

Wedgwood.—On the Origin of Language. By Heine-SLeigh Wedgwood, late Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 172, cloth. 3s. 6d.

Wékény.—A Grammar of the Hungarian Language, with appropriate Exercises, a Copious Vocabulary, and Specimens of Hungarian Poetry. By Sigismund Wékény, late Aide-de-Camp to Kossuth. 12mo., pp. xii. and 186, sewed. 4s. 6d.

Wheeler.—The History of India from the Earliest Ages. By J. Talboys Wheeler, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Secretary to the Indian Record Commission, author of "The Geography of Herodotus," etc. etc. Vol. I., The Vedic Period and the Maha Bharata. 8vo. cloth, pp. lixv. and 676. 18s.

Vol. II., The Ramayana and the Brahmanic Period. 8vo. cloth, pp. lxxxviii. and 680, with 2 Maps. 21s.

Whitney.—Atharva Veda Prātiçākya; or, Čānankhyā Caturādhīyikā (The). Text, Translation, and Notes. By William D. Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit in Yale College. 8vo. pp. 286, boards. 12s.


Whitney.—TātTtyā-Prātiçākya, with its Commentary, the Tribhaharatanā: Text, Translation, and Notes. By W. D. Whitney, Prof. of Sanskrit in Yale College, New Haven. 8vo. pp. 469. 1871. 26s.

Wilkins.—The Bhagavat-Gītā; or, Dialogues of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. Translated by CRAIG WILKINS. A faithful reprint of the now very scarce Original London Edition of 1786, made at the Bradfæther's Press, New York. In one vol. 8vo. Beautifully printed with old face type on laid paper. 261 copies were produced of this edition, of which only a few now remain. 12s.
Linguistic Publications of Trübner & Co.

Williams.—First Lessons in the Maori Language, with a Short Vocabulary. By W. L. Williams, B.A. Square 8vo., pp. 80, cloth. London, 1862. 10s.

Williams.—Lexicon Cornub-Britannicum. A Dictionary of the Ancient Celtic Language of Cornwall, in which the words are elucidated by copious examples from the Cornish works now remaining, with translations in English. The synonyms are also given in the cognate dialects of Welsh, Armoric, Irish, Gaelic, and Manx, showing at one view the connexion between them. By the Rev. Robert Williams, M.A., Christ Church, Oxford, Parish Curate of Llangadwaladr and Rhydycroesau, Denbighshire. Sewed. 3 parts, pp. 400. £2 5s.

Williams.—A Dictionary, English and Sanscrit. By Monteil Williams, M.A. Published under the Patronage of the Honourable East India Company. 4to. pp. xii. 882, cloth. London, 1855. £3 3s.

Wilson.—Works of the late Horace Hayman Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., Member of the Royal Asiatic Societies of Calcutta and Paris, and of the Oriental Society of Germany, etc., and Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. Vols. I. and II. Also, under this title, Essays and Lectures chiefly on the Religion of the Hindus, by the late H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., etc. Collected and edited by Dr. Reinhold Rost. 2 vols. cloth, pp. xiii and 399, vi. and 416. 21s.

Wilson.—Works of the late Horace Hayman Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., Member of the Royal Asiatic Societies of Calcutta and Paris, and of the Oriental Society of Germany, etc., and Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford. Vols. I, II, IV, and V. Also, under the title of Essays Analytical, Critical, and Philological, on subjects connected with Sanskrit Literature. Collected and Edited by Dr. Reinhold Rost. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 408, 406, and 390, cloth. Price 30s.

Wilson.—Works of the Late Horace Hayman Wilson. Vols. VI. VII, VIII, IX. and X. Also, under the title of the Vishnu Purana, a system, of Hindu mythology and tradition. Translated from the original Sanskrit, and illustrated by Notes derived chiefly from other Purāṇas. By the late H. H. Wilson, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, etc., etc. Edited by Fitzedward Hall, M.A., D.C.L., Oxon. Vols. I to V. 8vo., pp. cx. and 260; 844; 344; 346, cloth. 2l. 12s. 6d. [Vol. VI in the press.]


Vol. I.—Preface—Treatise on the Dramatic System of the Hindus—Dramas translated from the Original Sanskrit—the Mirchakalakati, or the Toy Cart—Vikrama and Urvasi, or the Hero and the Nymph—Uttara Ramá Charithra, or continuation of the History of Rama. Vol. II.—Dramas translated from the Original Sanskrit—Malati and Madhava, or the Stolen Marriage—Madrā Rakshasa, or the Signet of the Minister—Ratnāvali, or the Necklace—Appendix, containing short accounts of different Dramas.


Wise.—Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine. By T. A. Wise, M.D., Bengal Medical Service. 8vo., pp. xx. and 432, cloth. 7s. 6d.

Wylie.—Notes on Chinese Literature; with introductory Remarks on the Progressive Advancement of the Art; and a list of translations from the Chinese, into various European Languages. By A. Wylie, Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in China. 4to. pp. 296, cloth. Price, 1l. 10s.


STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, PRINTERS, HERTFORD.